Had the Queen Dowager when regent acted in concert with Mary of England the Reformation must undoubtedly have been crushed - but the regent was firmly allied to France - and Mary was married to Philip of Spain - and hence a estoness between the two princesses which lucted in an open breach —

12.19.14.

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The works of Thomas M'Crie .
.

(1) Rizzio assassinated - a worthless favorite of the Queen - [illegible] against Protestants
(2) Darnley a man [illegible] - married to Mary - Murdered 10th Feb 1567.
(3) Bothwell - married to [illegible] with indecent haste - Both Mary [illegible] to murder of Darnley -

Nobles league to [illegible] King's death - Bothwell flees - Mary imprisoned - Earl of Moray Regent [illegible].

James VI crowned 29th July 1567 at Sterling -

Regent Moray, shot by Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh in Linlithgow - on the 23rd Jan. 1570.

Earl of Lennox becomes regent - and is slain Sept. 3rd 1571 - Succeeded in regency by Earl of Mar -

THE WORKS

OF

THOMAS M'CRIE, D.D.

A New Edition

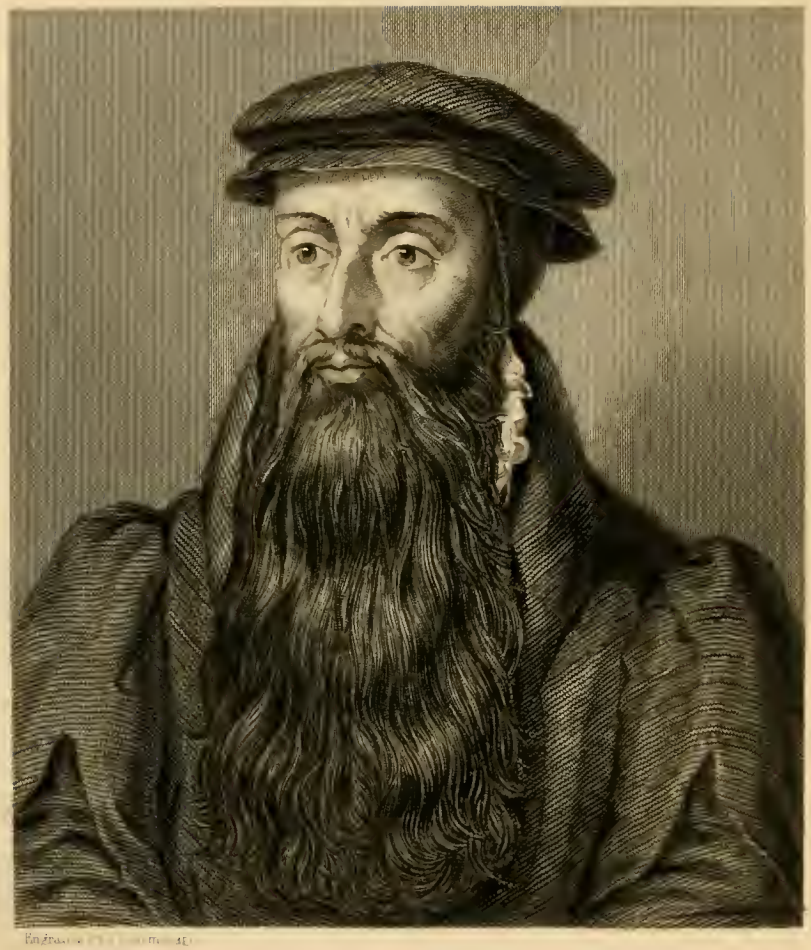
EDITED BY HIS SON

THOMAS M'CRIE, D.D. LL.D.

VOL. I.

LIFE OF JOHN KNOX

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS
EDINBURGH AND LONDON
MDCCCLV



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JOHN KNOX

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LIFE

OF

JOHN KNOX

CONTAINING ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND

WITH BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF THE PRINCIPAL REFORMERS, AND SKETCHES OF THE PROGRESS OF LITERATURE IN SCOTLAND DURING THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

AND

AN APPENDIX

CONSISTING OF ORIGINAL PAPERS

BY

THOMAS M'CRIE, D.D.

A NEW EDITION

EDITED BY HIS SON

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS
EDINBURGH AND LONDON
MDCCCLV

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE PRESENT EDITION.

THE present Volume forms the first of A NEW AND UNIFORM EDITION OF THE WORKS OF THE LATE REV. THOMAS M'CRIE, D.D. This may be considered as the SEVENTH genuine edition of the Life of Knox. The SIXTH, which is *the only Complete Edition* published since the Author's death, having been stereotyped, was issued at various periods by the Publishers, William Blackwood and Sons. But, in compliance with a very widely and warmly expressed desire on the part of the public, they have considered it advisable to publish a uniform Edition of the Works of the respected Author; and the Life of Knox, as being at once the most popular of his works, and that which established the reputation of Dr M'Crie as an historian, has been deemed worthy of occupying the first place in the present issue.

It is needless, in this place, to expatiate on the intrinsic value of the Life of Knox. It has long held its place among the standard histories of the land. Under the engaging form of biography, it embraces the whole ecclesiastical history of the period to which it relates. The life of the Scottish Reformer is, in fact, the history of the Scottish Reformation. And in no

other historical work will the facts of that period be found more clearly stated, or more fully authenticated. It would be equally superfluous to speak of the complete success which has crowned this first acknowledged effort of the Author in the field of History,—its triumphant refutation of the calumnies which had gathered around the name and darkened the memory of JOHN KNOX,—its almost immediate effect in placing him in the foremost rank among the patriots and benefactors of his country,—its gradual and growing influence in moulding the sentiments of thousands of readers, and in resuscitating the spirit and principles of our Reformation. To this distinguished success, the character of the Author contributed fully as much as his talents. If the poet, the painter, or the musician, succeeds in proportion as he throws his whole soul into his composition, and catches the spirit of the theme which his genius aims to illustrate, it is not easy to see why the historian should be exempted from this rule, or what good reason there can be for supposing that impartiality in the statement of truth should be inconsistent with that enthusiasm which, in congenial minds, the love of the pure, the noble, and the great, must always inspire. This qualification Dr M'Crie possessed in no ordinary degree; but while his heart beat in lofty sympathy with the hero whom he portrayed, and while his spirit rose with the subject before him, his high sense of integrity rendered him incapable of giving currency to falsehood, whether in the shape of hasty assertion, fraudful concealment, or wilful exaggeration. His mind, narrowed by no sectarian prejudices, was prepared to admire whatsoever was good and true in all parties and denominations. With the stern conscientiousness of the bench, he scanned the evidence placed before him

on every side, and never ventured on a statement without satisfying himself that it rested on genuine and well-supported authority. The consequence has been that not one of the leading facts in the Life of Knox has been disproved, or called in question, even by those who find it convenient to repeat the old exploded fabrications, as if no such Life had been written.

A work so well authenticated, and so complete in itself, it has been thought unnecessary to attempt improving by any explanatory remarks or additional proofs. It has been here presented entire and untouched, as it appeared in the last edition revised by the Author. A few EDITORIAL NOTES, however, have been annexed to the end of the volume, not certainly on account of any intrinsic importance attached to the information they contain—much less from an idea of their being necessary to supplement any defects in the Life of Knox—but simply because they refer to some facts which have transpired since the Author's death, and of which, had he lived to superintend this edition, he might be supposed to have taken some notice.

These few Notes excepted, the task of the Editor has been chiefly confined to a careful superintendence of the edition as it proceeded from the press; to the addition of head-lines indicating the topics in each page; and to the arrangement of the Notes under similar headings,—an arrangement intended to direct attention to the Notes, which are apt to be overlooked, but which form, in the estimation of many, the most interesting portion of the work.

The greatly reduced price at which this edition of the Life of Knox may be obtained, will, it is earnestly hoped, bring the work within range of a much larger portion of the com-

munity than it ever reached before; while the style in which it has been executed bids fair to recommend it to general acceptance. If we may be permitted to judge from the popularity of the work with the higher and more select class of readers, we may safely anticipate a still higher measure of favour when it comes into the hands of the general public. John Knox was essentially a Man of the People; he was a type of the more high-souled, deep-thinking, and God-fearing of his countrymen, in the middle class of society; the people could not follow a sager or a safer leader; and the salutary influence which he exerted upon Scotland while he lived, may yet, to a large extent, be produced by his Life as recorded in these pages.

THOMAS M'CRIE.

EDINBURGH, *July* 1855.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

The Reformation from Popery marks an epoch unquestionably the most important in the history of modern Europe. The effects of the change which it produced, in religion, in manners, in politics, and in literature, continue to be felt at the present day. Nothing, surely, can be more interesting than an investigation of the history of that period, and of those men who were the instruments, under Providence, of accomplishing a revolution which has proved so beneficial to mankind.

Though many able writers have employed their talents in tracing the causes and consequences of the Reformation, and though the leading facts respecting its progress in Scotland have been repeatedly stated, it occurred to me that the subject was by no means exhausted. I was confirmed in this opinion by a more minute examination of the ecclesiastical history of this country, which I began, for my own satisfaction, several years ago. While I was pleased at finding that there existed such ample materials for illustrating the history of the Scottish Reformation, I could not but regret that no one had undertaken to digest and exhibit the information on this subject which lay hid in manuscripts, and

in books which are now little known or consulted. Not presuming, however, that I had the ability or the leisure requisite for executing a task of such difficulty and extent, I formed the design of drawing up memorials of our national Reformer, in which his personal history might be combined with illustrations of the progress of that great undertaking, in the advancement of which he acted so conspicuous a part.

A work of this kind seemed to be wanting. The name of KNOX, indeed, often occurs in the general histories of the period, and some of our historians have drawn, with their usual ability, the leading traits of a character with which they could not fail to be struck; but it was foreign to their object to detail the events of his life, and it was not to be expected that they would bestow that minute and critical attention on his history, which is necessary to form a complete and accurate idea of his character. Memoirs of his life have been prefixed to editions of some of his works, and inserted in biographical collections and periodical publications; but in many instances their authors were destitute of proper information, and in others they were precluded, by the limits to which they were confined, from entering into those minute statements which are so useful for illustrating individual character, and which render biography both pleasing and instructive. Nor can it escape observation, that a number of writers have been guilty of great injustice to the memory of our Reformer, and from prejudice, from ignorance, or from inattention, have exhibited a distorted caricature instead of a genuine portrait.

I was encouraged to prosecute my design, in consequence of my possessing a manuscript volume of Knox's Letters, which throw considerable light upon his character and history. The advantages which I have derived from this volume will appear in the

course of the work, where it is quoted under the general title of *MS. Letters.*[1]

The other manuscripts which I have chiefly made use of, are Calderwood's large History of the Church of Scotland, Row's History, and Wodrow's Collections. Calderwood's History, besides much valuable information respecting the early period of the Reformation, contains a collection of letters written by Knox between 1559 and 1572, which, together with those in my possession, extended over twenty years of the most active period of his life. I have carefully consulted this history as far as it relates to the period of which I write. The copy which I most frequently quote belongs to the Church of Scotland. In the Advocates' Library, besides a complete copy of that work, there is a folio volume of it, reaching to the end of the year 1572. It was written in 1634, and has a number of interlineations and marginal alterations, differing from the other copies, which, if not made by the author's own hand, were most probably done under his eye. I have sometimes quoted this copy. The reader will easily discern when this is the case, as the references to it are made merely by the year under which the transaction is recorded, the volume not being paged.

Row, in composing the early part of his Historie of the Kirk, had the assistance of Memoirs written by David Ferguson, his father-in-law, who was admitted minister of Dunfermline at the establishment of the Reformation. Copies of this History seem to have been taken before the author had put the finishing hand to it, which may account for the additional matter to be found in some of them. I have occasionally quoted the copy which belongs to the Divinity Library in Edinburgh, but more frequently a copy

[1] See an account of this MS., p. 415.

transcribed in 1726, which is more full than any other that I have had access to see.

The industrious Wodrow had amassed a valuable collection of manuscripts relating to the ecclesiastical history of Scotland, the greater part of which is now deposited in our public libraries. In the library of the University of Glasgow there is a number of volumes in folio, containing collections which he had made for illustrating the lives of the Scottish reformers and divines of the sixteenth century. These have supplied me with some interesting facts, and are quoted under the name of Wodrow MSS. in Bibl. Coll. Glas.

For the transactions of the General Assembly, I have consulted the Register commonly called the Book of the Universal Kirk. There are several copies of this manuscript in the country; but that which is followed in this work, and which is the oldest that I have examined, belongs to the Advocates' Library.

I have endeavoured to avail myself of the printed histories of the period, and of books published in the age of the Reformation, which often incidentally mention facts that are not recorded by historians. In the Advocates' Library, which contains an invaluable treasure of information respecting Scottish affairs, I had an opportunity of examining the original editions of most of the Reformer's works. The rarest of all his tracts is the narrative of his Disputation with the Abbot of Crossraguel, which scarcely any writer since Knox's time seems to have seen. After I had given up all hopes of procuring a sight of this curious tract, I was accidentally informed that a copy of it was in the library of Alexander Boswell, Esq. of Auchinleck, who very politely communicated it to me.

In pointing out the sources which I have consulted, I wish not to be understood as intimating that the reader may expect in the following work much information which is absolutely new. He who engages in researches of this kind, must lay his account with finding the result of his discoveries reduced within a small compass, and should be prepared to expect that many of his readers will pass over with a cursory eye what he has procured with great, perhaps with unnecessary labour. The principal facts respecting the Reformation and the Reformer are already known. I flatter myself, however, that I have been able to place some of these facts in a new and more just light, and to bring forward others which have not hitherto been generally known.

The reader will find the authorities, upon which I have proceeded in the statement of facts, carefully marked; but my object was rather to be select than numerous in my references. When I had occasion to introduce facts which have been often repeated in histories, and are already established and unquestionable, I did not reckon it necessary to be so particular in producing the authorities.

After so many writers of biography have incurred the charge either of uninteresting generality, or of tedious prolixity, it would betray great arrogance were I to presume that I had approached to the due medium. I have particularly felt the difficulty, in writing the life of a public character, of observing the line which divides biography from general history. Desirous of giving unity to the narrative, and at the same time anxious to convey information respecting the ecclesiastical and literary history of the period, I have separated a number of facts and illustrations of this description, and placed them in notes at the end of the Life. I am not without apprehensions that I may have exceeded in the

number or length of these notes, and that some readers may think, that, in attempting to relieve one part of the work, I have overloaded another.

No apology will, I trust, be deemed necessary for the freedom with which I have expressed my sentiments on the public questions which naturally occurred in the course of the narrative. Some of these are at variance with opinions which are popular in the present age; but it does not follow from this that they are false, or that they should have been suppressed. I have not become the indiscriminate panegyrist of the Reformer, nor have I concealed or thrown into shade his faults; but, on the other hand, the apprehension of incurring these charges has not deterred me from vindicating him wherever I considered his conduct to be justifiable, or from apologising for him against uncandid and exaggerated censures. The attacks which have been made on his character from so many quarters, and the attempts to wound the Reformation through him, must be my excuse for having so often adopted the language of apology.

In the Appendix I have inserted a number of Knox's letters, and other papers relative to that period, none of which, as far as I know, have formerly been published. Several others, intended for insertion in the same place, have been kept back, as the work has swelled to a greater size than was expected. A very scarce Poem, written in commendation of the Reformer, and published in the year after his death, is reprinted in the Supplement.

The prefixed portrait of Knox is engraved from a painting in the possession of the Right Honourable Lord Torphichen, with the use of which, his Lordship, in the most obliging manner, favoured

the publishers. There is every reason to think that it is a genuine likeness, as it strikingly agrees with the print of our Reformer which Beza, who was personally acquainted with him, published in his *Icones*.[1] There is a small brass medal, which has on one side a bust of Knox, and on the other the following inscription :— JOANNES KNOXUS SCOTUS THEOLOGUS ECCLESIÆ EDIMBURGENSIS PASTOR. OBIIT EDIMBURGI AN. 1572. ÆT. 57. It appears to have been executed at a period much later than the Reformer's death. There is an error of ten years as to his age ; and as Beza has fallen into the same mistake, it is not improbable that the inscription was copied from his *Icones*, and that the medal was struck on the Continent.

EDINBURGH, *November* 14, 1811.

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[1] In place of this portrait, which is at best a harsh and disagreeable likeness, and is supposed to have been painted at least a century after Knox's death, it has been deemed advisable to give in this new edition of Dr M'Crie's Works a fac-simile of another engraving, which is considered by competent judges to be much superior. It is taken from Verheiden's "Præstantium aliquot Theologorum, &c., Effigies," published at the Hague in 1602, and is supposed by Mr David Laing to be merely an improved copy from that of Beza in his *Icones*. He adds, that "it does not retain the expressive character of the ruder engraving, although the late Sir David Wilkie, whose opinion in such matters was second to none, was inclined to prefer that of Verheiden to any at least of the later portraits of the Reformer, and obtained it for the purpose of copying Knox's likeness in his unfinished but exquisite design of 'Knox dispensing the Sacrament.' His previous painting of 'Knox preaching to the Lords of the Congregation' is sadly disfigured by the extravagant action and expression of the Reformer."—(Advertisement to "Works of John Knox," edited by Mr David Laing, pp. viii., ix.)—EDITOR.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

In preparing this work for a second impression, I have endeavoured carefully to correct mistakes which had escaped me in the first, both as to matter and language. I have introduced accounts of the principal public transactions of the period, which a desire of being concise induced me formerly to exclude, but which serve to throw light on the exertions of the Reformer, and ought to be known by those who read his Life. And I have entered into a more full detail of several parts of his conduct than was practicable within the limits of a single volume. Such additional authorities, printed or manuscript, as I have had access to, since the publication of the former edition, have been diligently consulted ; and I flatter myself that the alterations and additions which these have enabled me to make, will be considered as improvements.

I have added to the Supplement a number of original Latin Poems on the principal characters mentioned in the course of the work, which may not be unacceptable to the learned reader.

EDINBURGH, *March* 1, 1813.

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE FIFTH EDITION.

Besides the additional matter introduced into the Fourth Edition, the present contains a variety of new facts and documents, the most interesting of which will be found in the Note concerning Scottish Martyrs. The portrait of the Regent Moray, engraved for this edition, is taken from the original in Holyrood Palace.[1]

EDINBURGH, *February* 14, 1831.

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[1] This portrait has been omitted in the present Edition.—EDITOR.

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THE

LIFE OF JOHN KNOX.

PERIOD I.

FROM THE YEAR 1505, IN WHICH HE WAS BORN, TO THE YEAR 1542, WHEN HE EMBRACED THE REFORMED RELIGION.

JOHN KNOX was born in the year one thousand five hundred and five. The place of his nativity has been disputed. That he was born at Gifford, a village in East Lothian, has long been the prevailing opinion; but some late writers, relying upon popular tradition, have fixed his birthplace at Haddington, the principal town of the county. The house in which he is said to have been born is still shown by the inhabitants, in one of the suburbs of the town, called the Gifford-gate. This house, with some adjoining acres of land, continued to be possessed, until about fifty years ago, by a family of the name of Knox, who claimed affinity with the Reformer. I am inclined, however, to prefer the opinion of the oldest and most credible writers, that he was born in the village of Gifford.[1]

His father was descended from an ancient and respectable family, who possessed the lands of Knock, Ranferly, and Craigends, in the shire of Renfrew. The descendants of this family have been accustomed to enumerate among the honours of their house, that it gave birth to the Scottish Reformer, a bishop of Raphoe, and a bishop of the Isles.[2] At what particular period his paternal ancestors removed from their original seat, and settled in Lothian, I have not been able exactly to ascertain. His mother's name was Sinclair.[3]

[1] See Note A.

[2] Nisbet's Heraldry, p. 180. Crawfurd's Renfrew, by Semple, Part II. pp. 30, 139. Account of Knox, prefixed to his Historie, anno 1732, page ii. Keith's Scottish Bishops, p. 177.

[3] In times of persecution or war, when there was a risk of his letters being intercepted, the Reformer was accustomed to subscribe "John Sinclair." Under this signature at one of them, in the collection of letters in my possession, is the following note: "Yis was his mother's surname, wlk he wrait in time of trubill." MS. Letters, p. 346.

Obscurity of parentage can reflect no dishonour upon the man who has raised himself to distinction by his virtues and talents. But though our Reformer's parents were neither great nor opulent, the assertion of some writers that they were in poor circumstances, is contradicted by facts.[1] They were able to give their son a liberal education, which, in that age, was far from being common. In his youth he was put to the grammar school of Haddington; and, after he had acquired the principles of the Latin language, his father sent him, in the year 1521, to the University of Glasgow.[2]

The state of learning in Scotland at that period, and the progress which it made in the subsequent part of the century, have not been examined with the attention which they deserve, and which has been bestowed on contemporaneous objects of inferior importance. There were unquestionably learned Scotsmen in the early part of the sixteenth century; but most of them owed their chief acquirements to the advantage of a foreign education. Those improvements which the revival of literature had introduced into the schools of Italy and France, were long in reaching the universities of Scotland, though originally formed upon their model; and, when they did arrive, they were regarded with a suspicious eye, and discountenanced by the clergy. The principal branches cultivated in our universities were the Aristotelian philosophy, scholastic theology, and canon law.[3]

Even in the darkest ages, Scotland was never altogether destitute of schools for teaching the Latin language.[4] It is probable that these were at first attached to monasteries; and it was long a common practice among the barons to board their children with the monks for their education.[5] When the regular clergy had degenerated, and learning was no longer confined to them, grammar schools were erected in the principal towns, and taught by persons who had qualified themselves for this task in the best manner that the circumstances of the country admitted. The schools of Aberdeen, Perth, Stirling, Dumbarton, Killearn, and Haddington, are particularly mentioned in writings about the beginning of the sixteenth century. The two first of these acquired the greatest celebrity, owing to the skill of the masters who presided

[1] See Note A.

[2] See Note B. Beza (Icones Virorum Illustrium, Ec. iij. anno 1580) and Verheiden (Effigies et Elogia Præstant. Theolog. p. 92. Hagæcomit. 1602) say that Knox was educated at the University of St Andrews.

[3] Boetii Vitæ Episcopor. Murthlac. et Aberdon. fol. xxix. col. cum fol. xxvi—xxviii. Impress. anno 1522. This little work is of great value, and contains almost the only authentic notices which we possess, as to the state of learning in Scotland, about the beginning of the sixteenth century. Mackenzie, the copier of the fabulous Dempster, (who gives an account of learned men that never existed, and of books that no man ever saw, or could see), talks of almost every writer whom he mentions, as finishing "the course of his studies in the Belles Lettres and Philosophy," in one of the Scots universities. These are merely words of course. The Aristotelian rules concerning rhetoric were taught by the professors of scholastic philosophy; but it does not appear that stated lectures of this kind were read, until the time of the Reformation, when they were appointed to be regularly delivered in the colleges. First Book of Discipline, pp. 40, 42, edit. anno 1621.

[4] In the twelfth century, there was a school at Abernethy and at Roxburgh. Sir James Dalrymple's Collections, pp. 226, 255. Other schools in that and the subsequent century are mentioned in charters, apud Chalmers's Caledonia, i. 76.

[5] Caledonia, i. 768.

over them. In the year 1520, John Vaus was rector of the school of Aberdeen, and is commended by Hector Boece, the learned principal of the university, for his knowledge of the Latin tongue, and his success in the education of youth.[1] At a period somewhat later, Andrew Simson acted as master of the school of Perth, where he taught Latin with applause. He had sometimes three hundred boys under his charge at once, including sons of the principal nobility and gentry; and from his school proceeded many of those who afterwards distinguished themselves both in Church and State.[2]

These schools afforded the means of instruction in the Latin tongue, the knowledge of which, in some degree, was requisite for enabling the clergy to perform the religious service. But the Greek language, long after it had been enthusiastically studied on the Continent, and after it had become a fixed branch of education in the neighbouring kingdom, continued to be almost unknown in Scotland. Individuals acquired the knowledge of it abroad; but the first attempts to teach it in this country were of a private nature, and exposed their authors to the suspicion of heresy. The town of Montrose is distinguished by being the first place, as far as I have been able to discover, in which Greek was taught in Scotland; and John Erskine of Dun is entitled to the honour of being regarded as the first of his countrymen who patronised the study of that elegant and useful language. As early as the year 1534, this enlightened and public-spirited baron, on returning from his travels, brought with him a Frenchman skilled in the Greek tongue, whom he settled in Montrose; and upon his removal, he liberally encouraged others to come from France and succeed to his place. From this private seminary many Greek scholars proceeded, and the knowledge of the language was gradually diffused over the kingdom.[3] After this statement, I need scarcely add, that the Oriental tongues were at this time utterly unknown in Scotland. I shall afterwards have occasion to notice the introduction of the study of Hebrew.

Knox acquired the Greek language before he arrived at middle age; but we find him acknowledging, as late as the year 1550, that he was ignorant of Hebrew,[4] a defect in his education which he exceedingly

[1] Boetii Vitæ, fol. xxx. Vaus was the author of "Rudimenta Artis Grammaticæ per Jo. Vaus Scotvm Selecta—Edinbvrgi Excudebat Robertus Lekpreuik, Anno Do. 1566." 4to. This was probably another edition of the work printed by Jod. Bad. Ascensius, Paris, 1522.

[2] Row's History of the Kirk of Scotland, MS. pp. 3, 4. Simson taught at Perth between 1550 and 1560. At the establishment of the Reformation, he became minister of Dunning and Cargill, from which he was translated, in 1566, to Dunbar, where he sustained the double office of minister of the parish, and master of the grammar school. He was the author of the Latin Rudiments, which continued to be taught in the schools of Scotland until the time of Ruddiman, and were much esteemed by that accomplished scholar. Row, *ut supra*. Keith's History, p. 534. Chalmers's Life of Ruddiman, pp. 21, 22, 63.

[3] Life of John Erskine of Dun, p. 2, in Wodrow MSS. vol. i. Bibl. Coll. Glas. This industrious collector had access to some of Erskine's papers, when employed in compiling his life. Additional facts respecting the early state of Greek literature in Scotland will be found in Note C.

[4] "In the Hebrew toung," (says Knox, in his defence before the Bishop of Durham), "I confess myself ignorant, but have, as God knaweth, fervent thirst to have sum entrance thairin." MS. Letters, p. 16.

lamented, and which he afterwards got supplied during his exile on the Continent.

John Mair, better known by his Latin name, Major, was professor of philosophy and theology at Glasgow, when Knox attended the university. The minds of young men, and their future train of thinking, often receive an important direction from the master under whom they are educated, especially if his reputation be high. Major was at that time deemed an oracle in the sciences which he taught; and as he was the preceptor of Knox, and of the celebrated scholar Buchanan,[1] it may be proper to advert to some of his opinions. He had received the greater part of his education in France, and acted for some time as a professor in the University of Paris, where he acquired a more liberal habit of thinking and expressing himself on certain subjects, than was yet to be met with in his native country, and in other parts of Europe. He had imbibed the sentiments concerning ecclesiastical polity, maintained by John Gerson and Peter D'Ailly, who so ably defended the decrees of the Council of Constance, and the liberties of the Gallican Church, against the advocates for the uncontrollable authority of the Sovereign Pontiff. He taught that a General Council was superior to the pope, and might judge, rebuke, restrain, and even depose him from his dignity; denied the temporal supremacy of the bishop of Rome, and his right to inaugurate or dethrone princes; maintained that ecclesiastical censures, and even papal excommunications, had no force, if pronounced on irrelevant or invalid grounds; he held that tithes were not of divine right, but merely of human appointment; censured the avarice, ambition, and secular pomp of the Court of Rome, and of the Episcopal order; was no warm friend of the regular clergy; and advised the reduction of monasteries and holydays.[2]

His opinions respecting civil governments were analogous to those which he held as to ecclesiastical polity. He taught that the authority of kings and princes was originally derived from the people; that the former are not superior to the latter, collectively considered: that if rulers become tyrannical, or employ their power for the destruction of their subjects, they may lawfully be controlled by them, and proving incorrigible, may be deposed by the community as the superior power; and that tyrants may be judicially proceeded against, even to capital punishments.[3]

The affinity between these sentiments, and the political principles afterwards avowed by Knox, and defended by the classic pen of Buchanan, is too striking to require illustration. Some of them, indeed, had been taught by at least one Scottish author, who flourished

[1] Major had come to St Andrews in 1523. The Records of that University show that Buchanan was not of St Salvator's College, but of St Mary's. It is probable that Major at that time taught in this College; and it was not until 1533 that he became provost, or principal, of St Salvator's.

[2] These sentiments are collected from his Commentaries on the Third Book of the Master of Sentences, and from his Exposition of Matthew's Gospel; printed in Latin at Paris, the former in 1517, and the latter in 1518.

[3] See Note D.

before the time of Major; but it is most probable that the oral instructions and writings of their master first suggested to them the sentiments which they so readily adopted, and which were afterwards confirmed by mature reflection, and more extensive reading; and that, consequently, the important changes which these contributed to accomplish, should be traced, in a certain measure, to this distinguished professor. Nor, in such circumstances, could his ecclesiastical opinions fail to have a proportionate share of influence on their habits of thinking with respect to religion and the Church.

But though, in these respects, the opinions of Major were more free and rational than those generally entertained at that time, it must be confessed, that the portion of instruction which his scholars could derive from him was extremely small, if we allow his publications to be a fair specimen of his academical prelections. Many of the questions which he discusses are utterly useless and trifling; the rest are rendered disgusting by the most servile adherence to all the minutiæ of the scholastic mode of reasoning. The reader of his works must be content with painfully picking a grain of truth from the rubbish of many pages; nor will the drudgery be compensated by those discoveries of inventive genius and acute discrimination, for which the writings of Aquinas, and some others of that subtle school, may still deserve to be consulted. Major is entitled to praise, for exposing to his countrymen several of the more glaring errors and abuses of his time; but his mind was deeply tinctured with superstition, and he defended some of the absurdest tenets of popery by the most ridiculous and puerile arguments.[1] His talents were moderate; with the writings of the ancients he appears to have been acquainted only through the medium of the collectors of the middle ages; nor does he ever hazard an opinion, or pursue a speculation, beyond the limits which had been marked out by some approved doctor of the Church. Add to this, that his style is, to an uncommon degree, harsh and forbidding: "exile, aridum, conscissum, ac minutum."

Knox and Buchanan soon became disgusted with such studies, and began to seek entertainment more gratifying to their ardent and inquisitive minds. Having set out in search of knowledge, they released themselves from the trammels, and overleaped the boundaries, prescribed to them by their timid conductor. Each following the native bent of his genius and inclination, they separated in the prosecution of their studies. Buchanan, indulging in a more excursive range, explored the extensive fields of literature, and wandered in the flowery mead of

[1] Lord Hailes, having given an example of this, adds, "After this, can Buchanan be censured for saying that he was 'solo cognomine *Major?*'" (Provincial Councils of the Scottish Clergy, p. 11.) By the way, it was Major who first said this of himself. It was the sight of these words, "Joannes, solo cognomino Major," in the dedicatory epistle to his writings, that drew from Buchanan the satirical lines which have been so often appealed to by his enemies, as an infallible proof of the badness of his heart. If fault there was in this, we may certainly make the apology which his learned editor produces for him in another case, "Non tam hominis vitium, quam poetæ." Poets and wits cannot always spare their best friends.

poesy; while Knox, passing through the avenues of secular learning, devoted himself to the study of divine truth, and the labours of the sacred ministry. Both, however, kept uniformly in view the advancement of true religion and liberty, with the love of which they were equally smitten; and as, during their lives, they suffered a long and painful exile, and were exposed to many dangers, for adherence to this kindred cause, so their memories have not been divided in the profuse but honourable obloquy with which they have been aspersed by its enemies, and in the deserved and grateful recollections of its genuine friends.[1]

But we must not suppose that Knox was able at once to divest himself of the prejudices of his education and of the times. Barren and repulsive as the scholastic studies appear to our minds, there was something in the intricate and subtle sophistry then in vogue calculated to fascinate the youthful and ingenious mind. It had a show of wisdom; it exercised, although it did not enrich the understanding; it even gave play to the imagination, while it served to flatter the pride of the learned adept. Once involved in the mazy labyrinth, it was no easy task to break through it, and to escape into the open field of rational and free inquiry. Accordingly, Knox continued for some time captivated with these studies, and prosecuted them with great success. After he was created master of arts, he taught philosophy, most probably as a regent of one of the classes in the university.[2] His class became celebrated; and he was considered as equalling, if not excelling, his master in the subtleties of the dialectic art.[3] About the same time, although he had no interest but what was procured by his own merit, he was advanced to clerical orders, and was ordained a priest, before he reached the age fixed by the canons of the Church.[4] This must have taken place previous to the year 1530, at which time he had arrived at his twenty-fifth year, the canonical age for receiving ordination.

It was not long, however, till his studies received a new direction, which led to a complete revolution in his religious sentiments, and had an important influence on the whole of his future life. Not satisfied with the excerpts from ancient authors, which he found in the writings of the scholastic divines and canonists, he resolved to have recourse to

[1] Buchanan always mentions Knox in terms of high respect, Oper. ed Ruddiman. pp. 313, 321, 366. And the Reformer, in his Historie, has borne testimony to the virtues as well as splendid talents of the Poet: "That notable man, Mr George Bucquhanane —remains alyve to this day, in the yeir of God 1566 years, to the glory of God, to the gret honour of this natioun, and to the comfort of thame that delyte in letters and vertew. That singulare wark of David's Psalmes, in Latin meetre and poesie, besyd mony uther, can witness the rare graiees of God gevin to that man." Historie, p. 24.

[2] D. Buchanan's Life of Knox. Mackenzie's Lives, iii. 111. Although I have followed the common accounts, I have great doubts if Knox was made Master of Arts. It was usual to put Mr before the names of those who had been laureated, but I have never seen this title prefixed to his name in any old record.

[3] "In hac igitur Anthropotheologia egregie versatus Cnoxus, eandem et magna autoritate docuit: visusque fuit magistro suo (si qua in subtilitate felicitas), in quibusdam felicior." Verheiden, Effigies et Elogia Præstant. Theolog. p 92. Hagæcomit. 1602. Bezæ Icones, Ee. iij. Melch. Adami Vitæ Theolog. Exter. p. 137. Francofurti, 1618.

[4] See Note E.

the original works. In them he found a method of investigating and communicating truth to which he had hitherto been a stranger, and the simplicity of which recommended itself to his mind, in spite of the prejudices of education and the pride of superior attainments in his own favourite art. Among the fathers of the Christian Church, Jerome and Augustine attracted his particular attention. By the writings of the former, he was led to the Scriptures as the only pure fountain of divine truth, and instructed in the utility of studying them in the original languages. In the works of the latter, he found religious sentiments very opposite to those taught in the Romish Church, who, while she retained his name as a saint in her calendar, had banished his doctrine, as heretical, from her pulpits. From this time, he renounced the study of scholastic theology; and although not yet completely emancipated from superstition, his mind was fitted for improving the means which Providence had prepared for leading him to a fuller and more comprehensive view of the system of evangelical religion. It was about the year 1535 when this favourable change commenced;[1] but it does not appear that he professed himself a Protestant before the year 1542.

As I am now to enter upon that period of Knox's life at which he renounced the Roman Catholic communion and commenced Reformer, it may not be improper to take a survey of the state of religion in Scotland at that time. Without an adequate knowledge of this, it is impossible to form a just estimate of the necessity and importance of that Reformation, in the advancement of which he laboured with so great zeal; and nothing has contributed so much to give currency, among Protestants, to prejudices against his character, as ignorance, or a superficial consideration of the enormous and almost incredible abuses which then prevailed in the Church. This must be my apology for a digression which might otherwise be deemed superfluous or disproportionate.

The corruptions by which the Christian religion was universally disfigured, before the Reformation, had grown to a greater height in Scotland than in any other nation within the pale of the Western Church. Superstition and religious imposture, in their grossest forms, gained an easy admission among a rude and ignorant people. By means of these, the clergy attained to an exorbitant degree of opulence and power; which were accompanied, as they always have been, with the corruption of their order, and of the whole system of religion.

The full half of the wealth of the nation belonged to the clergy; and the greater part of this was in the hands of a few individuals, who had the command of the whole body. Avarice, ambition, and the love of secular pomp, reigned among the superior orders. Bishops and abbots

[1] Bezæ Icones, Verheidenii Effigies, Melchior Adam; *ut supra.* Spotswood's History, p. 265. Lond. 1677.

rivalled the first nobility in magnificence, and preceded them in honours: they were Privy-Councillors, and Lords of Session as well as of Parliament, and had long engrossed the principal offices of state. A vacant bishopric or abbacy called forth powerful competitors, who contended for it as for a principality or petty kingdom; it was obtained by similar arts, and not unfrequently taken possession of by the same weapons.[1] Inferior benefices were openly put to sale, or bestowed on the illiterate and unworthy minions of courtiers; on dice-players, strolling bards, and the bastards of bishops.[2] Pluralities were multiplied without bounds, and benefices, given *in commendam*, were kept vacant during the life of the commendator—nay, sometimes during several lives;[3] so that extensive parishes were frequently deprived, for a long course of years, of all religious service,—if a deprivation it could be called, at a time when the cure of souls was no longer regarded as attached to livings originally endowed for that purpose. The bishops never, on any occasion, condescended to preach; indeed, I scarcely recollect an instance of it, mentioned in history, from the erection of the regular Scottish Episcopacy down to the era of the Reformation.[4] The practice had even gone into desuetude among all the secular clergy, and was wholly devolved on the mendicant monks, who employed it for the most mercenary purposes.[5]

The lives of the clergy, exempted from secular jurisdiction, and corrupted by wealth and idleness, were become a scandal to religion, and an outrage on decency. While they professed chastity, and prohibited, under the severest penalties, any of the ecclesiastical order from contracting lawful wedlock, the bishops set an example of the most shameless profligacy before the inferior clergy; avowedly kept their harlots, provided their natural sons with benefices, and gave their daughters in marriage to the sons of the nobility and principal gentry, many of whom

[1] During the minority of James V. the celebrated Gawin Douglas was recommended by the Queen to the archbishopric of St Andrews; but John Hepburn, prior of the regular canons, opposed the nomination, and took the archiepiscopal palace by storm. Douglas afterwards laid siege to the cathedral of Dunkeld, and carried it, more by the thunder of his cannon, than the dread of the excommunication which he threatened to fulminate against his antagonist. Buch. Hist. xiii. 44. Spotsw. 61. Life of Gawin Douglas, prefixed to his translation of the Æneid; Ruddiman's edition.

[2] Sir David Lyndsay's Works by Chalmers, i. 344; ii. 237, 238. Winzet, and Kennedy; apud Keith, App. 488, 504.

[3] The Popes were accustomed to grant liberty to the commendators to dispose of benefices which they held by this tenure, to others who should succeed to them after their death. Introduction to Scots Biography, in Wodrow MSS. vol. ix. p. 171; Bibl. Coll. Glas. So late as anno 1534, Clement VII. granted *in commendam*, to his nephew Hypolitus, Cardinal de Medici, ALL the benefices in the world, secular and regular, dignities and parsonages, simple and with cure, being vacant, for six months; with power to dispose of all their fruits, and convert them to his own use. Father Paul's History of the Council of Trent, lib. i. p. 251. Lond. 1620.

[4] One exception occurs, and must not be omitted. When George Wishart was preaching in Ayr, Dunbar, archbishop of Glasgow, took possession of the pulpit, in order to exclude the Reformer. Some of the more zealous hearers would have dispossessed the bishop, but Wishart would not suffer them. "The bishope preichit to his jackmen, and to some auld boisses of the toun. The soum of all his sermone was, They scy, we sould preiche: Quhy not? Better lait thryve nor nevir thryve. Had us still for your bishope, and we sall provyde better the nixt tyme." Knox, Historie, p. 44.

[5] War not the preiching of the begging freiris,
Tint war the faith among the seculeiris.
Lyndsay, *ut supra*, i. 343, comp. ii. 101.

were so mean as to contaminate the blood of their families by such base alliances for the sake of the rich doweries which they brought.[1]

Through the blind devotion and munificence of princes and nobles, monasteries, those nurseries of superstition and idleness, had greatly multiplied in the nation ; and though they had universally degenerated, and were notoriously become the haunts of lewdness and debauchery, it was deemed impious and sacrilegious to reduce their number, abridge their privileges, or alienate their funds.[2] The kingdom swarmed with ignorant, idle, luxurious monks, who, like locusts, devoured the fruits of the earth, and filled the air with pestilential infection ; with friars, white, black, and grey ; canons regular, and of St Anthony, Carmelites, Carthusians, Cordeliers, Dominicans, Franciscan Conventuals, and Observantines, Jacobins, Premonstratensians, monks of Tyrone, and of Vallis Caulium, and Hospitallers, or Holy Knights of St John of Jerusalem ; nuns of St Austin, St Clair, St Scholastica, and St Catherine of Sienna, with canonesses of various clans.[3]

The ignorance of the clergy respecting religion was as gross as the dissoluteness of their morals. Even bishops were not ashamed to confess that they were unacquainted with the canon of their faith, and had never read any part of the sacred Scriptures, except what they met with in their missals.[4] Under such masters the people perished for lack of knowledge. That book, which was able to make them wise unto salvation, and intended to be equally accessible to "Jew and Greek, Barbarian and Scythian, bond and free," was locked up from them, and the

[1] Lord Hailes's Notes on Ancient Scottish Poems, pp. 249, 250, 297, 309. We need not appeal to the testimony of the reformers, nor to satirical poems published at that time, in proof of the extreme profligacy of the popish clergy. The truth is registered in the Acts of Parliament, and in the decrees of their own councils, (Wilkins, Concil. tom. iv. pp. 46—60. Keith's Hist. pref. xiv. and p. 14), in the records of legitimation, (Lord Hailes, *ut supra*, pp. 249, 250), and in the confessions of their own writers. (Kennedy and Winzet, apud Keith, append. 202, 205—7. Lesley, Hist. 232. Father Alexander Baillie's True Information of the Unhallowed Offspring, &c. of our Scottish Calvinian Gospel, pp. 15, 16 ; Wirtzburg, anno 1628.)

[2] In consequence of a very powerful confederacy against the religious knights, called Templars, and upon charges of the most flagitious crimes, that order was suppressed by a general council, anno 1312 ; but their possessions were conferred upon another order of sacred knights. The plenitude of papal power was stretched to the very utmost, in this dread attempt : "Quanquam," says his holiness in the bull, "de jure non possumus, tamen ad plenitudinem potestatis dictum ordinem reprobamus." Walsingham, Histor. Angl. p. 99. When the Gilbertine monks retired from Scotland, because the air of the country did not agree with them, their revenues were, upon their resignation, transferred to the monastery of Paisley. Keith's Scottish Bishops, p. 266.

[3] See Note F.

[4] Fox, p. 1153, printed anno 1596. Chalmers's Lyndsay, ii. 62, 63, 64. Lord Hailes, Provincial Councils of the Scottish Clergy, p. 30. Sir Ralph Sadler's testimony to the clergy as the only men of learning about the court of James V. may seem to contradict what I have asserted. But Sadler speaks of their talents for political management, and in the same letters gives a proof of their ignorance in other respects. The clergy, at that time, made law their principal study, and endeavoured to qualify themselves for offices of State. This, however, engaged their whole attention, and they were grossly ignorant in their own profession. Sadler's State Papers, i. 47, 48 ; Edin. 1809. Knox, Historie, p. 18.

Andrew Forman, bishop of Moray, and papal legate for Scotland, being obliged to say grace, at an entertainment which he gave to the pope and cardinals in Rome, blundered so in his latinity, that his holiness and their eminences lost their gravity, which so disconcerted the bishop, that he concluded the blessing by giving all the false carles to the devil, *in nomine patris, filii, et sancti spiritus ;* to which the company, not understanding his Scoto-Latin, said Amen. "The holy bishop," says Pitscottie, "was not a good scholar, and had not good Latin." History, p. 106.

use of it in their own tongue prohibited under the heaviest penalties. The religious service was mumbled over in a dead language, which many of the priests did not understand, and some of them could scarcely read; and the greatest care was taken to prevent even catechisms, composed and approved by the clergy, from coming into the hands of the laity.[1]

Scotland, from her local situation, had been less exposed to disturbance from the encroaching ambition, the vexatious exactions, and fulminating anathemas of the Vatican court, than the countries in the immediate vicinity of Rome. But, from the same cause, it was more easy for the domestic clergy to keep up on the minds of the people that excessive veneration for the Holy See, which could not be long felt by those who had the opportunity of witnessing its vices and worldly politics.[2] The burdens which attended a state of dependence upon a remote foreign jurisdiction were severely felt. Though the popes did not enjoy the power of presenting to the Scottish prelacies, they wanted not numerous pretexts for interfering with them. The most important causes of a civil nature, which the ecclesiastical courts had contrived to bring within their jurisdiction, were frequently carried to Rome. Large sums of money were annually exported out of the kingdom, for the confirmation of benefices, the conducting of appeals, and many other purposes; in exchange for which were received leaden bulls, woollen palls, wooden images, old bones, and similar articles of precious consecrated mummery.[3]

Of the doctrine of Christianity almost nothing remained but the name. Instead of being directed to offer up their adorations to one God, the people were taught to divide them among an innumerable company of inferior divinities. A plurality of mediators shared the honour of procuring the divine favour with the "one Mediator between God and man;" and more petitions were presented to the Virgin Mary, and other saints, than to "Him whom the Father heareth always." The sacrifice of the mass was represented as procuring forgiveness of sins to the living and the dead, to the infinite disparagement of the sacrifice by which Jesus Christ expiated sin and procured everlasting redemption; and the consciences of men were withdrawn from faith in the merits of their Saviour to a delusive reliance upon priestly absolu-

[1] Wilkins, Concilia, tom. iv. 72. Lord Hailes's Provincial Councils of the Scottish Clergy, p. 36.

[2] Luther often mentioned to his familiar acquaintances the advantage which he derived from a visit to Rome in 1510, and used to say, that he would not exchange that journey for 1000 florins; so much did it contribute to open his eyes to the corruptions of the Romish Court, and to weaken his prejudices. Melchior. Adami Vitæ Germ. Theol. p. 104. Erasmus had a sensation of the same kind, although weaker. John Rough, one of the Scottish Reformers, felt in a similar way, after visiting Rome. Fox, p. 1841.

[3] Notwithstanding laws repeatedly made to restrain persons from going to Rome, to obtain benefices, the practice was greatly on the increase about the time of the Reformation.

> It is schort time sen ony benefice
> Was sped in Rome, except great bishoprics;
> But now, for ane unworthy vickarage,
> A priest will rin to Rome in Pilgrimage.
> Ane cavill quhilk was never at the scule
> Will rin to Rome, and keep ane bischopis mule:
> And syne come hame with mony a colorit crack,
> With ane burdin of beneficis on his back.
>
> CHALMERS's "Lyndsay," ii. 60.

tions, papal pardons, and voluntary penances. Instead of being instructed to demonstrate the sincerity of their faith and repentance by forsaking their sins, and to testify their love to God and man by practising the duties of morality, and observing the ordinances of worship authorised by Scripture, they were taught that, if they regularly said their *aves* and *credos*, confessed themselves to a priest, punctually paid their tithes and church-offerings, purchased a mass, went in pilgrimage to the shrine of some celebrated saint, refrained from flesh on Fridays, or performed some other prescribed act of bodily mortification, their salvation was infallibly secured in due time; while those who were so rich and so pious as to build a chapel or an altar, and to endow it for the support of a priest, to perform masses, obits, and dirges, procured a relaxation of the pains of purgatory for themselves or their relations, in proportion to the extent of their liberality. It is difficult for us to conceive how empty, ridiculous, and wretched those harangues were which the monks delivered for sermons. Legendary tales concerning the founder of some religious order, his wonderful sanctity, the miracles which he performed, his combats with the devil, his watchings, fastings, flagellations; the virtues of holy water, chrism, crossing, and exorcism; the horrors of purgatory, and the numbers released from it by the intercession of some powerful saint; these, with low jests, table-talk, and fireside scandal, formed the favourite topics of the preachers, and were served up to the people instead of the pure, salutary, and sublime doctrines of the Bible.[1]

The beds of the dying were besieged, and their last moments disturbed, by avaricious priests, who laboured to extort bequests to themselves or to the Church. Not satisfied with exacting tithes from the living, a demand was made upon the dead: no sooner had the poor husbandman breathed his last, than the rapacious vicar came and carried off his corpse-present, which he repeated as often as death visited the family.[2] Ecclesiastical censures were fulminated against those who were reluctant in making these payments, or who showed themselves disobedient to the clergy; and, for a little money, they were prostituted on the most trifling occasions.[3] Divine service was neglected; and, except on festival days, the churches, in many parts of the country, were no longer employed for sacred purposes, but served as sanctuaries for malefactors, places of traffic, or resorts for pastime.[4]

Persecution, and the suppression of free inquiry, were the only weapons by which its interested supporters were able to defend this system of corruption and imposture. Every avenue by which truth might enter was carefully guarded. Learning was branded as the parent of heresy. The most frightful pictures were drawn of those who had separated from the Romish Church, and held up before the eyes of the people, to

[1] Knox, 14—16. Spotswood, 64, 69. Keith, append. 205. Dalyell's Cursory Remarks, prefixed to Scottish Poems of the Sixteenth Century, i. 16—18. Chalmers's Lyndsay, i. 211.

[2] See Note G.

[3] Knox, Historie, p. 14.

[4] Dalyell's Cursory Remarks, *ut supra*, i. 28.

deter them from imitating their example. If any person, who had attained a degree of illumination amidst the general darkness, began to hint dissatisfaction with the conduct of churchmen, and to propose the correction of abuses, he was immediately stigmatised as a heretic, and, if he did not secure his safety by flight, was immured in a dungeon, or committed to the flames. And when, at last, in spite of all their precautions, the light which was shining around did break in and spread through the nation, the clergy prepared to adopt the most desperate and bloody measures for its extinction.

From this imperfect sketch of the state of religion in this country, we may see how false the representation is which some persons would impose on us; as if popery were a system, erroneous, indeed, but purely speculative, superstitious but harmless, provided it had not been accidentally accompanied with intolerance and cruelty. The very reverse is the truth. It may be safely said, that there is not one of its erroneous tenets, or of its superstitious practices, which was not either originally contrived, or afterwards accommodated, to advance and support some practical abuse; to aggrandise the ecclesiastical order, secure to them immunity from civil jurisdiction, sanctify their encroachments upon secular authorities, vindicate their usurpations upon the consciences of men, cherish implicit obedience to the decisions of the Church, and extinguish free inquiry and liberal science.

It was a system not more repugnant to the religion of the Bible, than incompatible with the legitimate rights of princes, and the independence, liberty, and prosperity of kingdoms; not more destructive to the souls of men, than to domestic and social happiness, and the principles of sound morality. Considerations from every quarter combined in calling aloud for a radical and complete reform. The exertions of every description of persons, of the man of letters, the patriot, the prince, as well as the Christian, each acting in his own sphere for his own interests, with the joint concurrence of all as in a common cause, were urgently required for extirpating abuses, of which all had reason to complain, and for effectuating a revolution, in the advantages of which all would participate. There was, however, no reasonable prospect of accomplishing this, without exposing, in the first place, the falsehood of those notions which have been called speculative. It was principally by means of these that superstition had established its empire over the minds of men; behind them the Romish ecclesiastics had intrenched themselves and defended their usurped prerogatives and possessions; and had any prince or legislature endeavoured to deprive them of these, while the great body of the people remained unenlightened, it would soon have been found that the attempt was premature in itself and replete with danger to those by whom it was made. To the revival of the primitive doctrines and institutions of Christianity, by the preaching and writings of the reformers, and to those controversies by which the popish errors were confuted from Scripture, (for which many modern

philosophers seem to have a thorough contempt), we are chiefly indebted for the overthrow of superstition, ignorance, and despotism ; and, in fact, all the blessings, political and religious, which we enjoy, may be traced to the Reformation from popery.

How grateful should we be to Divine Providence for this happy revolution ! For those persons do but "sport with their own imaginations," who flatter themselves that it must have taken place in the ordinary course of human affairs, and overlook the many convincing proofs of the superintending direction of superior wisdom in the whole combination of circumstances which contributed to bring about the Reformation in this country, as well as throughout Europe. How much are we indebted to those men, who, under God, were the instruments in effecting it, men who cheerfully hazarded their lives to achieve a design which involved the felicity of millions unborn ; who boldly attacked the system of error and corruption, though fortified by popular credulity, by custom, and by laws, fenced with the most dreadful penalties ; and who, having forced the stronghold of superstition, and penetrated the recesses of its temple, tore aside the veil that concealed the monstrous idol which the world had so long ignorantly worshipped, dissolved the spell by which the human mind was bound, and restored it to liberty ! How criminal must those be, who, sitting at ease under the vines and fig-trees, planted by the labours, and watered with the blood of these patriots, discover their disesteem of the invaluable privileges which they inherit, or their ignorance of the expense at which they were purchased, by the most unworthy treatment of those to whom they owe them—misrepresent their actions, calumniate their motives, and load their memories with every species of abuse ![1]

The reformed doctrine had made considerable progress in Scotland before it was embraced by Knox. Patrick Hamilton, a youth of royal lineage,[2] obtained the honour, not conferred upon many of his rank, of first announcing its glad tidings to his countrymen, and of sealing them with his blood. He was born in the year 1504 ; and being designed for the Church by his relations, the abbacy of Ferne was conferred upon him in his childhood, according to a ridiculous custom which prevailed

[1] Patriots have toil'd, and in their country's cause
Bled nobly ; and their deeds, as they deserve,
Receive proud recompense.——
But fairer wreaths are due, though never paid,
To those who, posted at the shrine of truth,
Have fallen in her defence.——
Yet few remember them.——
—— With their names
No bard embalms and sanctifies his song :
And history, so warm on meaner themes,
Is cold on this. She execrates, indeed,
The tyranny that doom'd them to the fire,
But gives the glorious sufferers little praise.
COWPER, *Task*, Book V.

In the margin, Cowper names Hume as chargeable with the injustice which he so feelingly upbraids. While it is painful to think that other historians, since Hume, have exposed themselves to the same censure, it is pleasing to reflect that Cowper is not the only poet who has "sanctified," and, I trust, "embalmed his song," with the praises of these patriots. The reader will easily perceive that I refer to the author of *The Sabbath*.

[2] His father, Sir Patrick Hamilton of Kincavil, was son of Lord Hamilton, who married a sister of King James III. His mother was a daughter of John Duke of Albany, brother to the same monarch. Pinkerton's Hist. of Scotland, ii. 45, 46, 289.

at that period. But, as early as the year 1526, and previous to the breach of Henry VIII. with the Romish see, a gleam of light was, by some unknown means,[1] imparted to his mind, amidst the darkness which brooded around him. His recommendations of ancient literature, at the expense of the philosophy which was then taught in the schools, and the free language which he used in speaking of the corruptions of the Church, had already drawn upon him the suspicions of the clergy, when he resolved to leave Scotland, and to improve his mind by travelling on the Continent. He set out with three attendants, and, attracted by the fame of Luther, repaired to Wittemberg. Luther and Melancthon were highly pleased with his zeal; and, after retaining him a short time with them, they recommended him to the university of Marburg. This university was newly erected by that enlightened prince, Philip, landgrave of Hesse, who had placed at its head the learned and pious Francis Lambert of Avignon. Lambert, who had left his native country, and sacrificed a lucrative situation, from love to the reformed religion, conceived a strong attachment to the young Scotsman, who imbibed his instructions with extraordinary avidity. While he was daily advancing in acquaintance with the Scriptures, Hamilton was seized with an unconquerable desire of imparting to his countrymen the knowledge which he had acquired. In vain did Lambert represent to him the dangers to which he would be exposed; his determination was fixed; and taking along with him a single attendant, he left Marburg, and returned to Scotland.[2]

The clergy did not allow him long time to disseminate his opinions. Pretending to wish a free conference with him, they decoyed him to St Andrews, where he was thrown into prison by Archbishop Beatoun, and committed to the flames on the last day of February 1528, and in the twenty-fourth year of his age. On his trial he defended his opinions with firmness, yet with great modesty; and the mildness, patience, and fortitude which he displayed at the stake, equalled those of the first martyrs of Christianity. He expired with these words in his mouth: "How long, O Lord, shall darkness cover this realm! How long wilt thou suffer this tyranny of men! Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!"[3] "The murder of Hamilton," says a modern historian,[4] "was afterwards avenged in the blood of the nephew and successor of his persecutor;" and the flames in which he expired were, "in the course of one generation, to enlighten all Scotland, and to consume, with avenging fury, the Catholic superstition, the papal power, and the prelacy itself."

[1] There was an act of Parliament, as early as 17th July 1525, prohibiting ships from bringing any books of Luther or his disciples into Scotland, which had always "bene clene of all sic filth and vice." Acta Parliamentorum Scotiæ, vol. ii. p. 295. This renders it highly probable that such books had already been introduced into this country.

[2] F. Lamberti Avenionensis Comment. in Apocalypsin, præfat. anno 1528.

[3] Lambert, *ut supra*. Bezæ Icones Ffj. Fox, 888. Knox, 4—6. Lindsay of Pitscottie's History of Scotland, pp. 133—5; Edin. 1728. This last author gives a very interesting account of Hamilton's trial, but he is wrong as to the year of his martyrdom.

[4] Pinkerton.

The good effects which resulted from the martyrdom of Hamilton soon began to appear. Many of the learned, as well as of the common people, in St Andrews, beheld with deep interest the cruel death of a person of rank, and could not refrain from admiring the heroism with which he endured it. This excited inquiry into the opinions for which he suffered, and the result of inquiry, in many cases, was a conviction of their truth. Gawin Logie, principal of St Leonard's College, was so successful in instilling them into the minds of the students under his care, that it became proverbial to say of any one who was suspected of Lutheranism, that "he had drunk of St Leonard's well."[1] Under the connivance of John Winram, the sub-prior, they also secretly spread among the noviciates of the abbey.[2]

These sentiments were not long confined to St Andrews, and everywhere persons were to be found who held that Patrick Hamilton had died a martyr. Alarmed at the progress of the new opinions, the clergy adopted the most rigorous measures for their extirpation. Strict inquisition was made after heretics; the flames of persecution were kindled in all quarters of the country; and, from 1530 to 1540, many innocent and excellent men suffered the most inhuman death.[3] Henry Forrest, David Straiton, Norman Gourlay, Jerome Russel, Kennedy, Kyllor, Beveridge, Duncan Sympson, Robert Forrester, and Thomas Forrest, were the names of those early martyrs, whose sufferings deserve a more conspicuous place than can be given to them in these pages. A few, whose constancy was overcome by the horrors of the stake, purchased their lives by abjuring their opinions. Numbers made their escape to England and the Continent; among whom were the following learned men, Gawin Logie, Alexander Seatoun, Alexander Aless, John Macbee, John Fife, John Macdowal, John Macbray, George Buchanan, James Harrison, and Robert Richardson.[4] Few of these exiles afterwards returned to their native country. England, Denmark, Germany, France, and even Portugal, offered an asylum to them; and foreign universities and schools enjoyed the benefit of those talents which their bigoted countrymen were incapable of appreciating. To maintain their authority, and to preserve those corruptions from which they derived their wealth, the clergy would willingly have driven into banishment all the learned men in the kingdom, and quenched for ever the light of science in Scotland.

Various causes contributed to prevent these measures from arresting the progress of the truth. Among these the first place is unquestionably due to the circulation of the Scriptures in the vulgar language. Against this the patrons of ignorance had endeavoured to guard with the utmost jealousy. But when the desire of knowledge has once been

[1] Cald. MS. i. 69.

[2] In 1546, Winram having spoken to the bishops in favour of George Wishart, Cardinal Beatoun upbraided him, saying, "Well, sir, and you, we know what a man you are, seven years ago." Pitscottie, 189.

[3] See Note II.

[4] See Note I.

excited among a people, they easily contrive methods of eluding the vigilance of those who would prevent them from gratifying it. By means of merchants who traded from England and the Continent to the ports of Leith, Dundee, and Montrose, Tindall's translations of the Scriptures, with many Protestant books, were imported. These were consigned to persons of tried principles and prudence, who circulated them in private with great industry. One copy of the Bible, or of the New Testament, supplied several families. At the dead hour of night, when others were asleep, they assembled in a private house; the sacred volume was brought from its concealment; and while one read, the rest listened with mute attention. In this way, the knowledge of the Scriptures was diffused, at a period when it does not appear that there was a single public teacher of the truth in Scotland.[1]

Nor must we overlook another means which operated very extensively in alienating the public mind from the established religion. Those who have investigated the causes which led to the Reformation on the Continent, have ascribed a considerable share of influence to the writings of the poets and satirists of the age. Poetry has charms for persons of every description; and in return for the pleasure which it affords them, mankind have in all ages been disposed to allow a greater liberty to poets than to any other class of writers. Strange as it may appear, the poets who flourished before the Reformation used very great freedom with the Church, and there were not wanting many persons of exalted rank who encouraged them in this species of composition. The same individuals who were ready, at the call of the pope and clergy, to undertake a crusade for extirpating heresy, entertained poets who inveighed against the abuses of the court of Rome, and lampooned the religious orders. One day they assisted at an *auto-da-fe*, in which heretics were committed to the flames for the preservation of the Catholic Church; next day they were present at the acting of a pantomime or a play, in which the ministers of that Church were held up to ridicule. Intoxicated with power, and lulled asleep by indolence, the clergy had either overlooked these attacks, or treated them with contempt; it was only from experience that they learned their injurious tendency; and before they made the discovery, the practice had become so common that it could no longer be restrained. This weapon was wielded with much success by the friends of the reformed doctrine in Scotland. Some of their number had acquired great celebrity among their countrymen as poets; and others, who could not lay claim to high poetical merit, possessed a talent for wit and humour. They employed themselves in writing satires, in which the ignorance, the negligence, and the immorality, of the clergy were stigmatised, and the absurdities and superstitions of the popish religion exposed to ridicule. These poetical effusions were easily committed to memory,

[1] Wodrow's MSS. in Bibl. Coll. Glas. vol. of Scotland, vol. i. p. 35. Knox, Historie, i. p. 2. Calderwood's MS. Hist. of the Church p. 22.

and were circulated without the intervention of the press, which was at that time entirely under the control of the bishops. An attack still more bold was made upon the Church. Dramatic compositions, partly written in the same strain, were repeatedly acted in the presence of the royal family, the nobility, and vast assemblies of people, to the great mortification, and the still greater disadvantage, of the clergy. The bishops repeatedly procured the enactment of laws against the circulation of seditious rhymes, and blasphemous ballads; but metrical epistles, moralities, and psalms, in the Scottish language, continued to be read with avidity, notwithstanding prohibitory statutes and legal prosecutions.[1]

In the year 1540, the reformed doctrine could number among its converts, besides a multitude of the common people, many persons of rank and external respectability: among whom were William, Earl of Glencairn; his son Alexander, Lord Kilmaurs; William, Earl of Errol; William, Lord Ruthven; his daughter Lillias, wife of the Master of Drummond; John Stewart, son of Lord Methven; Sir James Sandilands, Sir David Lyndsay, Campbell of Cesnock, Erskine of Dun, Melville of Raith, Balnaves of Halhill, Straiton of Lauriston, with William Johnston, and Robert Alexander, advocates.[2] The early period at which they were enrolled as friends to the Reformation, renders these names more worthy of consideration. It has often been alleged, that the desire of sharing in the rich spoils of the Popish Church, together with the intrigues of the court of England, engaged the Scottish nobles on the side of the reformed religion. At a later period, there is reason to think that this allegation was not altogether groundless. But at the time of which we now speak, the prospect of overturning the Established Church was too distant and uncertain to induce persons, who had no higher motive than to gratify avarice, to take a step by which they exposed their lives and fortunes to the most imminent hazard; nor had the English monarch yet extended his influence in Scotland by those arts of political intrigue which he afterwards employed.

During the two last years of the reign of James V. the numbers of the reformed rapidly increased. Twice did the clergy attempt to cut them off by a desperate blow. They presented to the king a list, containing the names of some hundreds, possessed of property and wealth, whom they denounced as heretics; and endeavoured to procure his consent to their condemnation, by flattering him with the immense riches which would accrue to him from the forfeiture of their estates. When this proposal was first made to him, James rejected it with strong marks of displeasure; but so violent was the antipathy which he at last conceived against his nobility, and so much did he fall under the influence of the clergy, that it is highly probable he would have

[1] See Note K.

[2] Cald. MS. i. 103, 119. Sadler, i. 47. Knox, 21, 24.

yielded to the solicitations of the latter, if the disgraceful issue of an expedition, which they had instigated him to undertake against the English, had not impaired his reason, and put an end to his unhappy life on the 13th of December 1542.[1]

[1] Sadler, i. 94. Knox, 27, 28. Pitscottie, 164. Keith, 22. Sir James Melvil's Memoirs, 2—4, Lond. 1683. Knox says, that the roll contained "mo than ane hundreth landit men, besides utheris of meener degre, amongis quhome was the Lord Hamiltoun, then second persoun of the realme." Sadler says, "eighteen score noblemen and gentlemen, all well minded to God's word, which then they durst not avow;" among whom were the Earl of Arran, the Earl of Cassils, and the Earl Marishal. Pitscottie says, "seventeen score;" but he includes in his account not only "earls, lords, barons, gentlemen," but also, "honest burgesses and craftsmen."

PERIOD II.

FROM THE YEAR 1542, WHEN HE EMBRACED THE REFORMED RELIGION, TO THE YEAR 1549, WHEN HE WAS RELEASED FROM THE FRENCH GALLEYS.

WHILE this fermentation of opinion was spreading through the nation, Knox, from the state of his mind, could not remain long unaffected. The reformed doctrines had been imbibed by several persons of his acquaintance, and they were the topic of common conversation and dispute among the learned and inquisitive at the university.[1] His change of views first discovered itself in his philosophical lectures, in which he began to forsake the scholastic path, and to recommend to his pupils a more rational and useful method of study. Even this innovation excited against him violent suspicions of heresy, which were confirmed when he proceeded to reprehend the corruptions that prevailed in the Church. He was then teaching at St Andrews; but it was impossible for him to remain long in a town which was wholly under the power of Cardinal Beatoun, the chief supporter of the Romish Church, and a determined enemy to all reform. Accordingly, he left that place, and retired to the south of Scotland, where he avowed his belief of the Protestant doctrine. Provoked by his defection, and alarmed lest he should draw others after him, the clergy were anxious to rid themselves of such an adversary. Having passed sentence against him as a heretic, and degraded him from the priesthood, the cardinal employed assassins to waylay him, by whose hands he must have fallen,

[1] The progress of opinion in Scotland, and the jealous measures adopted for checking it, may be traced in the variations introduced into the Act of Parliament, 17th July 1525, "For eschewing of Heresy," as these are marked in the original record. The act, as originally drawn, in prohibiting the rehearsing of, or disputing about, the heresies of Luther or his disciples, has this exception, "gif (*i. e.* unless) it be to the confusion thairof;" but this being thought too loose, the following clause is added on the margin, "and that be clerkis in the sculis alenarlie." According to the tenor of the act, when passed in 1525, "na maner of persoun, *strangear*, that happenis to arrive with thare schip within ony part of this realme, bring with thame any bukis or workis of the said Luther, his discipulis, or servandis, disputis or rehersis his heresies, &c. under the pane of escheting of thare schipis and guidis, and putting of thaire personis in presoun." But in 1527, the chancellor and lords of council added this clause: "and all uther the kingis liegis assistaris to sic opunyeons be punist in semeible wise, and the effect of the said act to straik upon thaim." From this it appears that, in 1525, Protestant books and opinions were circulated by strangers only, who came into Scotland for the purpose of trade; but that, in 1527, it was found necessary to extend the penalties of the act to natives of the kingdom. Both these additions were embodied in the act, as renewed 12th June 1535. Acta Parliamentorum Scotiæ, vol. ii. pp. 295, 341, 342, published by the authority of his majesty's commissioners on the public records of the kingdom. This highly valuable and accurate work will afterwards be referred to under the title of Act. Parl. Scot.

had not Providence placed him under the protection of Douglas of Langniddrie.[1]

The change produced in the political state of the kingdom by the death of James V. had great influence upon the Reformation. After a bold but unsuccessful attempt by Cardinal Beatoun to secure to himself the government during the minority of the infant queen, the Earl of Arran was peaceably established in the regency. Arran had formerly shown himself attached to the reformed doctrines, and he was now surrounded with counsellors who were of the same principles. Henry VIII. laid hold of this opportunity for accomplishing his favourite measure of uniting the two crowns, and eagerly pressed a marriage between his son Edward and Mary, the young Queen of Scots. Notwithstanding the determined opposition of the whole body of the clergy, the Scottish Parliament agreed to the match; commissioners were sent into England to settle the terms; and the contract of marriage was drawn out, subscribed, and ratified by all the parties. But through the intrigues of the cardinal and queen-mother, the fickleness and timidity of the regent, and the violence of the English monarch, the treaty, after proceeding thus far, was broken off; and Arran not only renounced connection with England, but abjured the reformed religion publicly in the church of Stirling. The Scottish queen was soon after betrothed to the dauphin of France, and sent into that kingdom; a measure which, at a subsequent period, nearly accomplished the ruin of the independence of Scotland, and the extirpation of the Protestant religion.

The Reformation had, however, made very considerable progress during the short time that it was patronised by the regent. In 1542, the parliament passed an act, declaring it lawful for all the subjects to read the Scriptures in the vulgar language. This act, which was proclaimed in spite of the protestations of the bishops, was a signal triumph of truth over error.[2] Formerly, it was reckoned a crime to look on the sacred books; now, to read them was safe, and even the way to honour. The Bible was to be seen on every gentleman's table; the New Testament was almost in every one's hands.[3] Hitherto the Reformation had been advanced by books imported from England; but now the errors of popery were attacked in publications which issued from the Scottish press. The reformed preachers, whom the regent had chosen as chaplains, disseminated their doctrines throughout the kingdom, and, under the sanction of his authority, made many converts from the Roman Catholic faith.[4]

One of these preachers deserves particular notice here, as it was by means of his sermons that Knox first perceived the beauty of evangelical truth, and had deep impressions of religion made upon his heart.[5]

[1] Bezæ Icones, Ee. iij.

[2] Act. Parl. Scot. ii. 415, 425. Sadler's Letters, i. 83. Crawfurd's Officers of State, 77, 438. Keith, 36, 37.

[3] Knox, 34.

[4] Ibid. 33, 34.

[5] Life of Knox, prefixed to his History of the Reformation, anno 1644.

Thomas Guillaume, or Williams, was born at Athelstaneford, a village in East Lothian, and had entered into the order of Black Friars, or Dominican monks, among whom he rose to great eminence.[1] But having embraced the sentiments of the reformers, he threw off the monkish habit. His learning and elocution recommended him to Arran and his Protestant counsellors; and he was much esteemed by the people as a clear expositor of Scripture. When the regent began to waver in his attachment to the Reformation, Guillaume was dismissed from the court, and retired into England, after which I do not find him noticed in history.

But the person to whom our Reformer was most indebted was George Wishart, a brother of the laird of Pittarow in Mearns. Being driven into banishment by the bishop of Brechin, for teaching the Greek Testament in Montrose, he had resided for some years at the university of Cambridge. In the year 1544 he returned to his native country, in the company of the commissioners who had been sent to negotiate a treaty with Henry VIII. of England. Seldom do we meet, in ecclesiastical history, with a character so amiable and interesting as that of George Wishart. Excelling all his countrymen at that period in learning, of the most persuasive eloquence, irreproachable in life, courteous and affable in manners, his fervent piety, zeal, and courage in the cause of truth, were tempered with uncommon meekness, modesty, patience, prudence, and charity.[2] In his tour of preaching through Scotland, he was usually accompanied by some of the principal gentry; and the people, who flocked to hear him, were ravished with his discourses. To this teacher Knox attached himself, and profited greatly by his sermons and private instructions. During the last visit which Wishart paid to Lothian, Knox waited constantly on his person, and bore the sword, which was carried before him, from the time that an attempt was made to assassinate him in Dundee. Wishart was highly pleased with the zeal of his faithful attendant, and seems to have presaged his future usefulness, at the same time that he laboured under a strong presentiment of his own approaching martyrdom. On the night on which he was apprehended by Bothwell at the instigation of the cardinal, he directed the sword to be taken from Knox; and, on the latter insisting for liberty to accompany him to Ormiston, the martyr dismissed him with this reply, "Nay, return to your bairnes," (meaning his pupils), "and God bless you: ane is sufficient for a sacrifice."

Having relinquished all thoughts of officiating in that Church which had invested him with clerical orders, Knox had entered as tutor into the family of Hugh Douglas of Langniddrie, a gentleman in East Lothian, who had embraced the reformed doctrines. John Cockburn of

[1] Cald. MS. i. 118. Calderwood says, that he was provincial of the order of Dominicans, or Black Friars, in Scotland. But a late author informs us, that the chartulary of the Black Friars' monastery at Perth mentions John Grierson as having been provincial from the year 1525 to the time of the Reformation. Scott's History of the Reformers, p. 96.

[2] See Note L.

Ormiston, a neighbouring gentleman of the same persuasion, also put his son under his tuition. These young men were instructed by him in the principles of religion, as well as in the learned languages. He managed their religious instruction in such a way as to allow the rest of the family, and the people of the neighbourhood, to reap advantage from it. He catechised them publicly in a chapel at Langniddrie, in which he also read, at stated times, a chapter of the Bible, accompanied with explanatory remarks. The memory of this fact has been preserved by tradition, and the chapel, the ruins of which are still apparent, is popularly called John Knox's Kirk.[1]

It was not to be expected that he would be suffered long to continue this employment, under a government which was now entirely at the devotion of Cardinal Beatoun, who had gained a complete ascendant over the mind of the timid and irresolute regent. But, in the midst of of his cruelties, and while he was planning still more desperate deeds,[2] the cardinal was himself suddenly cut off. A conspiracy was formed against his life; and a small but determined band (some of whom seem to have been instigated by resentment for private injuries, and the influence of the English court, others animated by a desire to revenge his cruelties, and deliver their country from his oppression) seized upon the castle of St Andrews, in which he resided, and put him to death, on the 29th of May, 1546.

The death of Beatoun did not, however, free Knox from persecution. John Hamilton, an illegitimate brother of the regent, who was nominated to the vacant bishopric, sought his life with as great eagerness as his predecessor. He was obliged to conceal himself, and to remove from place to place, to provide for his safety. Wearied with this mode of living, and apprehensive that he would some day fall into the hands of his enemies, he came to the resolution of leaving Scotland.

England presented the readiest and most natural sanctuary to those who were persecuted by the Scottish prelates. But, though they usually fled to that kingdom in the first instance, they did not find their situation comfortable, and the greater part, after a short residence there, proceeded to the Continent. Henry VIII., from motives which, to say the least, were highly suspicious, had renounced subjection to the Roman see, and compelled his subjects to follow his example. He invested himself with the ecclesiastical supremacy within his own dominions, which he had wrested from the Bishop of Rome; and in the arrogant and violent exercise of that power, the English pope was scarcely exceeded by any of the pretended successors of St Peter. Having signalised himself at a former period as a literary champion against

[1] Chalmers's Caledonia, ii. 526, comp. Knox, Historie, 67.

[2] In his progress through the kingdom with the governor, he instigated him "to hang (at Perth) four honest men, for eating of a goose on Friday; and drowned a young woman, because she refused to pray to our lady in her birth." Pitscottie, 188. Knox says, that the woman, "having an soucking babe upon hir briest, was drounit." Historie, 40. Petrie's Hist. Church Scot., part ii. p. 182. He had planned the destruction of the principal gentlemen of Fife, as appeared from documents found after his death. Knox, 63, 64.

Luther, he was anxious to demonstrate that his breach with the court of Rome had not alienated him from the Catholic faith; and he would suffer none to proceed a step beyond the narrow and capricious line of reform which he was pleased to prescribe. Hence, the motley system of religion which he established, and the contradictory measures by which it was supported. Statutes against the authority of the pope, and against the tenets of Luther, were enacted in the same parliament; and Papists and Protestants were alternately brought to the same stake. The Protestants in Scotland were universally dissatisfied with this bastard reformation, a circumstance which had contributed not a little to cool their zeal for the lately proposed alliance with England. Sir Ralph Sadler, his ambassador, found himself in a very awkward predicament on this account; for the Papists were offended because he had gone so far from Rome, the Protestants because he had gone no farther. The latter disrelished, in particular, the restrictions which he had imposed upon the reading and interpretation of the Scriptures, and which he urged the regent to imitate in Scotland. And they had no desire for *the king's book*, of which Sadler was furnished with copies to distribute, and which lay as a drug upon his hands.[1]

On these accounts Knox had no desire to go to England, where, although "the pope's name was suppressed, his laws and corruptions remained in full vigour."[2] His determination was to visit Germany, and to prosecute his studies in some of the Protestant universities, until he should see a favourable change in the state of his native country. But the lairds of Langniddrie and Ormiston, who were extremely reluctant to part with him, prevailed on him to relinquish his design, and to repair, along with their sons, to the castle of St Andrews.[3]

The conspirators against Cardinal Beatoun kept possession of the castle after his death. The regent had assembled an army and laid siege to it, from a desire not so much to avenge the murder of the cardinal, at whose fall he secretly rejoiced, as to comply with the importunity of the clergy, and to release his eldest son, who had been retained by Beatoun as a pledge of his father's fidelity, and had now fallen into the hands of the conspirators. But the besieged, having obtained assistance from England, baffled all his skill; and a treaty was at last concluded, by which they engaged to deliver up the castle to the regent, upon his procuring to them from Rome a pardon for the cardinal's murder. The pardon was obtained; but the conspirators, alarmed, or affecting to be alarmed, at the contradictory terms in which it was

[1] Sadler's State Papers, i. 264, 265, comp. p. 128. Sir John Borthwick (who fled to England in the year 1540) ridicules the Scottish clergy for making it an article of accusation against him, that he had approved of "all those heresies, commonly called the heresies of England;" "Because," says he, "what religion at that time was used in England, the like the whole realm of Scotland did embrace; in this point only the Englishmen differed from the Scottes, that they had cast off the yoke of Antichrist, the other not. Idols were worshipped of both nations; the prophanating of the supper and baptisme was like unto them both.—Truly, it is most false that I had subscribed unto such kinde of heresies." Foxe, 1149, 1150.

[2] Knox, Historie, p. 67.

[3] Ibid.

expressed, refused to perform their stipulation, and the regent felt himself unable, without foreign aid, to enforce a compliance. In this interval, a number of persons, who were harassed for their attachment to the reformed sentiments, repaired to the castle, where they enjoyed the free exercise of their religion.[1]

Writers unfriendly to Knox have endeavoured to fix an accusation upon him respecting the assassination of Cardinal Beatoun. Some have ignorantly asserted that he was one of the conspirators.[2] Others, better informed, have argued that he made himself accessory to their crime, by taking shelter among them.[3] With more plausibility, others have appealed to his writings, as a proof that he vindicated the deed of the conspirators as laudable, or at least innocent. I know that some of Knox's vindicators have denied this charge, and maintain that he justified it only so far as it was the work of God, or a just retribution in Providence for the crimes of which the cardinal had been guilty, without approving the conduct of those who were the instruments of punishing him.[4] The just judgment of Heaven is, I acknowledge, the chief thing to which he directs the attention of his readers; at the same time, I think no one who carefully reads what he has written on this subject, can doubt that he justified the action of the conspirators.[5] The truth is, he held the opinion, that persons who, according to the law of God, and the just laws of society, have forfeited their lives, by the commission of flagrant crimes, such as notorious murderers and tyrants, may warrantably be put to death by private individuals, provided all redress, in the ordinary course of justice, is rendered impossible, in consequence of the offenders having usurped the executive authority, or being systematically protected by oppressive rulers. This is an opinion of the same kind with that of tyrannicide, held by so many of the ancients, and defended by Buchanan, in his dialogue, *De jure regni apud Scotos.* It is a principle, I confess, of very dangerous application, and extremely liable to be abused by factious, fanatical, and desperate men, as a pretext for perpetrating the most nefarious deeds. It would be unjust, however, on this account, to confound it with the principle, which, by giving to individuals a liberty to revenge their own quarrels, legitimates assassination, a practice which was exceedingly common in

[1] Act. Parl. Scot. ii. 471, 477—9. Keith, 50, 51. Knox, 66, 67. Buchanan, i. 296.

[2] This is done in a book entitled, "The Image of both Churches, Hierusalem and Babell, Unitie and Confusion, Obedience and Sedition, by P. D. M." (supposed to be Sir Tobie Matthews), pp. 139, 140; Torney, 1623. In p. 136, the author says, "Yet there is one aduise of Knox which is to be recorded with admiration, 'It wear good, that rewards wear publicklie appointed by the peopl for such as kill tyrants, as well as for those that kill wolfs.'" In proof of this he refers to Knox's Historie, p. 372. The reader who chooses to give himself the trouble, will probably search in vain (as I have done) for such a sentiment, either in that or in any other part of the History.

[3] "Quorum se societate, non multo post, implicaret Joannes Knoxus, Calvinistarum minister, qui se evangelicæ perfectionis cumulum assecutum non arbitrabatur nisi in cardinalis ac sacerdotis sanguine ac cæde triumphasset." Leslæus de rebus gestis Scotorum, lib. x. The bishop should have recollected, that the violence of his popish brethren drove "the Calvinistic minister" to this "pinnacle of evangelical perfection."

[4] Principal Baillie's Historical Vindication of the Government of the Church of Scotland, p. 42, A. 1646. Cald. MS. ad an. 1590.

[5] Historie, 86.

that age. I may add, that there have been instances of persons, not invested with public authority, taking the execution of punishment into their own hands, whom we may scruple to load with an aggravated charge of murder, although we cannot approve of their conduct.[1]

Knox entered the castle of St Andrews at the time of Easter, 1547, and conducted the education of his pupils after his accustomed manner. In the chapel within the castle, he read to them lectures upon the Scriptures, beginning at the place in the gospel according to John, where he had left off at Langniddrie; and he catechised them publicly in the parish church belonging to the city. Among the refugees in the castle who attended these exercises, and who had not been concerned in the conspiracy against Beatoun,[2] there were three persons who deserve to be particularly noticed.

Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King at Arms, had been a favourite at the court both of James IV. and of his son, James V. He was esteemed one of the first poets of the age, and his writings had contributed greatly to the advancement of the Reformation. Notwithstanding the indelicacy which disfigures several of his poetical productions,[3] the personal deportment of Lyndsay was grave, his morals were correct, and his writings discover a strong desire to reform the manners of the age, as well as ample proofs of true poetical genius, extensive learning, and wit the most keen and penetrating. He had long lashed the vices of the clergy, and exposed the absurdities and superstitions of popery in the most popular and poignant satires, being protected by James V., who retained a strong attachment to the companion of his early sports, and the poet who had often amused his leisure hours. After the death of that monarch, he entered zealously into the measures pursued by the Earl of Arran at the commencement of his government; and when the regent dismissed his reforming counsellors, Sir David was left exposed to the vengeance of the clergy, who could never forgive the injuries which they had received from his pen.[4]

Henry Balnaves of Halhill had raised himself, by his talents and probity, from an obscure situation to the highest honours of the state, and was justly regarded as one of the principal ornaments of the reformed cause in Scotland. Descended from poor parents in the town of Kirkcaldy, he travelled, when only a boy, to the Continent, and hearing of a free school in Cologne, he gained admission to it, and received a liberal education, together with instruction in the principles of the Protestant religion. Returning to his native country, he applied him-

[1] See Note M.

[2] Spotswood says, that "seven-score persons entered into the castle the day after the slaughter" of the cardinal. History, p. 84.

[3] The coarseness of the age, and the strong temptation which he was under to gratify a voluptuous prince, will not excuse the gross indelicacies of Lyndsay; and still less will the desire of preserving the ancient dialect of Scotland, and of gratifying an antiquarian passion, apologise for giving to the modern public a *complete* edition of his works, accompanied with a glossary and explanatory notes.

[4] Heroes ex omni Historia Scotica lectissimi: Auctore Johan. Jonstono Abredonense Scoto, pp. 27, 28. Lugduni Batavorum, 1603, 4to. Chalmers's Life of Lyndsay, Works, vol. i.

self to the study of law, and practised for some time before the consistorial court of St Andrews.[1] Notwithstanding the jealousy of the clergy, his reputation daily increased, and he at length obtained a seat in parliament, and in the court of session.[2] James V. employed him in managing public affairs of great importance; and at the beginning of Arran's regency, he was made secretary of state. The active part which he at that time took in the measures for promoting the Reformation, rendered him peculiarly obnoxious to the administration which succeeded, and obliged him to seek shelter within the walls of the castle.[3]

John Rough, having conceived a disgust at being deprived of some property to which he thought himself entitled, had left his parents, and entered a monastery in Stirling, when he was only seventeen years of age.[4] During the time that the light of divine truth was spreading through the nation, and penetrating even the recesses of cloisters, he had felt its influence, and became a convert to the reformed sentiments. The reputation which he had gained as a preacher was such, that, in the year 1543, the Earl of Arran procured a dispensation for his leaving the monastery, and appointed him one of his chaplains. Upon the apostacy of Arran from the reformed religion, he retired first into Kyle, and afterwards into the castle of St Andrews, where he was chosen preacher to the garrison.[5]

These persons were so much pleased with Knox's talents, and his manner of teaching his pupils, that they urged him strongly to preach in public, and to become colleague to Rough. But he resisted all their solicitations, assigning as his reason, that he did not consider himself as having a call to this employment, and would not be guilty of intrusion. They did not, however, desist from their purpose; but having consulted with their brethren, came to a resolution without his knowledge, that a call should be publicly given him, in the name of the whole, to become one of their ministers.

Accordingly, on a day fixed for the purpose, Rough preached a sermon on the election of ministers, in which he declared the power which a congregation, however small, had over any one in whom they perceived gifts suited to the office, and how dangerous it was for such a person to reject the call of those who desired instruction. Sermon being concluded, the preacher turned to Knox, who was present, and addressed him in these words,—"Brother, you shall not be offended, although I speak unto you that which I have in charge, even from all those that are here present, which is this: In the name of God, and of his Son, Jesus Christ, and in the name of all that presently call you by my mouth, I charge you that you refuse not this holy vocation, but as you tender the glory of God, the increase of Christ's kingdom, the edification of your brethren, and the comfort of me, whom you understand well

[1] Cald. MS. i. 119.
[2] Lord Hailes, Catalogue of the Lords of Session, p. 2. Acta Parliamentorum Scotiæ, ii. 353.
[3] Act. Parl. Scot. ii. 409. Sadler's State Papers, i. 83. Knox, 35.
[4] Foxe, p. 1840. He was born A.D. 1510.
[5] Ibid. Knox, Historie, pp. 33, 36, 67.

enough to be oppressed by the multitude of labours, that you take the public office and charge of preaching, even as you look to avoid God's heavy displeasure, and desire that he shall multiply his graces unto you." Then, addressing himself to the congregation, he said, "Was not this your charge unto me? and do ye not approve this vocation?" They all answered, "It was; and we approve it." Overwhelmed by this unexpected and solemn charge, Knox, after an ineffectual attempt to address the audience, burst into tears, rushed out of the assembly, and shut himself up in his chamber. "His countenance and behaviour, from that day till the day that he was compelled to present himself in the public place of preaching, did sufficiently declare the grief and trouble of his heart; for no man saw any sign of mirth from him, neither had he pleasure to accompany any man for many days together."[1]

This proof of the sensibility of his temper, and the reluctance which he felt at undertaking a public office, may surprise those who have carelessly adopted the common notions respecting our Reformer's character; but we shall meet with many examples of the same kind in the course of his life. The scene, too, will be extremely interesting to such as are impressed with the weight of the ministerial function, and will naturally awaken a train of feelings in the breasts of those who have been intrusted with the Gospel. It revives the memory of those early days of the Church, when persons did not rush forward to the altar, nor beg to "be put into one of the priest's offices, to eat a piece of bread;" when men of piety and talents, deeply affected with the awful responsibility of the office, and with their own insufficiency, were with great difficulty induced to take on them those orders which they had long desired, and for which they had laboured to qualify themselves. What a contrast did this exhibit to the conduct of the herd which at that time filled the stalls of the Popish Church! The behaviour of Knox serves also to reprove those who become preachers of their own accord; and who, from vague and enthusiastic desires of doing good, or a fond conceit of their own gifts, trample upon good order, and thrust themselves into employment without any regular call.

We must not, however, imagine, that his distress of mind, and the reluctance which he discovered to comply with the call which he had received, proceeded from consciousness of its invalidity, through the defect of certain external formalities which had been usual in the Church, or which, in ordinary cases, may be observed with propriety in the installation of persons into sacred offices. These, as far as warranted by Scripture, or conducive to the preservation of order, he did not contemn; and his judgment respecting them may be learned from the early practice of the Scottish Reformed Church, in the organisation of which he had so active a share. In common with all the original reformers, he rejected the order of episcopal ordination, as totally unauthorised by the laws of Christ; nor did he even regard

[1] Knox, Historie, p. 68.

the imposition of the hands of presbyters as a rite essential to the validity of orders, or of necessary observance in all circumstances of the Church. The Papists, indeed, did not fail to declaim on this topic, representing Knox, and other reformed ministers, as destitute of all lawful vocation. In the same strain did many hierarchical writers of the English Church afterwards learn to talk, not scrupling, by their extravagant doctrine of the absolute necessity of ordination by the hands of a bishop, who derived his powers by uninterrupted succession from the apostles, to invalidate and nullify the orders of all the reformed churches, except their own,—a doctrine which has been revived in the present enlightened age, and unblushingly avowed and defended, with the greater part of its absurd, illiberal, and horrid consequences. The fathers of the English Reformation, however, were very far from entertaining such contracted and unchristian sentiments. When Knox afterwards went to England, they accepted his services without the smallest hesitation. They maintained a constant correspondence with the reformed divines on the Continent, and cheerfully owned them as brethren and fellow-labourers in the ministry. And they were not so ignorant of their principles, nor so forgetful of their character, as to prefer ordination by popish prelates to that which was conferred by protestant presbyters.[1] I will not say that our Reformer utterly disregarded his early ordination in the Popish Church, although, if we may credit the testimony of his adversaries, this was his sentiment;[2] but I have little doubt that he looked upon the charge which he received at St Andrews as principally constituting his call to the ministry.

His distress of mind, on the present occasion, proceeded from a higher source than the deficiency of some external formalities in his call. He had now very different thoughts as to the importance of the

[1] Whittingham, Dean of Durham, was ordained in the English Church at Geneva, of which Knox was pastor; and Travers, the opponent of Hooker, was ordained by a presbytery at Antwerp. Attempts were made by some highfliers to invalidate their orders, and induce them to submit to re-ordination; but they did not succeed. Strype's Annals, vol. ii. 520—4

In the year 1582, Archbishop Grindal, by a formal deed, declared the validity of the orders of Mr John Morrison, who had been ordained by the Synod of Lothian, "according to the *laudable* form and rite of the Reformed Church of Scotland," says the instrument, "per generalem synodum sive congregationem illius comitatus, juxta laudabilem ecclesiæ Scotiæ Reformatæ formam et ritum, ad sacros ordines et sacrosanctum ministerium per manuum impositionem admissus et ordinatus. Nos igitur formam ordinationis et præfectionis tuæ hujusmodi, modo præmisso factam, quantam in nos est, et de jure possumus, approbantes et ratificantes," &c. Strype's Life of Grindal. Append. Book ii. Numb. xvii. p. 101.

It has been objected, that Archbishop Grindal was at this time under sequestration, and that the licence was granted, not by him, but by Dr Aubrey, as vicar general. To this it is sufficient to reply, that Mr Strype is of opinion, that the sequestration was taken off from the time that the writs and instruments run in the name of Aubrey alone, without any mention of Clark, (Life of Grindal, p. 271); that, even during the period of the sequestration, "all licenses to preach, &c., were granted by those two civilians, with a deference to the archbishop, and consultation with him in what they did," (Ibid. p. 240); and that the licence in question bears, that it was granted "with *the consent and express command* of the most reverend father in Christ, the Lord Edmund, by the Divine Providence, Archbishop of Canterbury, *to us signified*;"—"de consensu et expresso mandato reverendiss. in Christo patris domini Edmundi, &c. nobis significato." Ibid. p. 271. Append. p. 101.

[2] Ninian Winzet, apud Keith's History, App. pp. 212, 213. Burne's Disputation, p. 128. Parise, 1581.

ministerial office, from what he had entertained when ceremoniously invested with orders. The care of immortal souls, of whom he must give an account to the chief Bishop; the charge of declaring "the whole counsel of God, keeping nothing back," however ungrateful it might be to his hearers; the manner of life, afflictions, persecutions, imprisonment, exile, and violent death, to which the preachers of the Protestant doctrine were exposed; the hazard of his sinking under these hardships, and "making shipwreck of faith and a good conscience,"—these, with similar considerations, rushed into his mind, and filled it with anxiety and fear. Satisfied, at length, that he had the call of God to engage in this work, he composed his mind to a reliance on him who had engaged to make his "strength perfect in the weakness" of his servants, and resolved, with the apostle, "not to count his life dear, that he might finish with joy the ministry which he received of the Lord, to testify the gospel of the grace of God." Often did he afterwards reflect with lively emotion upon this very interesting step of his life, and never, in the midst of his greatest sufferings, did he see reason to repent of the choice which he had so deliberately made.

An occurrence which took place about this time contributed to fix his wavering resolution, and induced an earlier compliance with the call of the congregation than he might otherwise have been disposed to yield. Though sound in doctrine, Rough's literary acquirements were moderate. Of this circumstance the patrons of the established religion in the university and abbey took advantage; and among others, Dean John Annand[1] had long proved vexatious to him, by stating objections to the doctrine which he preached, and entangling him with sophisms, or garbled quotations from the fathers. Knox had assisted the preacher with his pen, and by his superior skill in logic and the writings of the fathers, had exposed Annand's fallacies, and confuted the popish errors. This polemic being one day, at a private disputation in the parish church, driven from all his usual defences, fled, as his last refuge, to the infallible authority of the Church, which, he alleged, had rendered all farther debate on these points unnecessary, in consequence of its having condemned the tenets of the Lutherans as heretical. To this Knox replied, that, before they could submit to such a summary determination of the matters in controversy, it was requisite to ascertain the true Church by the marks given in Scripture, lest they should blindly receive, as their spiritual mother, "a harlot instead of the immaculate spouse of Jesus Christ." "For," continued he, "as for your Roman Church, as it is now corrupted, wherein stands the hope of your victory, I no more doubt that it is the synagogue of Satan, and the head thereof, called the pope, to be that man of sin of whom the apostle speaks, than I doubt

[1] In the former editions, I had spoken of Annand as probably a friar, who, according to the custom of the times, had assumed the honorary title of dean. But I have since ascertained, that he was a person of great note in the university. It appears from the Records, that he was principal of St Leonard's College in 1544, and continued to hold that office during several years subsequent to that period.

that Jesus Christ suffered by the procurement of the visible Church of Jerusalem. Yea, I offer myself, by word or writing, to prove the Roman Church this day farther degenerate from the purity which was in the days of the apostles, than were the Church of the Jews from the ordinances given by Moses, when they consented to the innocent death of Jesus Christ." This was a bold charge; but the minds of the people were prepared to listen to the proof. They exclaimed, that, if this was true, they had been miserably deceived, and insisted that, as they could not all read his writings, he should ascend the pulpit and give them an opportunity of hearing the probation of what he had so confidently affirmed. The request was reasonable, and the challenge was not to be retracted. The following Sabbath was accordingly fixed for making good his promise.

On the day appointed, he appeared in the pulpit of the parish church, and gave out the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth verses of the seventh chapter of Daniel, as his text. After an introduction, in which he explained the vision, and showed that the four animals hieroglyphically represented four empires,—the Babylonian, Persian, Grecian, and Roman, out of the ruins of the last of which rose the empire described in his text, he proceeded to show that this was applicable to no power but the papal. He compared the parallel passages in the New Testament, and showed that the king mentioned in his text was the same elsewhere called the Man of Sin, the Antichrist, the Babylonian harlot; and that, in prophetical style, these expressions did not describe a single person, but a body or multitude of people under a wicked head, including a succession of persons occupying the same place. In support of his assertion, that the papal power was antichristian, he described it under the three heads of life, doctrine, and laws. He depicted the scandalous lives of the popes from records published by Roman Catholic writers, and contrasted their doctrine and laws with those of the New Testament, particularly on the heads of justification, holydays, and abstinence from meats and from marriage. He quoted from the canon law the blasphemous titles and prerogatives ascribed to the pope, as an additional proof that he was described in his text.[1] In conclusion, he signified that, if any of his hearers thought that he had misquoted or misinterpreted the testimonies which he had produced from the Scriptures, ecclesiastical history, or the writings of the fathers, he was ready, upon their coming to him, in the presence of witnesses, to give them satisfaction. Among the audience were his former preceptor, Major, and the other members of the university, the sub-prior of the abbey, and a great number of canons and friars of different orders.

This sermon, delivered with a considerable portion of that popular

[1] The doctrine which the preacher delivered at this time was afterwards put into "ornate meeter," by one of his hearers, Sir David Lyndsay, who, in his "Monarchie," finished in 1553, has given a particular account of the rise and corruptions of popery, under the name of the "fifth spiritual and papal monarchie." Chalmers's Lyndsay, iii. 86—116.

eloquence for which Knox was afterwards so celebrated, made a great noise, and excited much speculation among all classes.[1] The preachers who had preceded him, not even excepting Wishart, had contented themselves with refuting some of the grosser errors of the established religion: Knox struck at the root of popery, by boldly pronouncing the pope to be antichrist, and the whole system erroneous and antiscriptural. The report of this sermon, and of the effects produced by it, having reached Hamilton, the bishop-elect of St Andrews, he wrote to Winram, who was vicar-general during the vacancy of the see, expressing his surprise that such heretical and schismatical tenets were allowed to be taught without opposition. Winram was at bottom friendly to the reformed doctrine; but he durst not altogether disregard this admonition, and therefore appointed a convention of the learned men of the abbey and university to be held in St Leonard's Yards, to which he summoned Knox and Rough.

The two preachers appeared before that assembly. Nine articles, drawn from their sermons, were exhibited, "the strangeness of which," the sub-prior said, "had moved him to call for them to hear their answers." Knox conducted the defence, for himself and his colleague, with much acuteness and moderation. He expressed high satisfaction at appearing before an auditory so honourable, modest, and grave. As he was not a stranger to the report concerning the private sentiments of Winram, and nothing was more abhorrent to his own mind than dissimulation, he, before commencing his defence, obtested him to deal uprightly in a matter of such magnitude. "The people," he said, "ought not to be deceived or left in the dark; if his colleague and he had advanced anything unscriptural, he wished the sub-prior by all means to expose it; but if, on the other hand, the doctrine taught by them was true, it was his duty to give it the sanction of his authority." Winram cautiously replied, that he did not come there as a judge, and would neither approve nor condemn; he wished a conference, and, if Knox pleased, he would reason with him a little. Accordingly, he proceeded to state some objections to one of the propositions maintained by Knox, "That, in the worship of God, and especially in the administration of the sacraments, the rule prescribed in the Scriptures is to be observed, without addition or diminution; and that the Church has no right to devise religious ceremonies, and impose significations upon them." After maintaining the argument for a short time, the sub-prior devolved it on a grey friar, named Arbugkill, who took it up with great con-

[1] "Sum said, utheris hued the branches of papistry, bot he straiketh at the rute, to destroye the whole. Utheris said, gif the doctors and magistri nostri defend not now the pope and his authoritie, which in their owin presence is so manifestlie impugnit, the devill have my part of him and his lawes bothe. Utheris said, Mr George Wischeart spak never so planelie, and yet he was brunt; even so will he be in the end. Utheris said, the tyrannie of the Cardinal maid not his cause the better, neither yet the suffering of Godis servand maid his cause the wors.—And thairfoir we wald counsail yow and thame to provyde better defences than fyre and sword; for it may be that allis ye shall be disappointed: men now have uther eyes than they had then. This answer gave the laird of Nydrie." Knox, Historie, p. 70.

fidence, but was soon forced to yield with disgrace. He rashly engaged to prove the divine institution of ceremonies; and, being pushed by his antagonist from the Gospels and Acts to the Epistles, and from one epistle to another, he was driven at last to affirm, "that the apostles had not received the Holy Ghost when they wrote the epistles, but they afterwards received him, and ordained ceremonies." Knox smiled at the extravagant assertion. "Father!" exclaimed the sub-prior, "what say ye? God forbid that ye say that! for then farewell the ground of our faith." Alarmed and abashed, the friar attempted to correct his error, but in vain. He could not afterwards be brought to argument upon any of the articles, but resolved all into the authority of the Church. His opponent urging that the Church could have no authority to act in opposition to the express directions of Scripture, which enjoined an exact conformity to the divine laws respecting worship: "If so," said Arbugkill, "you will leave us no Church." "Yes," rejoined Knox, sarcastically, "in David I read of the church of malignants, *Odi ecclesiam malignantium;* this church you may have without the word, and fighting against it. Of this church if you will be, I cannot hinder you; but as for me, I will be of no other church but that which has Jesus Christ for pastor, hears his voice, and will not hear the voice of a stranger." For purgatory, the friar had no better authority than that of Virgil in the sixth Æneid; and the pains of it, according to him, were—a bad wife.[1]

Solventur risu tabulæ; tu missus abibis.

Instructed by the issue of this convention, the Papists avoided for the future all disputation, which tended only to injure their cause. Had the castle of St Andrews been in their power, they would soon have silenced these troublesome preachers; but as matters stood, more moderate and crafty measures were necessary. The plan adopted for counteracting the popular preaching of Knox and Rough was artfully laid. Orders were issued, that all the learned men of the abbey and university should preach by turns every Sunday in the parish church. By this means the reformed preachers were excluded on those days, when the greatest audiences attended; and it was expected that the diligence of the established clergy would conciliate the affections of the people. To avoid offence or occasion of speculation, they were also instructed not to touch in their sermons upon any of the controverted points. Knox easily saw through this artifice; but he contented himself with expressing a wish, in the sermons which he still delivered on week days, that the clergy would show themselves equally diligent in places where their labours were more necessary. He, at the same time, expressed his satisfaction that Christ was preached, and that nothing was spoken publicly against the truth; if anything of this kind should

[1] Knox, Historie, p. 70—74. "Alexander Arbuckylle" was made Bachelor of Arts, Nov. 3, 1525. Act. Fac. Art.

be attempted, he requested the people to suspend their judgment, until they should have an opportunity of hearing him in reply.[1]

His labours were so successful during the few months that he preached at St Andrews, that, besides the garrison in the castle, a great number of the inhabitants of the town renounced popery, and made profession of the Protestant faith, by participating of the Lord's supper. This was the first time that the sacrament of the supper was dispensed after the reformed mode in Scotland, if we except the administration of it by Wishart in the same place, which was performed with great privacy immediately before his martyrdom.[2] Those who preceded Knox appear to have contented themselves with preaching; and such as embraced their doctrine had most probably continued to receive the sacraments from the popish clergy, at least from such of them as were most friendly to the reformation of the Church. The gratification which he felt in these first fruits of his ministry, was considerably abated by instances of vicious conduct in the persons under his charge, some of whom were guilty of those acts of licentiousness which are too common among soldiery when placed in similar circumstances. From the time that he was chosen to be their preacher, he had openly rebuked these disorders; and when he perceived that his admonitions failed in putting a stop to them, he did not conceal his apprehensions of the unsuccessful issue of the enterprise in which they were engaged.[3]

In the end of June 1547, a French fleet, with a considerable body of land forces, under the command of Leo Strozzi, appeared before St Andrews to assist the governor in the reduction of the castle. It was invested both by sea and land; and being disappointed of the expected aid from England, the besieged, after a brave and vigorous resistance, were under the necessity of capitulating to the French commander on the last day of July. The terms which they obtained were honourable; the lives of all in the castle were to be spared, they were to be transported to France, and if they did not choose to enter into the service of the French king, were to be conveyed to any country which they might prefer, except Scotland. John Rough had left them previous to the commencement of the siege, and retired to England.[4] Knox, although he did not expect that the garrison would be able to hold out, could not prevail upon himself to desert his charge, and resolved to share with his brethren in the hazard of the siege. He was conveyed

[1] Knox, Historie, 74, 75.

[2] Buchanan, Hist. lib. xv. Oper. tom. i. 293, 294. Pitscottie, 189, folio edit.

[3] Buchan. Oper. i. 296. Pitscottie, 191. Knox, 76.

[4] Rough continued to preach in England until the death of Edward VI., when he retired to Norden in Friesland. There he was obliged to support himself and his wife (whom he had married in England) by knitting caps, stockings, &c. Having come over to London in the course of his trade, he heard of a congregation of Protestants which met secretly in that city, to whom he joined himself, and was elected their pastor. A few weeks after this, the conventicle was discovered by the treachery of one of their own number, and Rough was carried before Bishop Bonner, by whose orders he was committed to the flames on the 22d of December 1557. An account of his examination, and two of his letters breathing the true spirit of a martyr, may be seen in Foxe, p. 1840—1842.

along with them on board the fleet, which, in a few days, set sail for France, arrived at Fecamp, and, going up the Seine, anchored before Rouen. The capitulation was violated, and they were all detained prisoners of war at the solicitation of the pope and Scottish clergy. The principal gentlemen were incarcerated in Rouen, Cherburg, Brest, and Mont St Michel. Knox, with a few others, was confined on board the galleys; and, in addition to the rigours of ordinary captivity, was loaded with chains, and exposed to all the indignities with which Papists were accustomed to treat those whom they regarded as heretics.[1]

From Rouen they sailed to Nantes, and lay upon the Loire during the following winter. Solicitations, threatenings, and violence were all employed to induce the prisoners to change their religion, or at least to countenance the popish worship. But so great was their abhorrence of that system, that not a single individual of the whole company, on land or water, could be induced to symbolise in the smallest degree with idolaters. While the prison-ships lay on the Loire, mass was frequently said, and *salve regina* sung on board, or on the shore within their hearing. On these occasions they were brought out and threatened with the torture, if they did not give the usual signs of reverence; but instead of complying, they covered their heads as soon as the service began. Knox has preserved in his history a humorous incident which took place on one of these occasions; and although he has not said so, it is highly probable that he himself was the person concerned in the affair. One day a fine painted image of the Virgin was brought into one of the galleys, and a Scottish prisoner was desired to give it the kiss of adoration. He refused, saying, that such idols were accursed, and he would not touch it. "But you shall," replied one of the officers roughly, at the same time forcing it towards his mouth. Upon this the prisoner seized the image, and throwing it into the river, said, "Lat our Ladie now save hirself; sche is lycht enoughe, lat hir leirne to swyme." The officers with difficulty saved their goddess from the waves; and the prisoners were relieved for the future from such troublesome importunities.[2]

In summer, 1548, as nearly as I can collect, the galleys in which they were confined returned to Scotland, and continued for a considerable time on the east coast, watching for English vessels. Knox's health was now greatly impaired by the severity of his confinement, and he was seized with a fever, during which his life was despaired of by all in the ship.[3] But even in this state, his fortitude of mind remained unsubdued,[4] and he comforted his fellow-prisoners with hopes of release. To their anxious desponding inquiries, (natural to men in their situa-

[1] Balnaves's Confession, Epist. Dedic. Archibald Hamilton says, that he was condemned to work at the oar:—Impellendis longarum navium remis, cum reliquis adjudicatur." Dialogus de Confusione Calvinianæ Sectæ, p. 64, b.

[2] Knox, Hist. p. 83. [3] MS. Letters, p. 53.

[4] One of his most bitter adversaries has borne an involuntary but honourable testimony to his magnanimity at this time:—"Ubi longo maris tædio, et laboris molestia extenuatum quidem, et subactum corpus fuit; sed animi elatio cum subinde rerum magnarum spe extimulans, nihilo magis tunc quam prius quiescere potuit."—Hamiltonii Dialogus, p. 64, b

tion), "if he thought they would ever obtain their liberty," his uniform answer was, "God will deliver us to his glory, even in this life." While they lay on the coast between Dundee and St Andrews, Mr (afterwards Sir) James Balfour, who was confined in the same ship with him, pointed to the spires of St Andrews, and asked him if he knew the place. "Yes," replied the sickly and emaciated captive, "I know it well; for I see the steeple of that place where God first opened my mouth in public to his glory; and I am fully persuaded, how weak soever I now appear, that I shall not depart this life, till that my tongue shall glorify his godly name in the same place." This striking reply Sir James repeated in the presence of a number of witnesses many years before Knox returned to Scotland, and when there was very little prospect of his words being verified.[1]

We must not, however, think that he possessed this tranquillity and elevation of mind during the whole period of his imprisonment. When first thrown into fetters, insulted by his enemies, and deprived of all prospect of release, he was not a stranger to the anguish of despondency, so pathetically described by the royal Psalmist of Israel.[2] He felt that conflict in his spirit, with which all good men are acquainted, and which becomes peculiarly sharp when aggravated by corporal affliction; but having had recourse to prayer, the never-failing refuge of the oppressed, he was relieved from all his fears, and reposing upon the promise and the providence of the God whom he served, he attained to "the confidence and rejoicing of hope." Those who wish for a more particular account of the state of his mind at this time, will find it in the notes, extracted from a rare work which he composed on prayer, and the chief materials of which were suggested by his own experience.[3]

When free from fever, he relieved the tedious hours of captivity, by committing to writing a confession of his faith, containing the substance of what he had taught at St Andrews, with a particular account of the disputation which he had maintained in St Leonard's Yards. This he found means to convey to his religious acquaintances in Scotland, accompanied with an earnest exhortation to persevere in the faith which they had professed, whatever persecutions they might suffer for its sake.[4] To this confession I find him referring in the defence which he afterwards made before the Bishop of Durham. "Let no man think, that because I am in the realm of England, therefore so boldly I speak. No: God hath taken that suspicion from me. For the body lying in most painful bands, in the midst of cruel tyrants, his mercy and goodness provided that the hand should write and bear witness to the confession of the heart, more abundantly than ever yet the tongue spake."[5]

Notwithstanding the rigour of their confinement, the prisoners who were separated found opportunities of occasionally corresponding with

[1] Knox, Historie, p. 74. [2] Psalm xlii. [3] See Note N.
[4] Knox, Historie, p. 74. This Treatise appears to have been lost.
[5] MS. Letters, p. 40.

one another. Henry Balnaves of Halhill had composed, in his prison, a treatise on Justification, and the Works and Conversation of a Justified Man. This having been conveyed to Knox, probably after his return from the coast of Scotland, he was so much pleased with the work, that he divided it into chapters, and added some marginal notes, and a concise epitome of its contents; to the whole he prefixed a recommendatory dedication, intending that it should be published for the use of his brethren in Scotland, as soon as an opportunity offered.[1] The reader will not, I am persuaded, be displeased to have some extracts from this dedication, which represent, more forcibly than any description of mine can do, the pious and heroic spirit which animated the Reformer, when "his feet lay in irons;" and I shall quote more freely, as the book is rare.

It is thus inscribed:[2] "John Knox, the bound servant of Jesus Christ, unto his best beloved brethren of the congregation of the castle of St Andrews, and to all professors of Christ's true evangel, desireth grace, mercy, and peace, from God the Father, with perpetual consolation of the Holy Spirit." After mentioning a number of instances in which the name of God had been magnified, and the interests of religion advanced, by the exile of those who were driven from their native countries by tyranny, as in the examples of Joseph, Moses, Daniel, and the primitive Christians, he goes on thus: "Which thing shall openly declare this godly work subsequent. The counsel of Satan in the persecution[3] of us, first, was to stop the wholesome wind of Christ's evangel to blow upon the parts where we converse and dwell; and, secondly, so to oppress ourselves by corporal affliction and worldly calamities, that no place should we find to godly study. But by the great mercy and infinite goodness of God our Father, shall these his counsels be frustrate and vain. For, in despite of him and all his wicked members, shall yet that same word (O Lord! this I speak, confiding in thy holy promise) openly be proclaimed in that same country. And how that our merciful Father, amongst these tempestuous storms, by[4] all men's expectation, hath provided some rest for us, this present work shall testify, which was sent to me in Roane, lying in irons, and sore troubled by corporal

[1] The manuscript, there is reason to think, was conveyed to Scotland about that time, but it fell aside, and was long considered as lost. After the death of Knox, it was discovered by his servant, Richard Bannatyne, in the house of Ormiston, and was printed, anno 1584, by Thomas Vaultrollier, in 12mo, with the title of "Confession of Faith, &c. by Henry Balnaves of Hallhill, one of the Lords of Council and Session of Scotland."—David Buchanan, in his edition of Knox's History, anno 1644, among his other alterations and interpolations, makes Knox to say that this work was published at the time he wrote his History; which may be numbered among the anachronisms in that edition, which, for some time, discredited the authenticity of the History, and led many to deny that Knox was its author. But in the genuine editions, Knox expresses the very reverse. "In the presoun, he (Balnaves) wrait a maist profitabill treatise of justificatioun, and of the warkis and conversatioun of a justifyed man: 'but how it was suppressit we knaw not.'" Historie, p. 83, Edin. anno 1732. See also p. 181 of the first edition, in 8vo, printed at London by Vaultrollier in the year 1586.

[2] I have not adhered to the orthography of the printed work, which is evidently different from what it must have been in the MS.

[3] It is "perfection" in the printed copy, which is evidently a mistake.

[4] *i. e.* Beyond.

infirmity, in a galley named Nostre Dame, by an honourable brother, Mr Henry Balnaves of Halhill, for the present holden as prisoner, (though unjustly), in the old palace of Roane.[1] Which work after I had once again read, to the great comfort and consolation of my spirit, by counsel and advice of the foresaid noble and faithful man, author of the said work, I thought expedient it should be digested in chapters, &c. Which thing I have done as imbecility of ingine[2] and incommodity of place would permit; not so much to illustrate the work (which in the self is godly and perfect) as, together with the foresaid nobleman and faithful brother, to give my confession of the article of justification therein contained.[3] And I beseech you, beloved brethren, earnestly to consider, if we deny anything presently, (or yet conceal and hide), which any time before we professed in that article. And now we have not the castle of St Andrews to be our defence, as some of our enemies falsely accused us, saying, If we wanted our walls, we would not speak so boldly. But blessed be that Lord whose infinite goodness and wisdom hath taken from us the occasion of that slander, and hath shown unto us, that the serpent hath power only to sting the heel, that is, to molest and trouble the flesh, but not to move the spirit from constant adhering to Christ Jesus, nor public professing of his true word. O blessed be thou, Eternal Father! which, by thy only mercy, hast preserved us to this day, and provided that the confession of our faith (which ever we desired all men to have known) should, by this treatise, come plainly to light. Continue, O Lord! and grant unto us, that, as now with pen and ink, so shortly we may confess with voice and tongue the same before thy congregation; upon whom look, O Lord God! with the eyes of thy mercy, and suffer no more darkness to prevail. I pray you pardon me, beloved brethren, that on this manner I digress: vehemency of spirit (the Lord knoweth I lie not) compelleth me thereto."

The prisoners in Mont St Michel consulted Knox, as to the lawfulness of attempting to escape by breaking their prison, which was opposed by some of them, lest their escape should subject their brethren who remained in confinement to more severe treatment. He returned for answer, that such fears were not a sufficient reason for relinquishing the design, and that they might, with a safe conscience, effect their escape, provided it could be done "without the blood of any shed or spilt; but to shed any man's blood for their freedom, he would never consent."[4] The attempt was accordingly made by them, and successfully executed, "without harm done to the person of any, and without touching anything that appertained to the king, the captain, or the house."[5]

At length, after enduring a tedious and severe imprisonment of nineteen months, Knox obtained his liberty. This happened in the month

[1] Rouen, not Roane, is the place meant.
[2] *i. e.* Genius or knowledge.
[3] See Note O.
[4] This is the man whom a high-church historian has represented as holding the principles of the ancient Zealots or Sicarii, and teaching that any person who met a Papist might kill him! Collier, Eccles. Hist. ii. 545.
[5] Knox, Historie, pp. 84, 85.

of February 1549, according to the modern computation.[1] By what means his liberation was procured I cannot certainly determine. One account says, that the galley in which he was confined was taken in the Channel by the English.[2] According to another account, he was liberated by order of the King of France, because it appeared, on examination, that he was not concerned in the murder of Cardinal Beatoun, nor accessory to other crimes committed by those who held the castle of St Andrews.[3] In the opinion of others, his liberty was purchased by his acquaintances, who fondly cherished the hope that he was destined to accomplish some great achievements, and were anxious, by their interposition in his behalf, to be instrumental in promoting the designs of Providence.[4] It is more probable, however, that he owed his deliverance to the comparative indifference with which he and his brethren were now regarded by the French court, who, having procured the consent of the Parliament of Scotland to the marriage of Queen Mary to the dauphin, and obtained possession of her person, felt no longer any inclination to revenge the quarrels of the Scottish clergy.

[1] In one of his letters, preserved by Calderwood, Knox says, that he was *nineteen* months in the French galleys. Cald. MS. vol. i. 256. In the printed Calderwood, the period of his confinement is limited to *nine* months, a mistake which has been copied by several writers. It is proper that the reader of that book should be aware, that it is an abridgment of a larger work, still in manuscript; and though there is reason to believe that it was drawn up by Calderwood himself, yet, having been printed after his death, and in a foreign country, it is often incorrect. Knox, in a conference with Mary of Scotland, told the queen, that he was five years resident in England, (Historie, p. 289). Now, as he came to England immediately after he obtained his liberty, and left it (as we shall afterwards see) in the end of January or beginning of February 1554, this accords exactly with the date of his liberation, which is given above from Calderwood's MS.

[2] This is mentioned in a MS. in my possession; but little credit can be given to it, as it is written in a modern hand, and no authority is produced.

[3] Petrie's Church History, part ii. p. 184.

[4] Hamiltonii Dialogus, p. 64.

PERIOD III.

FROM THE YEAR 1549, WHEN HE WAS RELEASED FROM THE FRENCH GALLEYS, TO THE YEAR 1554, WHEN HE FLED FROM ENGLAND.

Upon regaining his liberty, Knox immediately repaired to England. The objections which he had formerly entertained against a residence in that kingdom were now in a great measure removed. Henry VIII. had died in the year 1547; and Archbishop Cranmer, released from the severe restraint under which he had been held by his tyrannical and capricious master, now exerted himself with much zeal in advancing the Reformation. In this he was cordially supported by those who governed the kingdom during the minority of Edward VI. But the undertaking was extensive and difficult; and, in carrying it on, he found a great deficiency of ecclesiastical coadjutors. Although the most of the bishops had externally complied with the alterations introduced by authority, they remained attached to the old religion, and secretly thwarted, instead of seconding, the measures of the primate. The inferior clergy were, in general, as unable as they were unwilling to undertake the instruction of the people,[1] whose ignorance of religion was in many parts of the country extreme, and whose superstitious habits had become quite inveterate. This evil, which prevailed universally throughout the Popish Church, instead of being corrected, was considerably aggravated by a ruinous measure adopted at the commencement of the English Reformation. When Henry suppressed the monasteries, and seized their revenues, he allotted pensions to the monks during life; but to relieve the royal treasury of this burden, small benefices in the gift of the crown were afterwards substituted in the place of pensions. The example of the monarch was imitated by the nobles who had procured monastic lands. By this means a great part of the inferior livings were held by ignorant and superstitious monks, who were a dead weight upon the English Church, and a principal cause of the nation's sudden relapse to Popery, at the subsequent accession of Queen Mary.[2]

[1] Peter Martyr, in a letter dated Oxford, 1st July 1550, laments the paucity of useful preachers in England, "Dolco plus quam dici possit, tanta ubique in Anglia verbi Dei penuria laborari; et eos qui oves Christi doctrina pascere tenentur, eum usque eo remisse agant, ut officium facere prorsus recusant, nescio quo fletu, quibusve lachrymis deplorari possit. Verum confido fore ut meliora simus visuri." Martyri Epist. apud Loc. Commun. p. 760. Genevæ, 1624.

[2] Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, ii. 24. The suppression of the chantries, in the reign of Edward VI., was attended with similar effects. Strype's Memorials of the Reformation, ii. 446.

Cranmer had already adopted measures for remedying this alarming evil. With the concurrence of the protector and privy council, he had invited a number of learned Protestants from Germany into England, and had placed Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, Paul Fagius, and Emanuel Tremellius, as professors in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. This was a wise measure, which secured a future supply of useful preachers, trained up by these able masters; but the necessity was urgent, and demanded immediate provision. For this purpose, instead of fixing a number of orthodox and popular preachers in particular charges, it was judged most expedient to employ them in itinerating through different parts of the kingdom, where the clergy were most illiterate or disaffected to the Reformation, and where the inhabitants were most addicted to superstition.

In these circumstances, our zealous countryman did not remain long unemployed. The reputation which he had gained by his preaching at St Andrews,[1] and his late sufferings, recommended him to the English council; and soon after his arrival in England, he was sent down from London to preach in Berwick.[2]

The council had every reason to be pleased with the choice which they had made of a northern preacher. He had long thirsted for the opportunity which he now enjoyed. His love for the truth, and his zeal against Popery, had been inflamed during his captivity, and he spared neither time nor labour in the instruction of those to whom he was sent. Regarding the worship of the Romish Church as idolatrous, and its doctrines as damnable, he attacked both with the utmost fervour, and exerted himself in drawing his hearers from the belief of the one, and from the observance of the other, with as much eagerness as if he had been saving their lives from a devouring flame or flood. Nor were his efforts fruitless. During the two years that he continued in Berwick, numbers were converted by his ministry from ignorance and the errors of Popery; and a visible reformation of manners was produced upon the soldiers of the garrison, who had formerly been noted for licentiousness and turbulence.[3]

The popularity and success of a Protestant preacher were very galling to the clergy in that quarter, who were, almost to a man, bigoted Papists, and enjoyed the patronage of the bishop of the diocese. Tonstal, Bishop of Durham, like his friend Sir Thomas More, was one of those men of whom it is extremely difficult to give a correct idea,

[1] I omitted mentioning in the proper place, that the biographer of Sir David Lyndsay has stated, from the minutes of the English council, that Knox was in the pay of England as early as the year 1547. Chalmers's Lyndsay, i. 32. I cannot suppose that the learned author would confound the salary which Knox received during his residence in England, with a pension allotted to him when he was in his native country. But, on the other hand, I think it very unlikely that he should have been known to the English court before he entered the castle of St Andrews, and am inclined to suppose that any pension which he received from them did not commence until that period at soonest. Mr Chalmers's language conveys the idea that he was pensioned by England before he went to the castle.

[2] Strype's Memor. of the Reform. iii. 235. Knox, Hist. 85, 289.

[3] Knox, Historie, p. 289.

qualities of an opposite kind being mixed and blended in his character. Surpassing all his brethren in polite learning, he was the patron of bigotry and superstition. Displaying, in private life, that moderation and suavity of manners which liberal studies usually inspire,[1] he was accessory to the public measures of a reign disgraced throughout by the most shocking barbarities. Claiming our praise for honesty by opposing in parliament innovations which his judgment condemned, he forfeited it by the most tame acquiescence and ample conformity; thereby maintaining his station amidst all the revolutions of religion during three successive reigns. He had paid little attention to the science immediately connected with his profession, and most probably was indifferent to the controversies then agitated; but, living in an age in which it was necessary for every man to choose his side, he adhered to those opinions which had been long established, and which were friendly to the power and splendour of the ecclesiastical order. As if anxious to atone for his fault, in having been instrumental in producing a breach between England and the Roman see, he opposed in parliament all the subsequent changes. Opposition awakened his zeal; he became at last a strenuous advocate for the popish tenets; and wrote a book in defence of transubstantiation, of which, says Bishop Burnet, "the Latin style is better than the divinity."

The labours of one who exerted himself to overthrow what the bishop wished to support, could not fail to be very disagreeable to Tonstal. As Knox acted under the authority of the protector and council, he durst not inhibit him; but he was disposed to listen to the informations which were lodged against him by the clergy. Although the town of Berwick was Knox's principal station during the years 1549 and 1550, it is probable that he was appointed to preach occasionally in the adjacent country. Whether, in the course of his itinerancy, he had preached in Newcastle, or whether he was called up to it in consequence of complaints against the sermons which he had delivered at Berwick, it is difficult to ascertain. It is, however, certain, that a charge was exhibited against him before the bishop, for teaching that the sacrifice of the mass was idolatrous, and that a day was appointed for him publicly to assign his reasons for this opinion.

Accordingly, on the 4th of April 1550, a large assembly being convened in Newcastle, among whom were the members of the council,[2] the Bishop of Durham, and the learned men of his cathedral, Knox delivered in their presence an ample defence of his doctrine. After an

[1] Sir Thomas More, in one of his letters to Erasmus, gives the following character of Tonstal: — "Ut nemo est omnibus bonis literis instructior, nemo vita moribusque severior, ita nemo est usquam in convictu jucundior."

[2] Besides the great council which managed the affairs of the kingdom under the protector, a number of the privy councillors who belonged to that part of the country, composed a subordinate board, called "the council of the north." The members here referred to probably belonged to this council, and not to the town council of Newcastle. If I am right in this conjecture, Knox might owe to them, and not to the bishop, the liberty of this public defence.

appropriate exordium, in which he stated to the audience the occasion and design of his appearance, and cautioned them against the powerful prejudices of education and custom in favour of erroneous opinions and corrupt practices in religion, he proceeded to establish the doctrine which he had taught. The manner in which he treated the subject was well adapted to his auditory, which was composed both of the learned and the illiterate. He proposed his arguments in the syllogistic form, according to the practice of the schools, but illustrated them with a plainness level to the meanest capacity among his hearers. The propositions on which he rested his defence are very descriptive of his characteristic boldness of thinking and acting. A more cautious and timid disputant would have satisfied himself with attacking the grosser notions which were generally entertained by the people on this subject, and exposing the glaring abuses of which the priests were guilty in the lucrative sale of masses. Knox scorned to occupy himself in demolishing these feeble and falling outworks, and proceeded directly to establish a principle which overthrew the whole fabric of superstition. He engaged to prove that the mass, "even in her most high degree," and when stripped of the meretricious dress in which she now appeared, was an idol struck from the inventive brain of superstition, which had supplanted the sacrament of the supper, and engrossed the honour due to the person and sacrifice of Jesus Christ. "Spare no arrows"[1] was Knox's motto; the authority of Scripture, and the force of reasoning, grave reproof, and pointed irony, were weapons which he alternately employed. In the course of this defence, he did not restrain those sallies of raillery, which the fooleries of the popish superstition irresistibly provoke, even from such as are deeply impressed with its pernicious tendency. Before concluding his discourse, he adverted to certain doctrines which he had heard in that place on the preceding Sabbath, the falsehood of which he engaged to demonstrate; but, in the first place, he said, he would submit the notes of the sermon, which he had taken down, to the preacher, that he might correct them as he saw proper; for his object was not to misrepresent, or captiously entrap a speaker, by catching at words unadvisedly uttered, but to defend the truth, and warn his hearers against errors destructive to their souls. The defence, as drawn up by Knox himself, is now before me in manuscript, and the reader who wishes a more particular account of its contents, will find it in the notes.[2]

This defence had the effect of extending Knox's fame through the north of England, while it completely silenced the bishop and his learned assistants.[3] He continued to preach at Berwick during the

[1] Jer. l. 14.

[2] See Note P.

[3] The compiler of the account of Knox, prefixed to the edition of his History printed in 1732, says, that the MS. containing the defence, bears, that it "quite silenced" the bishop and his doctors. But that writer does not appear to have ever seen the MS., which contains nothing of the kind. The fact, however, is attested by the Bishop of Ossory, who had good opportunities of knowing the truth, and who is accurate in his account of other circumstances relative to it. His words are, "Et 4 die Aprilis ejusdem anni [1550] aperiens in concione opinionem,

remaining part of this year, and in the following was removed to Newcastle, and placed in a sphere of greater usefulness. In December 1551, the privy council conferred on him a mark of their approbation, by appointing him one of King Edward's chaplains in ordinary. "It was appointed," says his majesty, in a journal of important transactions which he wrote with his own hand, "that I should have six chaplains ordinary, of which two ever to be present, and four absent in preaching; one year, two in Wales, two in Lancashire and Derby; next year, two in the marches of Scotland, and two in Yorkshire; the third year, two in Norfolk and Essex, and two in Kent and Sussex. These six to be Bill, Harle,[1] Perne, Grindal, Bradford, and ——."[2] The name of the sixth had been dashed out of the journal, but the industrious Strype has shown that it was Knox.[3] "These, it seems, were the most zealous and readiest preachers, who were sent about as itinerants, to supply the defects of the greatest part of the clergy, who were generally very faulty."[4] An annual salary of forty pounds was allotted to each of the chaplains.[5]

In the course of this year, Knox was consulted about the Book of Common Prayer, which was undergoing a revisal. On that occasion, it is probable that he was called up for a short time to London. Although the persons who had the chief direction of ecclesiastical affairs were not disposed, or did not deem it as yet expedient, to introduce that thorough reform which he judged necessary, in order to reduce the worship of the English Church to the Scripture model, his representations on this head were not altogether disregarded. He had influence to procure an important change in the communion office, completely excluding the notion of the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament, and guarding against the adoration of the elements, which was too much countenanced by the practice, still continued, of kneeling at their reception.[6] In his Admonition to the Professors of the Truth in England, Knox speaks of these amendments with great satisfaction. "Also God gave boldness and knowledge to the court of parliament to take away the round clipped god, wherein standeth all the holiness of the Papists, and to command

ejus idolatrias et horrendas blasphemias, tam solidis argumentis, abominationem esse probabat, ut, cum omnibus sciolis, Saturnius ille somniator [Dunelmensis] refragare non possit." Baleus, De Script. Scot. et Hibern. Art. Knoxus.

[1] John Harle or Harley, was afterwards made Bishop of Hereford, May 26, 1553. Strype's Cranmer, p. 301. A late writer has confounded this Englishman with William Harlowe, who was minister of St Cuthbert's church, near Edinburgh. Scott's History of the Reformers in Scotland, p. 242.

[2] King Edward's Journal, apud Burnet, ii. Records, p. 42.

[3] Memorials of the Reformation, ii. 297. Memor. of Cranmer, p. 292. Burnet, iii. 212. Records, 420, 422.

[4] Burnet, ii. 171.

[5] Strype's Memor. of Reform. *ut supra*. Life of Grindal, p. 7. Mr Strype says, that the number of chaplains was afterwards reduced to four, Bradford and Knox being dropped from the list. But both of these preached in their turn before the court in the year 1553. And in the council book a warrant is granted, October 27, 1552, to four gentlemen, to pay to Knox, "his majesty's preacher in the north, forty pounds, as his majesty's reward." Strype's Cranmer, 292. This salary he retained until the death of Edward; for, in a letter written by him at the time he left England, he says, "Ather the queen's majestie, or sum thesaurer, will be 40 pounds rycher by me, sae meikle lack I of the dutie of my patentis; but that littil trublis me." MS. Letters, p. 286.

[6] See Note Q.

common bread to be used at the Lord's table, and also to take away the most part of superstitions (kneeling at the Lord's table excepted) which before profaned Christ's true religion." These alterations gave great offence to the Papists. In a disputation with Latimer, after the accession of Queen Mary, the prolocutor, Dr Weston, complained of our countryman's influence in procuring them. "A runnagate Scot did take away the adoration or worshipping of Christ in the sacrament, by whose procurement that heresy was put into the last communion book; so much prevailed that one man's authority at that time."[1] In the following year, he was employed in revising the Articles of Religion, previous to their ratification by parliament.[2]

During his residence at Berwick, he had formed an acquaintance with Marjory Bowes, a young lady, who afterwards became his wife. Her father, Richard Bowes, was the youngest son of Sir Ralph Bowes of Streatlam; her mother was Elizabeth, the daughter and one of the coheirs of Sir Roger Aske of Aske.[3] Before he left Berwick, Knox had paid his addresses to this young lady, and met with a favourable reception. Her mother also was friendly to the match; but, owing to some reason, most probably the presumed aversion of her father, it was deemed prudent to delay solemnising the union. But having come under a formal promise to her, he considered himself, from that time, as sacredly bound, and in his letters to Mrs Bowes always addressed that lady by the name of mother.[4]

Without derogating from the praise justly due to those worthy men who were at this time employed in disseminating religious truth through England, I may say, that our countryman was not behind the first of them, in the unwearied assiduity with which he laboured in the stations assigned to him. From an early period his mind seems to have presaged, that the golden opportunity now enjoyed would not be of long duration. He was eager to "redeem the time," and indefatigable both in his studies and in teaching. In addition to his ordinary services on Sabbath, he preached regularly on week-days, frequently on every day of the week.[5] Besides the portion of time which he allotted to study,

[1] Fox, p. 1326. Strype questions the truth of Weston's statement, and says that Knox "was hardly come into England (at least any farther than Newcastle) at this time." Annals, iii. 117. But we have already seen that he arrived in England as early as the beginning of 1549.

[2] "October 2, (1552), a letter was directed to Messrs Harley, Bill, Horn, Grindal, Pern, and Knox, to consider certain articles exhibited to the king's majesty, to be subscribed by all such as shall be admitted to be preachers or ministers in any part of the realm; and to make report of their opinions touching the same." Council book, apud Strype's Cranmer, p. 273. Their report was returned before the 20th of November, ibid. p. 301. Burnet says, the order was given Oct. 20. History, iii. 212. The articles agreed to at this time were forty-two. In 1562 they were reduced to thirty-nine, their present number.

[3] See the pedigree of the family of Bowes among the original papers at the end of the work.

[4] From this appellation in the MS. letters, I concluded that Knox was married to Miss Bowes before he left Berwick, until I met with one of his printed works, to which a letter from him to Mrs Bowes is added. On the margin of this, opposite to a place in which he had called her mother, is this note: "I had maid faithful promise, before witnes, to Mariorie Bowes, her daughter, so as she took me for sone, I hartly embrased her as my mother." Knox's Answer to Tyrie the Jesuit. F. ij.

[5] MS. Letters, pp. 265, 276.

he was often employed in conversing with persons who applied to him for advice on religious subjects.[1] The council were not insensible to the value of his services, and conferred on him several marks of their approbation. They wrote different letters to the governors and principal inhabitants of the places where he preached, recommending him to their notice and protection.[2] They secured him in the regular payment of his salary until he should be provided with a benefice.[3] And out of respect to him, they, in September 1552, granted a patent to his brother, William Knox, a merchant, giving him liberty, for a limited time, to trade to any port of England, in a vessel of a hundred tons burden.[4]

But the things which recommended Knox to the council, drew upon him the hatred of a numerous and powerful party in the northern counties, who remained addicted to Popery. Irritated by his boldness and success in attacking their superstition, and sensible that it would be vain, and even dangerous, to prefer an accusation against him on that ground, they watched for an opportunity of catching at something in his discourses or behaviour, which they might improve to his disadvantage. He had long observed, with great anxiety, the impatience with which the Papists submitted to the present government, and their eager desires for any change which might lead to the overthrow of the Protestant religion,—desires which were expressed by them in the north, without that reserve which prudence dictated in places adjacent to the seat of authority. He had witnessed the joy with which they received the news of the protector's fall, and was no stranger to the satisfaction with which they circulated prognostications as to the speedy demise of the king. In a sermon preached by him about Christmas, 1552, he gave vent to his feelings on this subject; and, lamenting the obstinacy of the Papists, asserted, that such as were enemies to the gospel then preached in England, were secret traitors to the crown and commonwealth, thirsted for nothing more than his majesty's death, and cared not who should reign over them, provided they got their idolatry again erected. The freedom of this speech was immediately laid hold

[1] MS. Letters, passim.

[2] They wrote a letter in commendation of him, Dec. 9, 1552, to Lord Wharton, deputy warden of the Borders. During the following year, when he was employed in Buckinghamshire, in order to secure greater acceptance and respect to him in that county, the council wrote in his favour to Lords Russel and Windsor, to the justices of the peace, and to several other gentlemen. Strype's Cranmer, p. 292.

[3] Strype's Memor. of the Reformation, ii. 533.

[4] Bishop Burnet, and Mr Strype, (Memor. of Reform. ii. 299), who have recorded this fact, conjectured that the patentee was a relation of our Reformer. That he was his brother, is evident from Knox's letters, which mention his being in England about this time. In a letter written in 1553, he says: "My brother, Williame Knox, is presentlie with me. What ye wald haif fromc Scotland, let me knaw this Monunday at nicht; for hie must depart on Tyisday." MS. Letters, p. 271. Perhaps the same person is referred to in the following extract from another letter: "My brother hath communicat his haill hart with me, and I persave the mychtie operation of God. And sa let us be establissit in his infinit gudnes and maist sure promissis." Ib. p. 266.

William Knox afterwards became a preacher, and was minister of Cockpen, in Mid-Lothian, after the establishment of the Reformation in Scotland. No fewer than fourteen ministers of the Church of Scotland are numbered among his descendants. Genealogical Account of the Knoxes, apud Scott's History of the Reformers in Scotland, p. 152.

of by his enemies, and transmitted, with many aggravations, to some great men about court, secretly in their interest, who, thereupon, accused him of high misdemeanours before the privy council.[1]

In taking this step, they were not a little encouraged by their knowledge of the sentiments of the Duke of Northumberland, who had lately come down to his charge as warden-general of the northern marches.[2] This ambitious and unprincipled nobleman had affected much zeal for the reformed religion, that he might the more easily attain the highest preferment in the State, which he had recently secured by the ruin of the Duke of Somerset, the protector of the kingdom. Knox had offended him by publicly lamenting the fall of Somerset as dangerous to the Reformation, of which this nobleman had always shown himself a zealous friend, however blamable his conduct might have been in other respects.[3] Nor could the freedom which the preacher used in reproving from the pulpit the vices of great as well as small, fail to be displeasing to a man of Northumberland's character. On these accounts, the duke was desirous to have Knox removed from that quarter, and had actually applied for this, by a letter to the council, previous to the occurrence just mentioned, alleging, as a pretext for this, that great numbers of Scotsmen resorted to him : as if any real danger was to be apprehended from this intercourse with a man, of whose fidelity the existing government had so many strong pledges, and who uniformly employed all his influence to remove the prejudices of his countrymen against England.[4]

In consequence of the charge exhibited against him to the council, he was summoned to repair immediately to London, and answer for his conduct. The following extract of a letter, written by him to Miss Bowes,[5] will show the state of his mind on receiving this citation. "Urgent necessity will not suffer that I testify my mind unto you. My Lord of Westmoreland[6] has written unto me this Wednesday, at six of the clock at night, immediately thereafter to repair unto him, as I will answer at my peril. I could not obtain licence to remain the time of

[1] MS. Letters, p. 193. Knox's Admonition to the Professors of the Truth in England, p. 61, apud History, Edin. 1644, 4to.

[2] The Earl of Warwick, now created Duke of Northumberland, was appointed warden-general of the northern marches in October 1551. But being occupied in securing his interest at court, he got himself excused from going north until June 1552. Strype's Memor. of the Reformation, ii. 282, 339.

[3] MS. Letters, pp. 112, 173. Admonition, p. 51, apud History, Edinburgh, 1644. Knox considered that the Papists had a secret hand in fomenting those dissensions which led to the condemnation and death of the protector. Nor were his suspicions ill-founded. See Strype's Memor. of the Reform. ii. 306—7.

[4] The duke's letter was dated Nov. 23, 1552. Hayne's State Papers, p. 136. Brand's History of Newcastle, p. 304. Redpath's Border History, p. 577.

[5] A great number of his letters in the MS. are superscribed "To his sister." It appears from internal evidence, that this was a daughter of Mrs Bowes ; and, although I cannot be positive, I am inclined to think that she was the young lady whom he married. One letter has this superscription, "To Mariorie Bowes, who was his first wife." In it he addresses her by the name of *Sister*, and at the close, says, "I think this be the first letter that ever I wrait to you." MS. Letters, p. 335. But there is no date by which to compare it with other letters.

[6] Henry Nevyl, Earl of Westmoreland, was, by the interest of the Duke of Northumberland, admitted a member of the privy council in 1552. He was also a member of the council for the north, and lord-lieutenant of the bishopric of Durham. His private character was indifferent. Strype's Memor. of the Reformation, ii. 401, 457—9.

the sermon upon the morrow. Blessed be God who does ratify and confirm the truth of his word from time to time, as our weakness shall require! Your adversary, sister, doth labour that you should doubt whether this be the word of God or not. If there had never been testimonial of the undoubted truth thereof before these our ages, may not such things as we see daily come to pass prove the verity thereof? Doth it not affirm, that it shall be preached, and yet contemned and lightly regarded by many; that the true professors thereof shall be hated by father, mother, and others of the contrary religion; that the most faithful shall be persecuted? And cometh not all these things to pass in ourselves? Rejoice, sister, for the same word that forespeaketh trouble doth certify us of the glory consequent. As for myself, albeit the extremity should now apprehend me, it is not come unlooked for. But, alas! I fear that yet I be not ripe nor able to glorify Christ by my death; but what lacketh now, God shall perform in his own time. Be sure I will not forget you and your company, so long as mortal man may remember any earthly creature."[1]

Upon reaching London, he found that his enemies had been uncommonly industrious in their endeavours to excite prejudices against him. But the council, after hearing his defence, were convinced of the malice of his accusers, and gave him an honourable acquittal. He was employed to preach before the court, and his sermons gave great satisfaction to his majesty, who contracted a favour for him, and was anxious to have him promoted in the Church.[2] The council resolved that he should preach in London and the southern counties during the following year; but they allowed him to return for a short time to Newcastle, either that he might settle his affairs in the north, or that a public testimony might be borne to his innocence in the place where it had been attacked. In a letter to his sister, dated Newcastle, 23d March 1553, we find him writing as follows: "Look farther of this matter in the other letter,[3] written unto you at such time as many thought I should never write after to man. Heinous were the delations laid against me, and many are the lies that are made to the council. But God one day shall destroy all lying tongues, and shall deliver his servants from calamity. I look but one day or other to fall in their hands; for more and more rageth the members of the devil against me. This assault of Satan has been to his confusion, and to the glory of God. And therefore, sister, cease not to praise God, and to call for my comfort; for great is the multitude of enemies, whom every one the Lord shall confound. I intend not to depart from Newcastle before Easter."

His confinement in the French galleys, together with his labours in England, had considerably impaired the vigour of his constitution, and brought on the gravel. In the course of the year 1553, he

[1] MS. Letters, p. 267—9.
[2] MS. Letters, p. 112. Melchior Adam. Vitæ Theolog. Ext. p. 137.
[3] The letter last quoted. MS. Letters, p. 273—4, compared with p. 268.

endured several violent attacks of this acute disorder, accompanied with severe pain in his head and stomach. "My daily labours must now increase," says he, in the letter last quoted, "and therefore spare me as much as you may. My old malady troubles me sore, and nothing is more contrarious to my health than writing. Think not that I weary to visit you; but unless my pain shall cease, I will altogether become unprofitable. Work, O Lord, even as pleaseth thy infinite goodness, and relax the troubles, at thy own pleasure, of such as seeketh thy glory to shine. Amen!"[1] In another letter to the same correspondent, he writes: "The pain of my head and stomach troubles me greatly. Daily I find my body decay; but the providence of my God shall not be frustrate. I am charged to be at Widdrington upon Sunday, where, I think, I shall also remain Monday. The Spirit of the Lord Jesus rest with you. Desire such faithful with whom ye communicate your mind to pray that, at the pleasure of our good God, my dolour both of body and spirit may be relieved somewhat; for presently it is very bitter. Never found I the spirit, I praise my God, so abundant, where God's glory ought to be declared; and, therefore, I am sure there abides something that yet we see not."[2] "Your messenger," says he, in another letter, "found me in bed, after a sore trouble and most dolorous night; and so dolour may complain to dolour when we two meet. But the infinite goodness of God, who never despiseth the petitions of a sore troubled heart, shall, at his good pleasure, put end to these pains that we presently suffer, and, in place thereof, shall crown us with glory and immortality for ever. But, dear sister, I am even of mind with faithful Job, yet most sore tormented, that my pain shall have no end in this life. The power of God may, against the purpose of my heart, alter such things as appear not to be altered, as he did unto Job; but dolour and pain, with sore anguish, cries the contrary. And this is more plain than ever I spake, to let you know ye have a fellow and companion in trouble. And thus rest in Christ; for the head of the serpent is already broken down, and he is stinging us upon the heel."[3]

About the beginning of April 1553, he returned to London. In the month of February preceding, Archbishop Cranmer had been directed by the council to present him to the vacant living of All-Hallows, in the city.[4] This proposal, which originated in the personal favour of the young king, was very disagreeable to Northumberland, who exerted himself privately to hinder the appointment. But the interference of this nobleman was unnecessary; for Knox declined the living when it was offered to him, and, being questioned as to his reasons, readily acknowledged that he had not freedom in his mind to accept of a fixed charge in the present state of the English Church. His refusal, with the reasons which he had assigned for it, gave offence, and, on the 14th of April, he was called before the privy council. There were present

[1] MS. Letters, p. 276.
[2] Ibid., p. 260—1.
[3] Ibid., p. 262.
[4] Strype's Cranmer, p. 292.

the Archbishop of Canterbury, Goodrick, Bishop of Ely and Lord Chancellor, the Earls of Bedford, Northampton, and Shrewsbury, the Lords Treasurer and Chamberlain, and the two Secretaries of State. They asked him, why he had refused the benefice provided for him in London. He answered, that he was fully satisfied that he could be more useful to the Church in another situation. Being interrogated, if it was his opinion, that no person could lawfully serve in ecclesiastical ministrations according to the present laws of that realm, he frankly replied, that there were many things in the English Church which needed reformation, and that unless they were reformed, ministers could not, in his opinion, discharge their office conscientiously in the sight of God: for no minister had authority, according to the existing laws, to prevent the unworthy from participating of the sacraments, which was "a chief point of his office." Being asked, if kneeling at the Lord's table was not a matter of indifference, he replied, that Christ's action at the communion was most perfect, and in it no such posture was used; that it was most safe to follow his example; and that kneeling was an addition and invention of men. On this article, there was a smart dispute between him and some of the members of the council. After long reasoning, he was told that they had not sent for him with any bad design, but were sorry to understand that he was of a judgment contrary to the common order. He said he was sorry that the common order was contrary to Christ's institution. The council dismissed him with soft words, advising him to use all means for removing the dislike which he had conceived to some of the forms of their Church, and to reconcile his mind, if possible, to the idea of communicating according to the established rites.[1]

Scruples which had resisted the force of authority and argument, have often been found to yield to the more powerful influence of lucrative and honourable situations. But whether, with some, we shall consider Knox's conduct on this occasion as indicating the poverty of his spirit,[2] or shall regard it as a proof of true independence of mind, the prospect of elevation to the episcopal bench could not overcome the repugnance which he felt to a closer connection with the Church of England. Edward VI., with the concurrence of his privy council, offered him a bishopric. But he rejected it; and in the reasons which he gave for his refusal, declared the episcopal office to be destitute of divine authority in itself, and its exercise in the English Church to be inconsistent with the ecclesiastical canons. This is attested by Beza, a contemporary author.[3] Knox himself, in one of his treatises, speaks of the

[1] The account of his examination before the council is taken from a letter of Knox, the substance of which has been inserted by Calderwood, in his MS. History, and by Strype, in his Memorials of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 400.

[2] Luther having rejected with disdain the great offers by which Alexander, the papal legate, attempted to gain him over to the court of Rome, "He is a ferocious brute," exclaimed the legate, equally confounded and disappointed, "whom nothing can soften, and who regards riches and honours as mere dirt; otherwise the pope would long ago have loaded him with favours."—Beausobre's History of the Reformation, i. 395—6. Macaulay's Translation.

[3] Bezæ Icones, Ee iij. See also Verheideni Effigies, pp. 92, 93. Melch. Adam. p. 137.

"high promotions" offered him by Edward;[1] and we shall find him, at a later period of his life, expressly asserting that he had refused a bishopric. Tonstal having been sequestered upon a charge of misprision of treason, the council came to a resolution, about this time, to divide his extensive diocese into two bishopries, the seat of one of which was to be at Durham, and of the other at Newcastle. Ridley, Bishop of London, was to be translated to the former, and it is highly probable that Knox was intended for the latter. "He was offered a bishopric," says Brand, "probably the new founded one at Newcastle, which he refused—*revera noluit episcopari.*"[2]

It may be proper, in this place, to give a more particular account of Knox's sentiments respecting the English Church. The reformation of religion, it is well known, was conducted on very different principles in England and in Scotland, both as to worship and ecclesiastical polity. In England, the papal supremacy was transferred to the prince; the hierarchy, being subjected to the civil power, was suffered to remain; and, the grosser superstitions having been removed, the principal forms of the ancient worship were retained; whereas in Scotland all of these were discarded, as destitute of divine authority, unprofitable, burdensome, or savouring of Popery, and the worship and government of the Church were reduced to the primitive standard of scriptural simplicity. The influence of Knox in recommending this establishment to his countrymen, is universally allowed; but, as he officiated for a considerable time in the Church of England, and on this account was supposed to have been pleased with its constitution, it has been usually said, that he afterwards contracted a dislike to it during his exile on the Continent, and having imbibed the sentiments of Calvin, brought them along with him to his native country, and organised the Scottish Church after the Genevan model. This statement is inaccurate. His objections to the English liturgy were increased and strengthened during his residence on the Continent; but they existed before that time. His judgment respecting ecclesiastical government and discipline was matured during that period, but his radical sentiments on these heads were formed long before he saw Calvin, or had any intercourse with the foreign reformers. At Geneva he saw a Church which, upon the whole, corresponded with his idea of the divinely authorised pattern; but he did not indiscriminately approve, nor servilely imitate, either that or any other existing establishment.[3]

As early as the year 1547, he taught, in his first sermons at St Andrews, that no mortal man could be head of the Church; there were

[1] MS. Letters, p. 73. The passage will afterwards be quoted.

[2] History of Newcastle, p. 304. Surtees's Durham, vol. i. p. 70.

[3] The Churches of Geneva and Scotland did not agree in all points. Though holy-days were abolished in Geneva at the commencement of the Reformation, the observance of a number of them was very soon restored, and has always continued in that Church; but this practice was wholly rejected by the Church of Scotland, from the very first establishment of the Reformation, and its introduction has always been vigorously resisted by her. Other things in which they differed might easily be mentioned.

no true bishops, but such as preached personally without a substitute; that in religion men were bound to regulate themselves by divine laws; and that the sacraments ought to be administered exactly according to the institution and example of Christ. We have seen that, in a solemn disputation in the same place, he maintained that the Church has no authority, on pretext of decorating divine service, to devise religious ceremonies, and impose upon them arbitrary significations.[1] This position he also defended in the year 1550, at Newcastle, and on his subsequent appearance before the privy council at London. It was impossible that the English Church, in any of the shapes which it assumed, could stand the test of these principles. The ecclesiastical supremacy, the various orders and dependencies of the hierarchy, crossing in baptism, and kneeling in the eucharist, with other ceremonies—the theatrical dress, the mimical gestures, the vain repetitions used in religious service, were all condemned and repudiated by the cardinal principle to which he steadily adhered, that, in the Church of Christ, and especially in the acts of worship, everything ought to be arranged and conducted, not by the pleasure and appointment of men, but according to the dictates of inspired wisdom and authority.

He rejoiced that liberty and encouragement were given to preach the pure word of God throughout the extensive realm of England; that idolatry and gross superstition were suppressed; and that the rulers were disposed to support the Reformation, and even to carry it farther than had yet been done. Considering the character of the greater part of the clergy, the extreme paucity of useful preachers, and other hinderances to the introduction of the primitive order and discipline of the Church, he acquiesced in the authority exercised by a part of the bishops, under the direction of the privy council, and endeavoured to strengthen their hands in the advancement of the common cause, by painful preaching in the stations which were assigned to him. But he could not be induced to contradict or to conceal his fixed sentiments, and he cautiously avoided coming under engagements by which he must have assented to what, in his decided judgment, was either in its own nature unlawful, or injurious in its tendency to the interests of religion. Upon these principles, he never submitted to the unlimited use of the liturgy, during the time that he was in England,[2] and refused to become a bishop, or to accept a parochial charge. When he perceived that the progress of the Reformation was arrested by the influence of a popish

[1] Knox, Historie, p. 72—74, and this Life, pp. 31, 32.

[2] Cald. MS. i. 250. During the reign of Edward, and even the first years of that of his sister Elizabeth, absolute conformity to the liturgy was not pressed upon ministers. Strype's Annals, i. 419, 432. Burnet, iii. 305, 311. Hutchinson's Antiq. of Durham, i. 453. Archbishop Parker, in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, administered the elements to the communicants standing, in the cathedral church at Canterbury. Her Majesty's commissioners appointed the communion to be received in the same posture in Coventry; and the practice was continued in that town as late, at least, as the year 1608. Certain demands propounded unto Richard, Archbishop of Canterbury, p. 45, anno 1605. Removal of Imputations laid upon the ministers of Devon and Cornwall, p. 51, anno 1606. Dispute upon the question of Kneeling, p. 131, anno 1608.

faction, and the dictates of a temporising policy; that abuses, which had formerly been acknowledged, began to be openly vindicated and stiffly maintained; above all, when he saw, after the accession of Elizabeth, that a retrograde course was taken, and a yoke of ceremonies, more grievous than that which the most sincere Protestants had formerly complained of, was imposed and enforced by arbitrary statutes, he judged it necessary to speak in a tone of more decided and severe reprehension.

Among other things which he censured in the English ecclesiastical establishment, were the continuing to employ a great number of ignorant and insufficient priests, who had been accustomed to nothing but saying mass and singing the litany; the general substitution of the reading of homilies, the mumbling of prayers, or the chanting of matins and even-song, in the place of preaching; the formal celebration of the sacraments, unaccompanied with instruction to the people; the scandalous prevalence of pluralities; and the total want of ecclesiastical discipline. He was of opinion, that the clergy ought not to be entangled, and diverted from the duties of their office, by holding civil places: that the bishops should lay aside their secular titles and dignities; that the bishoprics should be divided, so that in every city or large town there might be placed a godly and learned man, with others joined with him, for the management of ecclesiastical matters; and that schools for the education of youth should be universally erected through the nation.[1]

Nor did the principal persons who were active in effecting the English Reformation differ widely from Knox in these sentiments, although they might not have the same conviction of their importance, and of the expediency of reducing them to practice. We should mistake exceedingly, if we supposed that they were men of the same principles and temper with many who succeeded to their places, or that they were satisfied with the pitch to which they had carried the reformation of the English Church, and regarded it as a paragon and perfect pattern to other churches. They were strangers to those extravagant and illiberal notions which were afterwards adopted by the fond admirers of the hierarchy and liturgy. They would have laughed at the man who seriously asserted, that the ecclesiastical ceremonies constituted any part of "the beauty of holiness," or that the imposition of the hands of a bishop was essential to the validity of ordination; and they would not have owned that person as a Protestant who would have ventured to insinuate, that where these were wanting, there was no Christian ministry, no ordinances, no church, and perhaps—no salvation. Many things which their successors have applauded, they barely tolerated; and they would have been happy if the circumstances of their time

[1] This statement of his sentiments is drawn from his Brief Exhortation to England for the speedy embracing of Christ's Gospel, printed at Geneva, anno 1559, and at the end of his History, Edinburgh, 1644, 4to; and from his letters to Mrs Locke, dated 6th April, and 15th October, 1559, in Cald. MS. i. 380, 491.

would have permitted them to introduce alterations, which have since been cried down as puritanical innovations. Strange as it may appear to some, I am not afraid of exceeding the truth when I say, that if the English reformers, including the Protestant bishops, had been left to their own choice,—if they had not been held back and retarded by a large mass of popishly affected clergy in the reign of Edward, and restrained by the supreme civil authority on the accession of Elizabeth, they would have brought the government and worship of the Church of England nearly to the pattern of other reformed churches. If the reader doubts this, he may consult the evidence produced in the notes.[1]

Such, in particular, was the earnest wish of his majesty, Edward VI., a prince who, besides his other rare qualities, had an unfeigned reverence for the word of God, and a disposition to comply with its precepts in preference to custom and established usages; and who showed himself uniformly inclined to give relief to his conscientious subjects, and sincerely bent on promoting the union of all the friends of the reformed religion at home and abroad. Of his intention on this head, there remain the most unquestionable and satisfactory documents.[2] Had his life been spared, there is every reason to think that he would have accomplished the correction or removal of those evils in the English Church, which the most steady and enlightened Protestants have lamented. Had his sister Elizabeth been of the same spirit with him, and prosecuted the plan which he laid down, the consequences would have been most happy both for herself and for her people, for the government and for the Church. She would have united all the friends of the Reformation, who were the great support of her authority. She would have weakened the interest of the Roman Catholics, whom all her accommodating measures could not gain, nor prevent from repeatedly conspiring against her life and crown. She would have put an end to those dissensions among her Protestant subjects, which continued during the whole of her reign, which she bequeathed as a legacy to her successors, and which, being fomented and exasperated by the severities employed for their suppression, burst forth at length, to the temporary overthrow of the monarchy, as well as of the hierarchy, whose exorbitancies it had patronised, and whose corruptions it had sanctioned and maintained,—dissensions which subsist to this day; which, though softened by the partial lenitive of a toleration, have gradually alienated from the communion of that Church a large proportion of the people, and which, if a timely and suitable remedy be not applied, may ultimately undermine the foundations of the English establishment.

During the time that Knox was in London, he had full opportunity for observing the state of the court; and the observations which he made filled his mind with the most anxious forebodings. Of the piety

[1] See Note R. [2] See Note S.

and sincerity of the young king he entertained not the smallest doubt. Personal acquaintance heightened the idea which he had conceived of his character from report, and enabled him to add his testimony to the tribute of praise, which all who knew that prince had so cheerfully paid to his uncommon virtues and endowments.[1] But the principal courtiers, by whom he was at that time surrounded, were persons of a very different description, and gave proofs, too unequivocal to be mistaken, of indifference to all religion, and of a readiness to acquiesce, and even to assist, in the re-establishment of the ancient superstition, whenever a change of rulers should render this measure practicable and expedient. The health of Edward, which had long been declining, growing gradually worse, so that no hopes of his recovery remained, they were eager only about the aggrandising of their families, and providing for the security of their places and fortunes.

The royal chaplains were men of a very different character from those who have usually occupied that place in the courts of princes. They were no time-serving, supple, smooth-tongued parasites; they were not afraid of forfeiting their pensions, or of alarming the consciences, and wounding the delicate ears, of their royal and noble auditors, by denouncing the vices which they committed, and the judgments of Heaven to which they exposed themselves. The freedom used by the venerable Latimer is well known from his printed sermons, which, for their homely honesty, artless simplicity, native humour, and genuine pictures of the manners of the age, continue still to be read with interest. Grindal, Lever, and Bradford, who were superior to Latimer in learning, evinced the same fidelity and courage. They censured the ambition, avarice, luxury, oppression, and irreligion which reigned in the court. As long as their sovereign was able to give personal attendance on the sermons, the preachers were treated with exterior decency and respect; but after he was confined to his chamber by a consumptive cough, the resentment of the courtiers vented itself openly in the most contumelious speeches and insolent behaviour.[2]

From what the reader has already seen of Knox's character, he may readily conceive that the sermons delivered by him at court were not less free and bold than those of his colleagues. We may form a judgment of them from the account which he has given of the last sermon preached by him before his majesty; in which he directed several piercing glances of reproof at the haughty premier and his crafty relation, the Marquis of Winchester, lord high treasurer, both of whom were among his hearers. His text was John, xiii. 18, "He that eateth bread with me, hath lifted up his heel against me." It had been often seen, he said, that the most excellent and godly princes were surrounded

[1] "We had," says he in his Letter to the Faithful in London, Newcastle, and Berwick, "ane king of sa godlie disposition towardis vertew, and the treuth of God, that nane frome the beginning passit him, and (to my knawledge) none of his yeiris did ever mache him in that behalf; gif hie myght haif bene lord of his awn will." MS. Letters, p. 119. He has passed a fuller encomium on this prince in his Historie, p. 89.

[2] See Note T.

with false and ungodly officers and counsellors. Having inquired into the reasons of this, and illustrated the fact from the Scripture examples of Achitophel under King David, Shebna under Hezekiah, and Judas under Jesus Christ, he added: "What wonder is it, then, that a young and innocent king be deceived by crafty, covetous, wicked, and ungodly counsellors? I am greatly afraid that Achitophel be counsellor, that Judas bear the purse, and that Shebna be scribe, comptroller, and treasurer."[1]

On the 6th of July 1553, Edward VI. departed this life, to the unspeakable grief of all the lovers of learning, virtue, and the Protestant religion; and a black cloud spread over England, which, after hovering a while, burst into a dreadful storm, that raged during five years with the most destructive fury. Knox was at this time in London.[2] He received the afflicting tidings of his majesty's decease with becoming fortitude and resignation to the sovereign will of Heaven. The event did not meet him unprepared; he had long anticipated it, with its probable consequences; the prospect had produced the keenest anguish in his breast, and drawn tears from his eyes; and he had frequently introduced the subject into his public discourses and confidential conversations with his friends. Writing to Mrs Bowes, some time after this, he says, "How oft have you and I talked of these present days, till neither of us both could refrain tears, when no such appearance then was seen of man! How oft have I said unto you, that I looked daily for trouble, and that I wondered at it, that so long I should escape it! What moved me to refuse (and that with displeasure of all men, even of those that best loved me) those high promotions that were offered by him whom God hath taken from us for our offences? Assuredly the foresight of trouble to come.[3] How oft have I said unto you that the time would not be long that England would give me bread! Advise with the last letter that I wrote unto your brother-in-law, and consider what is therein contained."[4]

He remained in London until the 19th of July, when Mary was proclaimed queen, only nine days after the same ceremony had been performed in that city for the amiable and unfortunate Lady Jane Grey. The thoughtless demonstrations of joy given by the inhabitants, at an event which threatened such danger to the religious faith which they still avowed, affected him so deeply, that he could not refrain, in his sermons, from publicly testifying his displeasure at their conduct, and from warning them of the calamities which they had reason to dread.[5]

[1] MS. Letters, p. 175—177, and Admonition, pp. 52, 54, apud History, Edinburgh, 1644, 4to.

[2] One of his letters to Mrs Bowes is dated, London, 22d June 1553. MS. Letters, p. 249. And from other letters it appears, that he was there in the following month.

[3] We have already seen (pp. 49—51), that this was not his sole reason for refusing preferment in the English Church.

[4] MS. Letters, pp. 73, 74, also p. 250.

[5] In his "Letter to the Faithful in London," &c. he puts them in mind of the premonitions which he had given on different occasions, and, among others, of "what was spoken in Londone in ma places nor ane, when fyreis of joy and ryatous banketting wer at the proclamation of Marie your quene." MS. Letters, pp. 112, 113.

Immediately after this, he appears to have withdrawn from London, and retired to the north of England, being justly apprehensive of the measures which might be pursued by the new government.[1]

To induce the Protestants to submit peaceably to her authority, Mary amused them for some time with proclamations, in which she promised not to do violence to their consciences. Though aware of the bigotry of the queen, and the spirit of the religion to which she was devoted, the Protestant ministers reckoned it their duty to improve this respite. In the month of August, Knox returned to the south, and resumed his labours. It seems to have been at this time that he composed the Confession and Prayer, commonly used by him in the congregations to which he preached, in which he prayed for Queen Mary by name, and for the suppression of such as meditated rebellion.[2] While he itinerated through Buckinghamshire, he was attended by large audiences, which his popularity and the alarming crisis drew together; especially at Amersham, a borough formerly noted for the general reception of the doctrines of Wickliffe, the precursor of the Reformation in England, and from which the seed sown by his followers had never been altogether eradicated.[3] Wherever he went, he earnestly exhorted the people to repentance, under the tokens of divine displeasure, and to a steady adherence to the faith which they had embraced. He continued to preach in Buckinghamshire and Kent during the harvest months, although the measures of government daily rendered his safety more precarious; and in the beginning of November returned to London, where he resided chiefly with Mr Locke and Mr Hickman, two respectable merchants of his acquaintance.[4]

While the measures of the new government threatened danger to all the Protestants in the kingdom, and our countryman was under daily apprehensions of imprisonment, he met with a severe trial of a private nature. I have already mentioned his engagements to Miss Bowes. At this time it was judged proper by both parties to avow the connection, and to proceed to solemnise their union. This step was opposed by the young lady's father; and his opposition was accompanied with circumstances which gave much distress to Mrs Bowes and her daughter, as well as to Knox. His refusal seems to have proceeded from family pride; but there is reason to think it was also influenced by religious considerations; as, from different hints dropped in the correspondence about this affair, he appears to have been, if not inclined to Popery in his judgment, at least resolved to comply with the religion now favoured by the court. On this subject, I find Knox writing from London to Mrs Bowes, in a letter, dated 20th September 1553. "My great labours, wherein I desire your daily prayers, will not suffer me to satisfy my mind touching all the process between your husband and you touching my matter with his daughter. I praise God heartily both for your

[1] One of his letters is dated Carlisle, 26th July 1553. MS. Letters, p. 270.

[2] See Note U.

[3] Foxe, 718, 748—9, 751—766. Knox, Admonition, p. 67, Appendix to History, Edin. 1644, 4to.

[4] MS. Letters, pp. 289. 291.

boldness and constancy. But I beseech you, mother, trouble not yourself too much therewith. It becomes me now to jeopard my life for the comfort and deliverance of my own flesh,[1] as that I will do by God's grace, both fear and friendship of all earthly creature laid aside. I have written to your husband, the contents whereof I trust our brother Harry will declare to you and my wife. If I escape sickness and imprisonment, [you may] be sure to see me soon."[2]

His wife and mother-in-law were anxious that he should settle in Berwick, or its neighbourhood, where he might perhaps be allowed to reside peaceably, although in a more private way than formerly. To this proposal he does not seem to have been averse, provided he could have seen any prospect of his being able to support himself. Since the accession of Queen Mary, the payment of the salary allotted him by government had been stopped. Indeed, he had not received any part of it for the last twelve months.[3] His father-in-law was abundantly able to give him a sufficient establishment; but Knox's spirit could not brook the thought of being dependent on one who had treated him with coldness and disdain. Induced by the importunity of Mrs Bowes, he applied to her brother-in-law, Sir Robert Bowes, and attempted, by a candid explanation of all circumstances, to remove any umbrage which had been conceived against him by the family, and to procure an amicable settlement of the whole affair. The unfavourable issue of this interview was communicated by him in a letter to Mrs Bowes, of which the following is an extract:—

"Dear Mother,—So may and will I call you, not only for the tender affection I bear unto you in Christ, but also for the motherly kindness ye have shown unto me at all times since our first acquaintance; albeit such things as I have desired, (if it had pleased God), and ye and others have long desired, are never like to come to pass, yet shall ye be sure that my love and care toward you shall never abate, so long as I can care for any earthly creature. Ye shall understand that this 6th of November, I spake with Sir Robert Bowes on the matter ye know, according to your request, whose disdainful, yea, despiteful words, have so pierced my heart that my life is bitter unto me. I bear a good countenance with a sore troubled heart; while he that ought to consider matters with a deep judgment is become not only a despiser, but also a taunter of God's messengers. God be merciful unto him. Among other his most unpleasing words, while that I was about to have declared my part in the whole matter, he said, 'Away with your rhetorical reasons, for I will not be persuaded with them.' God knows I did use no rhetoric or coloured speech, but would have spoken the truth, and that in most simple manner. I am not a good orator in my own cause. But what he would not be content to hear of me God shall declare to him one day to his displeasure, unless he repent. It is supposed that all the matter comes by you and me. I pray God that your

[1] His wife. [2] MS. Letters, pp. 290, 291. [3] Ibid., p. 196.

conscience were quiet and at peace, and I regard not what country consume this my wicked carcass. And were it not that no man's unthankfulness shall move me (God supporting my infirmity) to cease to do profit unto Christ's congregation, those days should be few that England would give me bread. And I fear that, when all is done, I shall be driven to that end; for I cannot abide the disdainful hatred of those, of whom not only I thought I might have craved kindness, but also to whom God hath been by me more liberal than they be thankful. But so must men declare themselves. Affection does trouble me at this present; yet I doubt not to overcome by Him, who will not leave comfortless his afflicted to the end, whose omnipotent Spirit rest with you. Amen." [1]

He refers to the same disagreeable affair in another letter written about the end of this year. After mentioning the bad state of his health, which had been greatly increased by distress of mind, he adds, "It will be after the 12th day before I can be at Berwick; and almost I am determined not to come at all. Ye know the cause. God be more merciful unto some, than they are equitable unto me in judgment. The testimony of my conscience absolves me, before His face who looks not upon the presence of man." [2] These extracts show us the heart of the writer; they discover the sensibility of his temper, the keenness of his feelings, and his pride and independence of spirit struggling with a sense of duty, and affection to his relations.

About the end of November, or the beginning of December, he retired from the south to Newcastle. The parliament had by this time repealed all the laws made in favour of the Reformation, and restored the Roman Catholic religion; but such as pleased, were permitted to observe the Protestant worship until the 20th of December. After that period they were thrown out of the protection of the law, and exposed to the pains decreed against heretics. Many of the bishops and ministers were already committed to prison; others had escaped beyond sea. Knox could not, however, prevail on himself either to flee the kingdom, or to desist from preaching. Three days after the period limited by the statute had elapsed, he says in one of his letters, "I may not answer your places of Scripture, nor yet write the exposition of the sixth Psalm, for every day of this week must I preach, if this wicked carcass will permit." [3]

His enemies, who had been defeated in their attempts to ruin him under the former government, had now access to rulers sufficiently disposed to listen to their information. They were not dilatory in improving the opportunity. In the end of December 1553, or beginning of January 1554, his servant was seized as he carried letters from him to his wife and mother-in-law, and the letters were taken from him, in the hopes of finding in them some matter of accusation against the

[1] MS. Letters, pp. 293, 294. [2] Ibid., p. 265. [3] Ibid.

writer. As they contained merely religious advices, and exhortations to constancy in the Protestant faith, which he was prepared to avow before any court to which he might be called, he was not alarmed at their interception. But being aware of the uneasiness which the report would give to his friends at Berwick, he set out immediately with the design of visiting them. Notwithstanding the secresy with which he conducted this journey, the rumour of it quickly spread; and some of his wife's relations who had joined him, perceiving that he was in imminent danger, prevailed on him, greatly against his own inclination, to relinquish the design of proceeding to Berwick, and retire to a place of safety on the coast, from which he might escape by sea, provided the search for him was continued. From this retreat he wrote to his wife and her mother, acquainting them with the reasons of his absconding, and the small prospect which he had of being able at that time to see them. "His brethren," he said, "had, partly by admonition, partly by tears, compelled him to obey," somewhat contrary to his own mind; for "never could he die in a more honest quarrel," than by suffering as a witness for that truth of which God had made him a messenger. Notwithstanding this state of his mind, he promised, if Providence prepared the way, to "obey the voices of his brethren, and give place to the fury and rage of Satan for a time."[1]

Having ascertained that his friends were not mistaken in the apprehensions which they felt for his safety, and that he could not hope to elude the pursuit of his enemies if he remained in England, he procured a vessel, which landed him safely at Dieppe, a port of Normandy in France, on the 20th of January 1554.[2]

1 MS. Letters, p. 284.

2 Ibid., p. 318. Archibald Hamilton has trumped up a ridiculous story respecting Knox's flight from England. He says, that by teaching the unlawfulness of female government, he had excited a dangerous rebellion against Queen Mary. But the queen, having marched against the rebels, defeated them with great slaughter; upon which Knox, stained with their blood, fled to Geneva, carrying along with him a rich noblewoman. Dialog. de Confus. Calv. Sect. p. 65.

PERIOD IV.

FROM THE YEAR 1554, WHEN HE LEFT ENGLAND, TO THE YEAR 1556, WHEN HE RETURNED TO GENEVA, AFTER VISITING SCOTLAND.

PROVIDENCE, having more important services in reserve for Knox, made use of the urgent importunities of his friends to hurry him away from those dangers to which, had he been left to the determination of his own mind, his zeal and fearlessness would have prompted him to expose himself. No sooner did he reach a foreign shore than he began to regret the course which he had been induced to take. When he thought upon his fellow-preachers, whom he had left behind him immured in dungeons, and the people lately under his charge, now scattered abroad as sheep without a shepherd, he felt an indescribable pang, and an almost irresistible desire to return and share in the hazardous but honourable conflict. Although he had only complied with the divine direction, "when they persecute you in one city, flee ye unto another," and although in his own breast he stood acquitted of cowardice, yet he found it difficult to divest his conduct of the appearance of that weakness, and was afraid that it might operate as a discouragement to his brethren in England, and induce them to make sinful compliances with a view of saving their lives.

On this subject we find him unbosoming himself to Mrs Bowes in his letters from Dieppe. "The desire that I have to hear of your continuance with Christ Jesus, in the day of this his battle, (which shortly shall end to the confusion of his proud enemies), neither by tongue nor by pen can I express, beloved mother. Assuredly, it is such, that it vanquisheth and overcometh all remembrance and solicitude which the flesh useth to take for feeding and defence of herself. For, in every realm and nation, God will stir up some one or other to minister those things that appertain to this wretched life, and, if men will cease to do their office, yet will he send his ravens; so that in every place, perchance, I may find some fathers to my body. But, alas! where I shall find children to be begotten unto God by the word of life, that can I not presently consider; and therefore the spiritual life of such as some time boldly professed Christ, (God knoweth), is to my heart more dear than all the glory, riches, and honour in earth; and the falling back of such men, as I hear daily to turn back to that idol again, is to me more

dolorous than, I trust, the corporal death shall be, whenever it shall come at God's appointment. Some will ask, Then why did I flee? Assuredly I cannot tell; but of one thing I am sure, the fear of death was not the chief cause of my fleeing. I trust that one cause hath been, to let me see with my corporal eyes, that all had not a true heart to Christ Jesus, that, in the day of rest and peace, bare a fair face. But my fleeing is no matter; by God's grace I may come to battle before that all the conflict be ended. And haste the time, O Lord, at thy good pleasure, that once again my tongue may yet praise thy holy name before the congregation, if it were but in the very hour of death!"—"I would not bow my knee before that most abominable idol for all the torments that earthly tyrants can devise, God so assisting me, as his Holy Spirit presently moveth me to write unfeignedly. And albeit that I have, in the beginning of this battle, appeared to play the faint-hearted and feeble soldier, (the cause I remit to God), yet my prayer is, that I may be restored to the battle again. And blessed be God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, I am not left so bare without comfort, but my hope is to obtain such mercy, that, if a short end be not made of all my miseries by final death, (which to me were no small advantage), that yet, by Him who never despised the sobs of the sore afflicted, I shall be so encouraged to fight, that England and Scotland shall both know, that I am ready to suffer more than either poverty or exile, for the profession of that doctrine, and that heavenly religion, whereof it has pleased his merciful providence to make me, among others, a simple soldier and witness-bearer unto men. And therefore, mother, let no fear enter into your heart, as that I, escaping the furious rage of these ravening wolves that, for our unthankfulness, are lately loosed from their bands, do repent anything of my former fervency. No, mother; for a few sermons by me to be made within England, my heart at this hour could be content to suffer more than nature were able to sustain; as, by the grace of the most mighty and most merciful God, who only is God of comfort and consolation through Christ Jesus, one day shall be known."[1]

In his present sequestered situation, Knox had full leisure to meditate upon the surprising vicissitudes in his lot during the last seven years,—his singular call to the ministry, and employment at St Andrews—his subsequent imprisonment and release—the sphere of usefulness in which he had been placed in England, with the afflicting manner in which he was excluded from it, and driven to seek refuge as an exile in that country to which he had formerly been carried as a prisoner. This last event seemed in a special manner to summon him to a solemn review of the manner in which he had discharged the sacred trust committed to him, as "a steward of the mysteries of God." It will throw light on his character, and may not be without use to such as occupy a public station in the Church, to exhibit the result of his reflection on this subject.

[1] MS. Letters, pp. 70, 71, 107, 108.

He could not deny, without ingratitude to Him who had called him to be his servant, that his qualifications for the ministry had been in no small degree improved since he came to England; and he had the testimony of his own conscience, in addition to that of his numerous auditors, that he had not altogether neglected the gifts bestowed on him, but had exercised them with some measure of fidelity and painfulness. At the same time, he found reason for self-accusation on different grounds. Having mentioned in one of his letters the reiterated charge of Christ to Peter, "Feed my sheep, feed my lambs," he exclaims, "Oh, alas! how small is the number of pastors that obeys this commandment. But this matter will I not deplore, except that I, not speaking of others, will accuse myself that do not, I confess, the uttermost of my power in feeding the lambs and sheep of Christ. I satisfy, peradventure, many men in the small labours I take, but I satisfy not myself. I have done somewhat, but not according to my duty."[1] In the discharge of private duties, he acknowledges that shame, and the fear of incurring the scandal of the world, had sometimes hindered him from visiting the female part of his charge, and administering to them the instruction and comfort which they craved. In public ministrations, he had been deficient in fervency and fidelity, in impartiality, and in diligence. He could not charge himself with flattery, and his "rude plainness" had given offence to some; but his conscience now accused him of not having been sufficiently plain in admonishing offenders. His custom had been to describe the vices of which his hearers were guilty in such colours that they might read their own image; but, being "unwilling to provoke all men" against him, he had restrained himself from particular application. Though his "eye had not been much set on worldly promotion," he had sometimes been allured, by affection for friends and familiar acquaintances, to reside too long in some places, to the neglect of others which had an equal, or perhaps stronger, claim on his labours. Formerly, he thought he had not sinned, if he had not been idle; now he was convinced that it was his duty to have considered how long he should remain in one place, and how many hungry souls were starving elsewhere. Sometimes, at the solicitation of friends, he had spared himself, and devoted to worldly business, or to bodily recreation and exercise, the time which ought to have been employed in the discharge of his official duties. "Besides these," says he, "I was assaulted, yea infected, with more gross sins, that is, my wicked nature desired the favours, the estimation, and praise of men; against which, albeit that sometimes the Spirit of God did move me to fight, and earnestly did stir me (God knoweth I lie not) to sob and lament for these imperfections, yet never ceased they to trouble me when any occasion was offered; and so privily and craftily did they enter into my breast, that I could not perceive myself to be wounded till vain-glory had almost got the upper hand. O Lord! be merciful to my great

[1] MS. Letters, pp. 308, 309.

offence; and deal not with me according to my great iniquity, but according to the multitude of thy mercies."[1]

Such was the strict scrutiny which Knox made into his ministerial conduct. To many the offences of which he accused himself will appear slight and venial, while others will perceive in them nothing worthy of blame; but they struck his mind in a very different light, in the hour of adversity and solitary meditation. If he, whose labours were so abundant as to appear to us excessive, had such reason for self-condemnation, how few are there in the same station who may not say, "I do remember my faults this day!"

He did not, however, abandon himself to melancholy and unavailing complaints. One of his first cares, after arriving at Dieppe, was to employ his pen in writing suitable advices to those whom he could no longer instruct by preaching and conversation. With this view, he transmitted to England two short treatises. The one was an exposition of the sixth Psalm, which, at the request of Mrs Bowes, he had begun to write in England, but had not found leisure to finish. It is an excellent practical discourse upon that portion of Scripture, and will be read with peculiar satisfaction by those who have been trained to religion in the school of adversity. The other treatise was a large letter, addressed to those in London and other parts of England, among whom he had been employed as a preacher. The drift of it was to warn them against abandoning the religion which they had embraced, or giving countenance to the idolatrous worship now erected among them. The reader of this letter cannot fail to be struck with its animated strain, when he reflects that it proceeded from a forlorn exile, in a strange country, without a single acquaintance, and ignorant where he would find a place of abode, or the means of subsistence. As a specimen of elevated piety, and the most fervid eloquence, I cannot refrain from quoting the conclusion of the letter; in which he addresses their consciences, their hopes, their fears, and adjures them, by all that is sacred, and all that is dear to them, as men, as parents, and as Christians, not to start back from their good profession, and plunge themselves and their posterity into the gulf of ignorance and idolatry.

"Allace! sall we, efter so many graces that God has offerit in our dayis, for pleasure, or for vane threatnying of thame whome our hart knaweth and our mouthes have confessit to be odious idolateris, altogidder without resistance turne back to our vomit and damnabill ydolatrie, to the perdition of us and our posteritie? O horribill to be hard! Sall Godis halie preceptis wirk no greater obedience in us? Sall nature no otherwayis molifie our hartis? Sall not fatherlie pitie overcum this cruelnes? I speik to you, O natural fatheris! Behold your children with the eie of mercie, and considder the end of thair creatioun. Crueltie it were to saif your selves, and damn thame. But, O! more than crueltie, and madnes that can not be expressit, gif,[2] for

[1] MS. Letters, p. 165—167. Admonition, p. 46—48. [2] If.

the pleasure of a moment, ye depryve yourselves and your posteritie of that eternall joy that is ordanit for thame that continewis in confessioun of Christis name to the end. Gif natural lufe, fatherly affectioun, reverence of God, feir of torment, or yit hoip of lyfe, move you, than will ye ganestand that abominabill ydol; whilk, gif ye do not, then, allace! the sone[1] is gone doun, and the lyht is quyte lost, the trompet is ceissit, and ydolatrie is placeit in quietnes and rest. But gif God sall strenthin you, (as unfainedlie I pray that his Majestie may), then is their but ane dark clude overspred the sone for ane moment, whilk schortlie shall vanische, sa that the beames efter salbe seven fauld mare bryht and amiable nor they were befoir. Your patience and constancie salbe a louder trompit to your posteritie than were the voces of the prophetis that instructit you; and so is not the trompit ceissit sa lang as any baldlie resistith ydolatrie. And, thairfoir, for the tender mercies of God, arme yourselves to stand with Christ in this his schorte battell.

"Let it be knawn to your posteritie that ye wer Christianis, and no ydolateris; that ye learnit Chryst in tyme of rest, and baldlie professit him in tyme of trubill. The preceptis, think ye, are scharpe and hard to be observit; and yet agane I affirme, that comparit with the plagis that sall assuredlie fall upon obstinat ydolateris, they salbe fund easie and lycht. For avoyding of ydolatrie ye may perchance be compellit to leave your native contrie and realme, but obeyris of ydolatrie without end salbe compellit to burne in hell; for avoyding ydolatrie your substance salbe spoillit, but for obeying ydolatrie heavenly ryches salbe lost; for avoyding ydolatrie ye may fall into the handis of earthlie tirantis, but obeyeris, manteaneris, and consentaris to ydolatrie sall not eschaip the handis of the liveing God; for avoyding of ydolatrie your children salbe depryvit of father, friendis, ryches, and of rest, but by obeying ydolatrie they sall be left without God, without the knawledge of his word, and without hoip of his kingdome. Considder, deir brethrene, that how mekill mair[2] dolorous and fearfull it is to be tormentit in hell than to suffer trubill in erth, to be depryvit of heavenlie joy than to be rubbit[3] of transitorie ryches, to fall in the hands of the liveing God than to obey manis vane and uncertain displeasure, to leif oure children destitute of God than to leif them unprovydit before the world,—sa mekill mair feirful it is to obey ydolatrie, or by dissembling to consent to the same, than by avoyding and flying from the abominatioun, to suffer what inconvenient may follow thairupon.

"Ye feir corporall deth. Gif nature admitit any man to live ever, than had your feir sum aperance of reasone. But gif corporall deth be commoun to all, why will ye jeoparde to lois eternall lyfe, to eschaip that which neither ryche nor pure, nether wyse nor ignorant, proud of stomoke nor febill of corage, and finally, no earthlie creature, by no craft nor ingyne[4] of man, did ever avoid. Gif any eschapit the uglie face and horibill feir of deth, it was thay that baldlie confessit Chryst

[1] Sun. [2] Much more. [3] Robbed. [4] Wit.

befoir men.—Why aucht the way of lyfe to be so feirfull by reasone of any pane, considering that a great number of oure brethrene hes past befoir ws, by lyke dangeris as we feir. A stout and prudent marinell, in tyme of tempest, seeing but one or two schippis, or like weschells to his, pass throughout any danger, and to win a sure harberie, will have gud esperance,[1] by the lyke wind, to do the same. Allace! sall ye be mair feirfull to win lyfe eternall, than the natural man is to save the corporall lyfe? Hes not the maist part of the sanctis of God from the begynning enterit into thair rest, by torment and trubillis? And yit what complayntis find we in thair mouthis, except it be the lamenting of thair persecuteris? Did God comfort thame? and sall his Majestie despyse us, gif, in fichting againis iniquitie, we will follow thair futstepis? Hie will not."[2]

On the last day of February 1554,[3] he set out from Dieppe, like the Hebrew patriarch of old, "not knowing whither he went;"[4] and, "committing his way to God," travelled through France to Switzerland. A correspondence had been kept up between some of the English reformers and the most noted divines of the Helvetic Church. The latter had already heard, with the sincerest grief, of the overthrow of the Reformation, and the dispersion of its friends, in England. On making himself known, Knox was cordially received by them, and treated with the most affectionate hospitality. He spent some time in Switzerland, visiting the particular churches, and conferring with the learned men of that country; and embraced the opportunity of submitting to them certain difficult questions, which were suggested by the present conjuncture of affairs in England, and about which his mind had been greatly occupied. Their views with respect to these coinciding with his own, he was confirmed in the judgment which he had already formed for himself.[5]

In the beginning of May he returned to Dieppe, to receive information from England; a journey which he repeated at intervals as long as he remained on the Continent. The kind reception which he had met with, and the agreeable company which he enjoyed, during his short residence in Switzerland, had helped to dissipate the cloud which hung upon his spirits when he landed in France, and to open his mind to

[1] Hope.

[2] Letter to the Faithful in London, &c. in MS. Letters, pp. 149—151, 156.

[3] His Exposition of the sixth Psalm concludes with these words: "Upon the very point of my journey, the last of February 1553." MS. Letters, p. 109. The reader will recollect that, in our Reformer's time, they did not begin the year until the 25th of March; so that "February 1553," according to the old reckoning, is "February 1554" according to the modern.

[4] His Letter to the Faithful in London, &c. concludes thus:—"From ane sore trubillit hart, upon my departure from Diep, 1553, *whither God knaweth*. In God is my trust through Jesus Chryst his sone; and, thairfor, I feir not the tyrannie of man, nether yet what the devill can invent against me. Rejoice, ye faithfull; for in joy shall we meit, wher deth may not dissever us." MS. Letters, pp. 157, 158.

[5] In a letter dated Dieppe, May 10, 1554, he says, "My awin estait is this: since the 28 of Januar," counting from the time he came to France, "I have travellit throughout all the congregations of Helvetia, and has reasonit with all the pastoris and many other excellentlie learnit men, upon sic matters as now I cannot comit to wrytting." MS. Letters, p. 313.

more pleasing prospects as to the issue of the present afflicting events. This appears from a letter written by him at this time, and addressed "To his afflicted brethren." After discoursing of the situation of the disciples of Christ during the time that he lay in the grave, and of the sudden transition which they experienced, upon the reappearance of their Master, from the depth of sorrow to the summit of joy, he adds: "The remembrance thereof is unto my heart great matter of consolation. For yet my good hope is, that one day or other, Christ Jesus, that now is crucified in England, shall rise again, in despite of his enemies, and shall appear to his weak and sore troubled disciples; (for yet some he hath in that wretched and miserable realm); to whom he shall say, 'Peace be unto you; it is I, be not afraid.'"[1]

His spirit was also refreshed at this time, by the information that he received of the constancy with which his mother-in-law adhered to the Protestant faith. Her husband, it appears, took it for granted that she and the rest of the family had consciences equally accommodating with his own. It was not until she had evinced, in the most determined manner, her resolution to forsake friends and native country, rather than sacrifice her religion, that she was released from his importunities to comply with the Roman Catholic religion.[2] Before he went to Switzerland, Knox had signified his intention, if his life was spared, of visiting his friends at Berwick.[3] When he returned to Dieppe, he had not relinquished the thoughts of this enterprise.[4] It is likely that his friends had, in their letters, dissuaded him from it; and, after cool consideration, he resolved to postpone an attempt, by which he must have risked his life, without the prospect of doing any good.[5]

Wherefore, setting out again from Dieppe, he repaired to Geneva. The celebrated Calvin was then in the zenith of his reputation and usefulness in that city, and having completed its ecclesiastical establishment, and surmounted the opposition raised by those who envied his authority, or disliked his system of doctrine and discipline, was securely seated in the affections of the citizens. His writings were already translated into most of the languages of Europe; and Geneva was thronged with strangers from England, France, Germany, Poland, Hungary, and even from Spain and Italy, who came to consult him about the advancement of the Reformation, or to find shelter from the persecutions to which they were exposed in their native countries. The name of Calvin was respected by none more than the Protestants of England; and, at the desire of Archbishop Cranmer, he had imparted to the Protector Somerset, and to Edward VI., his advice as to the best method of advancing the Reformation in that kingdom.[6] Knox was affectionately received by him as a refugee from England, and an intimate friendship was soon formed between them, which subsisted until the death of Calvin in 1564. They were nearly of the same age; and

[1] MS. Letters, p. 313—315. [2] Ibid., 311. [3] Ibid., 106. [4] Ibid., 319. [5] Ibid., 310.
[6] Strype's Cranmer, p. 413. Calvini Epist. et Respons. pp. 179, 245, 248, Hanov. 1597.

there was a striking similarity in their sentiments, and in the more prominent features of their character. The Genevan reformer was highly pleased with the piety and talents of Knox, who, in his turn, entertained a greater esteem and deference for Calvin than for any other of the reformers. As Geneva was an eligible situation for prosecuting study, and as he approved much of the religious order established in that city, he resolved to make it the ordinary place of his residence during the continuance of his exile.

But no prospect of personal safety or accommodation could banish from his mind the thoughts of his persecuted countrymen. In the month of July he undertook another journey to Dieppe, to inform himself accurately of their situation, and to learn if he could do anything for their comfort.[1] The tidings he received on this occasion tore open those wounds which had begun to close. In Scotland, everything was dark and discouraging. The severities used against the Protestants of England daily increased; and, what was still more afflicting to him, many of those who had embraced the truth under his ministry had been induced to return to the communion of the Popish Church. In the agony of his spirit, he wrote to them, setting before them the destruction to which they exposed their immortal souls by such cowardly desertion, and earnestly calling them to repentance.[2] Under his present impressions, he repeated his former admonitions to his mother-in-law, and to his wife; over whose religious constancy he was tenderly jealous. "By pen will I write (because the bodies are put asunder to meet again at God's pleasure) that which, by mouth, and face to face, ye have heard, that if man or angel labour to bring you back from the confession that once you have given, let them in that behalf be accursed. If any trouble you above measure, whether they be magistrates or carnal friends, they shall bear their just condemnation, unless they speedily repent. But now, mother, comfort you my heart (God grant ye may) in this my great affliction and dolorous pilgrimage; continue stoutly to the end, and bow you never before that idol, and so will the rest of worldly troubles be unto me more tolerable. With my own heart I often commune, yea, and, as it were comforting myself, I appear to triumph, that God shall never suffer you to fall in that rebuke. Sure I am that both ye would fear and eschame to commit that abomination in my presence, who am but a wretched man, subject to sin and misery

[1] One of his letters to Mrs Bowes is dated, "At Diep the 20 of July 1554, after I had visited Geneva and uther partis, and returned to Diep to learn the estait of Ingland and Scotland." MS. Letters, pp. 255, 256. This is the letter which was published by Knox, along with his answer to Tyrie, in 1572, after the death of Mrs Bowes.

[2] In the letter mentioned in last note, he refers his mother-in-law to "a general letter written," says he, "be me in greit anguiss of hart, to the congregationis of whome I heir say a greit part, under pretence that thai may keip faith secreitt in the hart, and yet do as idolaters do, beginnis now to fall before that idoll. But O, alas! blindit and desavit ar thai; as they sall knaw in the Lordis visitatioun, whilk, sa assuredlie as our God liveth, sall shortlie apprehend thai backstarteris amangis the middis of idolateris." MS. Letters, p. 252. On the margin of the printed copy is his note: "Frequent letters written by Johne Knox to decline from idolatrie."

like to yourself. But, O mother! though no earthly creature should be offended with you, yet fear ye the presence and offence of Him, who, present in all places, searcheth the very heart and reins—whose indignation, once kindled against the inobedient, (and no sin more inflameth his wrath than idolatry doth), no creature in heaven nor in earth is able to appease."[1]

He was in this state of mind when he composed the Admonition to England, which was published about the end of this year. Those who have censured him, as indulging in an excessive vehemence of spirit and bitterness of language, usually refer to this tract in support of their charge.[2] It is true, that he there paints the persecuting Papists in the blackest colours, and holds them up as objects of human execration and divine vengeance. I do not now stop to inquire, whether he was chargeable with transgressing the bounds of moderation prescribed by reason and religion, in the expression of his indignation and zeal; or whether the censures pronounced by his accusers, and the principles upon which they proceed, do not involve a condemnation of the temper and language of the most righteous men mentioned in Scripture, and even of our Saviour himself. But, I may ask, is there no apology for his severity to be found in the character of the persons against whom he wrote, and in the state of his own feelings, lacerated, not by personal sufferings, but by sympathy with his suffering brethren, who were driven into prisons by their unnatural countrymen, "as sheep for the slaughter," to be brought forth and barbarously immolated to appease the Roman Moloch? Who could suppress indignation in speaking of the conduct of men, who, having raised themselves to honour and affluence by the warmest professions of friendship to the reformed religion under the preceding reign, now abetted the most violent measures against their former brethren and benefactors? What terms were too strong for stigmatising the execrable system of persecution coolly projected by the dissembling, vindictive Gardiner, the brutal barbarity of the bloody Bonner, or the unrelenting, insatiable cruelty of Mary, who, having extinguished the feelings of humanity, and divested herself of the tenderness which characterises her sex, continued to urge to fresh severities the willing instruments of her cruelty, after they were sated with blood, and to issue orders for the murder of her subjects, until her own husband, bigoted and unfeeling as he was, turned with disgust from the spectacle?

> On such a theme 'tis impious to be calm;
> Passion is reason, transport temper here.

Oppression makes a wise man mad; but (to use the words of a modern orator, with a more just application) "the distemper is still the madness of the wise, which is better than the sobriety of fools. Their cry is the voice of sacred misery, exalted, not into wild raving, but into the sanctified frenzy of prophecy and inspiration."

[1] MS. Letters, p. 251—253 [2] Collier, Eccles. History, ii. 441.

Knox returned to Geneva, and applied himself to study with all the ardour of youth, although his age now bordered upon fifty. It seems to have been at this time that he made himself master of the Hebrew language, which he had no opportunity of acquiring in early life.[1] It is natural to inquire by what funds he was supported during his exile. However much inclined his mother-in-law was to relieve his necessities, the disposition of her husband appears to have put it greatly out of her power. Any small sums which his friends had advanced to him, before his sudden departure from England, were exhausted; and he was at this time very much straitened for money. Being unwilling to burden strangers, he looked for assistance to the voluntary contributions of those among whom he had laboured. In a letter to Mrs Bowes, he says, "My own estate I cannot well declare; but God shall guide the footsteps of him that is wilsome, and will feed him in trouble that never greatly solicited for the world. If any collection might be made among the faithful, it were no shame for me to receive that which Paul refused not in the time of his trouble. But all I remit to his Providence that ever careth for his own."[2] I find that remittances were made to him by particular friends, both in England and Scotland, during his residence on the Continent.[3]

Meanwhile, the persecution growing hot in England, great numbers of Protestants had made their escape from that kingdom. Before the close of the year 1554, there were on the Continent several hundred Englishmen of good education, besides others of different ranks, who had preferred religion to country, and voluntarily encountered all the hardships of exile, that they might hold fast the profession of the Protestant faith. The foreign reformed churches exhibited, on this occasion, an amiable proof of the spirit of their religion, and amply recompensed the kindness which England had shown to strangers during the reign of Edward. They emulated one another in exertions to accommodate the unfortunate refugees who were dispersed among them, and endeavoured, with the most affectionate solicitude, to supply their wants, and alleviate their sufferings.[4] The principal places in which the English exiles obtained settlements, were Zurich, Basle, Geneva, Arrow, Embden, Wesel, Strasburg, Duysburg, and Frankfort.

Frankfort-on-the-Maine was a rich imperial city of Germany, which, at an early period, had embraced the Reformation, and befriended Protestant refugees from all countries, so far as this could be done without coming to an open breach with the emperor, by whom their conduct was watched with a jealous eye. There was already a church of French Protestants in that city. On the 14th of July 1554, the English who

[1] MS. Letters, p. 322. Davidson's Brief Commendatioun of Uprichtnes; reprinted in the Supplement.

[2] MS. Letters, p. 256. [3] Ibid., pp. 344, 373.

[4] It is painful to observe, that many of the Lutherans, at this time, disgraced themselves by their illiberal inhospitality, refusing, in different instances, to admit those who fled from England into their harbours and towns, because they differed from them in their sentiments on the sacramental controversy. Melch. Adami Vitæ Exter. Theolog. p. 20. Strype's Cranmer, pp. 353, 361. Gerdesii Hist. Reform. tom. iii. 235—7.

had come to Frankfort obtained from the magistrates the joint use of the place of worship allotted to the French, with liberty to perform religious service in their own language.[1] This was granted upon the condition of their conforming, as nearly as possible, to the mode of worship used by the French Church; a prudent precaution, dictated by the political situation in which the city was placed. The offer was gratefully accepted by the English, who came to a unanimous agreement that they would omit the use of the surplice, the litany, the audible responses, and some other ceremonies prescribed by the English liturgy, which, "in those reformed churches, would seem more than strange," or which were "superstitious and superfluous." Having settled this point in the most harmonious manner, elected deacons and a temporary pastor, and agreed upon certain rules of discipline, they wrote a circular letter to their brethren who were scattered through different places, informing them of the agreeable settlement which they had obtained, and inviting them to participate in their accommodations at Frankfort, and unite with them in prayers for the afflicted Church of England. The exiles at Strasburg, in their reply to this letter, recommended to them certain persons as well qualified for filling the offices of superintendent and pastor; a recommendation not asked by the congregation at Frankfort, who did not think a superintendent necessary in their situation, and who intended to put themselves under the inspection of two or three pastors invested with equal authority. They accordingly proceeded to make choice of three persons to this office. One of these was Knox, who received information of his election by a letter written in the name of the congregation, and subscribed by its principal members.[2]

The deputation which waited on him with this invitation found him engaged in the prosecution of his studies at Geneva. From aversion to sacrifice the advantages which he enjoyed, or from the apprehension of difficulties that he might meet with at Frankfort, he would gladly have excused himself from accepting the invitation. But the deputies having employed the powerful intercession of Calvin,[3] he was induced to comply, and repairing to Frankfort in the month of November, commenced his ministry with the universal consent and approbation of the Church. Previous to his arrival, however, the harmony which at first subsisted among that people had been disturbed. In reply to the letter addressed to them, the exiles at Zurich had signified that they would not come to Frankfort, unless they obtained security that the Church there would "use the same order of service concerning religion, which was, in England, last set forth by King Edward;" for they were fully determined "to admit and use no other." They alleged,

[1] The English exiles were greatly indebted for this favour to the friendly services of the French pastors. One of these, Valerandus Polanus, was a native of Flanders, and had been minister of a congregation in Strasburg. During the confusions produced in Germany by the Interim, he had retired along with his congregation to England, and obtained a settlement at Glastonbury. Upon the death of Edward VI. he went to Frankfort. Strype's Memor. of the Reform. ii. 242.

[2] See Note V. [3] Knox, Historie, p. 85.

that, by varying from that service, they would give occasion to their adversaries to charge their religion with imperfection and mutability, and would condemn their brethren who were sealing it with their blood in England. To these representations the brethren at Frankfort replied, that they had obtained the liberty of a place of worship, upon condition of their accommodating themselves as much as possible to the forms used by the French Church; that there were a number of things in the English service-book which would be offensive to the Protestants among whom they resided, and which had been occasion of scruple to conscientious persons at home; that, by the variations which they had introduced, they were very far from meaning to throw any reflection upon the regulations of their late sovereign and his council, who had themselves altered many things, and had resolved on still greater alterations, without thinking that they gave any handle to their popish adversaries; and still less did they mean to detract from the credit of the martyrs, who, they were persuaded, shed their blood in confirmation of more important things than mutable ceremonies of human appointment. This reply had the effect of lowering the tone of the exiles at Zurich, but it did not satisfy them; and, instead of desisting from the controversy, and contenting themselves with remaining where they were, they instigated their brethren at Strasburg to urge the same request, and, by letters and messengers, fomented dissension in the congregation at Frankfort.[1]

When Knox arrived, he found that the seeds of animosity had already sprung up among them. From what we already know of his sentiments respecting the English service-book, we may be sure that the eagerness manifested by those who wished to impose it was very displeasing to him. But so sensible was he of the pernicious and discreditable effects of division among brethren exiled for the same faith, that he resolved to act as a moderator between the two parties, and to avoid, as far as possible, everything which might have a tendency to widen or continue the breach. Accordingly, when the congregation had agreed to adopt the order of the Genevan Church,[2] and requested him to proceed to administer the communion according to it, although he approved of that form he declined carrying it into practice, until their learned brethren in other places were consulted. At the same time, he signified that he had not freedom to dispense the sacraments agreeably to the English liturgy. If he could not be allowed to perform this service in a manner more consonant to Scripture, he requested that some other

[1] Brieff Discours off the Troubles begonne at Franckford in Germany, Anno Domini 1554. Abowte the booke off Common Prayer, p. xviii—xxiv. Printed in 1575. This work contains a full account of the transactions of the English Church at Frankfort, confirmed by original papers. The author was a nonconformist, but his narrative was allowed to be accurate by the opposite party. To save repetition, I may mention once for all, that, when no authority is referred to, my statement of these transactions is taken from this book. It was reprinted in 1642, and is also to be found in the second volume of the Phenix, or a Revival of Scarce and Valuable Pieces. Lond. 1707—8. But I have made use of the first edition.

[2] This was the order of worship used by the Church at Geneva, of which Calvin was minister. It had been lately translated into English.

person might be employed in this part of duty, in which case he would willingly confine himself to preaching; and if neither of these could be granted, he besought them to release him altogether from his charge. To this last request they would by no means consent.

Fearing that, if these differences were not speedily accommodated, they would burst into a flame, Knox, and some other members of the congregation, drew up a summary of the Book of Common Prayer, and, having translated it into Latin, sent it to Calvin for his opinion and advice. In a reply, dated January 20, 1555, Calvin stated, that he was grieved to hear of the unseemly contentions which prevailed among them; that, although he had always recommended moderation respecting external ceremonies, yet he could not but condemn the obstinacy of those who would consent to no change of old customs; that, in the liturgy of England, he had found many tolerable fooleries, (*tolerabiles ineptias*),—practices which might be tolerated at the beginning of a reformation, but ought to be removed as soon as possible; that, in his opinion, the present condition of the English exiles warranted them to attempt this, and to agree upon an order more conducive to edification; and that, for his part, he could not understand what those persons meant who discovered such fondness for popish dregs.[1]

This letter, when read to the congregation, had a great effect in repressing the keenness of such as had urged the unlimited use of the liturgy; and a committee was appointed to draw up a form which might put an end to all differences.[2] When this committee met, Knox told them that he was convinced it was necessary for one of the parties to relent before they could come to an amicable settlement; and that he would therefore state what he judged most proper to be done, and having exonerated himself, would allow them, without opposition, to determine as they should answer to God and the Church. They accordingly agreed upon a form of worship, in which the English liturgy was followed, so far as their circumstances and the general ends of edification permitted. This was to continue in force until the end of April next; and if any dispute arose in the interval, it was to be referred to five of the most celebrated foreign divines. The agreement was subscribed by all the members of the congregation; thanks were publicly returned to God for the restoration of harmony; and the communion was received as a pledge of union, and of the burial of all past offences.

But this agreement was soon after violated, and the peace of that unhappy congregation again broken, in the most wanton and inexcusable manner. On the 13th of March 1555, Dr Cox, who had been preceptor

[1] Calvini Epist. p. 28; Oper. tom. ix. Amstælodami, anno 1667.

[2] Previous to the appointment of this committee, Knox, Whittingham, Foxe, Gilby, and T. Cole, had composed (what was afterwards called) The Order of Geneva, but it did not meet the views of all concerned. This was different from the order of the Genevan Church, already referred to; and obtained its name from the circumstance of its having been first used by the English Church at Geneva. It was afterwards used in the Church of Scotland under the name of the Book of Common Order, and is sometimes called Knox's Liturgy.

to Edward VI., came from England to Frankfort, with some others in his company. The first day on which they attended public worship after their arrival, they broke through the established order, by answering aloud after the minister in the time of divine service. Being admonished by some of the elders to refrain from that practice, they insolently replied, "that they would do as they had done in England; and they would have the face of an English Church."—"The Lord grant it to have the face of Christ's Church," says Knox, in an account which he drew up of these transactions; "and therefore I would have had it agreeable, in outward rites and ceremonies, with Christian Churches reformed."[1]

On the following Sabbath, one of their number, having intruded himself into the pulpit, without the consent of the pastors or the congregation, read the litany, while Cox and his accomplices echoed the responses. This offensive behaviour was aggravated by the consideration, that some of them had, before leaving England, been guilty of compliances with Popery, for which they had not yet given satisfaction to their brethren.

Such an infraction of public order, as well as insult upon the whole body, could not be passed over in silence. It was Knox's turn to preach on the afternoon of the Sabbath when this occurred. In his ordinary course of lecturing through the book of Genesis, he had occasion to discourse of the manner in which offences committed by professors of religion ought to be treated. Having mentioned that there were infirmities in their conduct over which a veil should be thrown, he proceeded to remark, that offences which openly dishonoured God and disturbed the peace of the Church, ought to be disclosed and publicly rebuked. He then reminded them of the contention which had existed in the congregation, and of the happy manner in which, after long and painful labour, it had been ended, to the joy of all, by the solemn agreement which had that day been so flagrantly violated. This, he said, it became not the proudest of them to have attempted. Nothing which was destitute of a divine warrant ought to be obtruded upon any Christian Church. In that book for which some entertained such an overweening fondness, he would undertake to prove publicly, that there were things imperfect, impure, and superstitious; and if any should go about to burden a free congregation with such things, he would not fail, as often as he occupied that place, provided his text afforded occasion, to oppose their design. As he had been forced to enter upon that subject, he would say farther, that, in his judgment, slackness in reforming religion, when time and opportunity were granted for this purpose, was one cause of the divine displeasure against England. He adverted also to the trouble which Bishop Hooper had suffered for refusing to comply with some of the ceremonies, to the want of discipline, and to the well-known fact, that three, four, or five benefices had been held by one man, to the depriving of the flock of Christ of their necessary food.

[1] Cald. MS. i. 249.

This free reprimand was highly resented by those against whom it was levelled, especially by such as had held pluralities in England, who insisted that the preacher should be called to account for slandering their mother church. A special meeting being held for the consideration of this affair, the friends of the liturgy, instead of prosecuting their complaints against Knox, began with requiring that Cox and his friends should be admitted to a vote in the discussion. This was resisted by the great majority, on the ground that these persons had not yet subscribed the discipline of the Church, nor given satisfaction for their late disorderly conduct, and their sinful compliances in England. The behaviour of our Reformer, on this occasion, was more remarkable for magnanimity than prudence. Although aware of the hostility of Cox's adherents to himself, and that they sought admission chiefly to overpower him by numbers, he was so confident of the justice of his cause, and so anxious to remove prejudices, that he entreated and prevailed with the meeting to yield to their unreasonable request, and to admit them immediately to a vote. "I know," said he, "that your earnest desire to be received at this instant within the number of the congregation, is, that, by the multitude of your voices, ye may overthrow my cause. Howbeit, the matter is so evident, that ye shall not be able to do it. I fear not your judgment; and therefore do require that ye may be admitted."[1] This disinterestedness was thrown away on the opposite party; for no sooner were they admitted, and had obtained a majority of voices, than Cox, usurping an authority with which he had never been invested, discharged Knox from preaching, and from all interference in the congregational affairs.[2]

The great body of the congregation were indignant at these proceedings; and there was reason to fear that the mutual animosity would break out into a disgraceful tumult. To prevent this, some of the members made a representation of the case to the senate of Frankfort, who, after recommending in vain a private accommodation, issued an order that the congregation should conform exactly to the mode of service used by the French Church, as nothing but confusion had ensued since they departed from it; and threatened, if this was not complied with, to shut up their place of worship. To this peremptory injunction the Coxian faction pretended a cheerful submission, while they clandestinely concerted measures for obtaining its revocation, and enforcing their favourite liturgy upon a reclaiming congregation.

Perceiving the influence which our countryman had in the Church, and despairing to carry their plan into execution so long as he was among them, they determined, in the first place, to rid themselves of his presence. To accomplish this object, they had recourse to one of the

[1] Cald. MS. i. 252.

[2] Collier (ii. 395) says that Knox manifested in this instance "a *surprising* compliance." But it appears, even from the account given by that historian, that, in the whole of the Frankfort affair, our Reformer displayed the greatest moderation and forbearance, while the conduct of his opponents was marked throughout with violence and want of charity.

basest and most unchristian acts ever employed to ruin an adversary. Two of them, in concurrence with others, went privately to the magistrates, and accused Knox of high treason against the Emperor of Germany, his son Philip, and Queen Mary of England; putting into their hands at the same time a copy of a book which he had lately published, and in which the passages containing the grounds of charge were marked. "O Lord God!" says Knox, when relating this step, "open their hearts to see their wickedness, and forgive them for thy manifold mercies. And I forgive them, O Lord, from the bottom of mine heart. But that thy message sent by my mouth may not be slandered, I am compelled to declare the cause of my departing, and to utter their follies, to their amendment, I trust, and the example of others, who, in the same banishment, can have so cruel hearts as to persecute their brethren."[1] The book which the informers left with the magistrates was his Admonition to England; and the passage upon which they principally fixed, as substantiating the charge of treason against the emperor, was the following, originally spoken to the inhabitants of Amersham in Buckinghamshire,[2] on occasion of the rumoured marriage of Queen Mary with Philip, the son and heir of Charles V., a match which was at that time dreaded by many of the English Catholics. "O England, England! if thou obstinately wilt return into Egypt, that is, if thou contract marriage, confederacy, or league with such princes as do maintain and advance idolatry, such as the emperor, who is no less enemy to Christ than ever was Nero—if for the pleasure of such princes thou return to thy old abominations before used under Papistry, then assuredly, O England, thou shalt be plagued and brought to desolation, by the means of those whose favour thou seekest!" The other passages related to the cruelties of the English queen. Not to speak of the extravagance of the charge which they founded upon these passages, and of the unbrotherly spirit which they discovered, it was with little grace and consistency that the sticklers for the English forms availed themselves of the strong language which Knox had employed in the warmth of his zeal, in order to excite prejudices against him; and it would be no difficult task to extract from their writings declamations against their own queen, and against foreign princes, more intemperate than anything that ever proceeded from his pen.[3]

In consequence of this accusation, the magistrates sent for Whittingham, a respectable member of the English congregation, and interrogated him concerning Knox's character. He told them that he was "a

[1] Cald. MS. i. 254. Upon his return to Geneva, Knox committed to writing a narrative of the causes of his retiring from Frankfort. This he intended to publish in his own defence; but on mature deliberation he resolved to suppress it, and to leave his own character to suffer, rather than expose his brethren and the common cause in which they were engaged. His narrative was preserved by Calderwood, and has furnished me with several facts. It contains the names of the persons who accused him to the senate of Frankfort, and of their advisers, which I have omitted, after the example of Knox, in the notice which he has taken of the affair, in his Historie of the Reformation, p. 85.

[2] See above, p. 56.

[3] See Note W.

learned, grave, and godly man." They then acquainted him with the serious accusation which had been lodged against him by some of his countrymen, and giving him the book, charged him, *sub pœna pacis*, to bring them an exact Latin translation of the passages which were marked. This being done, they commanded Knox to desist from preaching until their pleasure should be known. To this command he peaceably submitted; "yet," says he in his narrative, "being desirous to hear others, I went to the church next day, not thinking that my company would have offended any. But as soon as my accusers saw me, they, with —— and others, departed from the sermon; some of them protesting with great vehemence that they would not tarry where I was."[1] The magistrates were extremely perplexed how to act in this delicate business. On the one hand, they were satisfied of the malice of Knox's accusers; on the other, they were afraid that information of the charge would be conveyed to the emperor's council, which then sat at Augsburg, and that they might be obliged to deliver up the accused to them, or to the Queen of England. In this dilemma, they desired Whittingham to advise his friend privately to retire of his own accord from Frankfort. At the same time, they did not dissemble their detestation of the unnatural conduct of the informers, who, having waited upon them to know the result of their deliberations, were dismissed from their presence with evident marks of displeasure.

On the 25th of March, Knox delivered a most consolatory discourse to about fifty members of the congregation, who assembled at his lodgings in the evening. Next day they accompanied him some miles on his journey from Frankfort, and, with heavy hearts and many tears, committed him to God, and took their leave.

No sooner was Knox gone than Cox, who had privately concerted the plan with Glauberg, a civilian, and nephew of the chief magistrate, procured an order from the senate for the unlimited use of the English liturgy, by means of the false representation, that it was now universally acceptable to the congregation. The next step was the abrogation of the code of discipline, and then the appointment of a bishop, or superintendent over the pastors. Having accomplished these important improvements, they could now boast that they had "the face of an English church." Yes, they could now raise their heads above all the reformed churches which had the honour of entertaining them, and which, though they might have all the office-bearers and ordinances instituted by Christ, had neither bishop, nor litany, nor surplice! They could now lift up their faces in the presence of the Church of Rome herself, and cherish the hope that she would not altogether disown

[1] Cald. MS. i. 255. Mr Strype has not discovered his usual impartiality or accuracy in the short account he has given of this affair. He says that Knox had "published some dangerous principles about government," and that the informers "thought it fit for their own security to make an open complaint against him." Memor. of the Reform. iii. 242. Knox had, at that time, published nothing on the subject of government; and Collier himself does not pretend such an excuse for the actors.

them! But let me not forget that the men of whom I write were at this time suffering exile for the Protestant religion, and that they really detested the body of Popery, though childishly and superstitiously attached to its attire, and gestures, and language.

The sequel of the transactions in the English congregation at Frankfort does not properly belong to this memoir. I shall only add, that after some ineffectual attempts to obtain satisfaction for the breach of the church's peace, and the injurious treatment of their minister, a considerable number of the members left the city. Some of them, among whom was Foxe, the celebrated martyrologist, repaired to Basle. The greater part went to Geneva, where they obtained a place of worship, and lived in great harmony and love until the storm of persecution in England blew over at the death of Queen Mary; while those who remained at Frankfort, as if to expiate their offence against Knox, continued a prey to endless contention. Cox and his learned colleagues, having accomplished their favourite object, soon left them to compose the strife which they had excited, and provided themselves elsewhere with a less expensive situation for carrying on their studies.[1]

I have been the more minute in the detail of these transactions, not only on account of the share which the subject of this memoir had in them, but because they throw light upon the controversy between the conformists and non-conformists, which runs through the succeeding period of the ecclesiastical history of England. "The troubles at Frankfort" present, in miniature, a striking picture of that contentious scene which was afterwards exhibited on a larger scale in the mother country. The issue of that affair augured ill as to the prospect of an amicable adjustment of the litigated points. It had been usual to urge conformity to the obnoxious ceremonies, from the respect due to the authority by which they were enjoined. But in this instance the civil authority, so far from enjoining, had rather discountenanced them. If they were urged with such intolerant importunity in a place where the laws and customs were repugnant to them, what was to be expected in England, where law and custom were on their side? The divines who

[1] Cox was afterwards made to feel a little the galling yoke which he strove to impose on his brethren. Upon the accession of Elizabeth, that stately princess, still fonder of pompous and popish equipage than her clergy, kept a crucifix in her chapel, and ordered her chaplains to perform divine service before it. Dr Cox was the only one of the refugees who complied with this order, but his conscience afterwards remonstrating against it, he wrote a letter to the queen, requesting to be excused from continuing the practice. It is observable, that in this letter he employs the great argument which Knox had used against other ceremonies, while he prostrates himself before his haughty mistress with a submission to which our Reformer would never have stooped. "I ought," says he, "to do nothing touching religion, which may appear doubtful whether it pleaseth God or not; for our religion ought to be certain, and grounded upon God's word and will. Tender my suite, I beseech you, *in visceribus Jesu Christi*, my dear sovereign, and most gracious queen Elizabeth." Burnet, ii. Append. 294. The crucifix was removed at this time, but was again introduced about 1570. Strype's Parker, p. 310. Dr Cox afterwards fell under the displeasure of his "dear sovereign," for maintaining rather stiffly his right to some of the revenues of his bishopric. Strype's Annals, ii. 579. It is but justice, however, to this learned man to say, that I do not find him taking a very active part against the non-conformists after his return to England; he even made some attempts for the removal of the obnoxious ceremonies.

received ecclesiastical preferment at the accession of Elizabeth, professed that they desired the removal of these grounds of strife, but could not obtain it from the queen; and I am disposed to give many of them credit for the sincerity of their professions. But as they showed themselves so stiff and unyielding when the matter was wholly in their own power—as some of them were so eager in wreathing a yoke about the consciences of their brethren as to urge reluctant magistrates to rivet it,—is it any wonder that their applications for relief were cold and ineffectual, when made to rulers who were disposed to make the yoke still more severe, and to "chastise with scorpions those whom they had chastised with whips?" I repeat it: when I consider the transactions at Frankfort, I am not surprised at the defeat of every subsequent attempt to advance the Reformation in England, or to procure relief to those who scrupled to yield conformity to some of the ecclesiastical laws. I know it is pleaded, that the things complained of are matters of indifference, not prohibited in Scripture, not imposed as essential to religion or necessary to salvation, matters that can affect no well-informed conscience; and that such as refuse them, when enacted by authority, are influenced by unreasonable scrupulosity, conceited, pragmatical, opinionative. This has been the usual language of a ruling party, when imposing upon the consciences of the minority. But not to urge here the danger of allowing to any class of rulers, civil or ecclesiastical, a power of enjoining indifferent things in religion; nor the undeniable fact, that the burdensome system of ceremonial observances, by which religion was corrupted under the Papacy, was gradually introduced under these and similar pretexts; nor that the things in question, when complexly and formally considered, are not really matters of indifference,—not to insist at present upon these topics, the answer to the above plea is short and decisive. These things appear matters of conscience and importance to the scruplers; you say they are matters of indifference. Why then violate the sacred peace of the Church, and perpetuate division; why silence, deprive, harass, and starve men of acknowledged learning and piety, and drive from communion a sober and devout people; why torture their consciences, and endanger their souls, by the imposition of things which, in your judgment, are indifferent, not necessary, and unworthy to become objects of contention?

Upon retiring from Frankfort, Knox went directly to Geneva. He was cordially welcomed back by Calvin. As his advice had great weight in disposing Knox to comply with the invitation from Frankfort, he felt much hurt at the treatment which had obliged him to leave it. In reply to an apologetic epistle which he received from Dr Cox, Calvin, although he prudently restrained himself from saying anything which might revive or increase the flame, could not conceal his opinion, that Knox had been used in an unbrotherly and unchristian manner, and that it would have been better for his accuser to have

remained at home, than to have come into a foreign country as a firebrand to inflame a peaceable society.[1]

It appeared from the event, that Providence had disengaged Knox from his late charge, to employ him on a more important service. From the time that he was carried prisoner into France, he had never lost sight of Scotland, nor relinquished the hope of again preaching in his native country. While he resided at Berwick and Newcastle, he had frequent opportunities of personal intercourse with his countrymen, and of learning the state of religion among them.[2] His unintermitted labours, during the five years which he spent in England, by occupying his time and attention, lessened the regret which he felt at seeing the object of his wishes apparently at as great a distance as ever. Upon leaving that kingdom, his thoughts were anxiously turned to Scotland. He found means to carry on an epistolary correspondence with some of his friends at home; one great object of his journeys to Dieppe was to receive their letters;[3] and he had the satisfaction, soon after his retreat from Frankfort, to obtain such information from them as encouraged him to execute his design of paying a visit to his native country. To prepare the reader for the account of this journey, it will be necessary to take a view of the principal events which had occurred in that kingdom from the time that Knox was forced to leave it.

The surrender of the castle of St Andrews seemed to have given an irrecoverable blow to the reformed interest in Scotland. Among the prisoners conveyed to France were some of the most zealous and able Protestants in the kingdom; and the rest, seeing themselves at the mercy of their adversaries, were dispirited and intimidated. The clergy triumphed in the victory which they had obtained,[4] and flattered themselves that they would now be able with ease to stifle all opposition to their measures. The regent, being guided entirely by his brother, the Archbishop of St Andrews, was ready to employ all the power of the State in support of the Church, and for suppressing those who refused to submit to her decisions. During the confusions produced by the invasion of the kingdom under the Duke of Somerset, and by the disastrous defeat of the Scots at Pinkie, in the year 1547, the regent found it his interest not to irritate the Protestants; but no sooner was he freed from the alarm created by these events than he began to treat them with severity. Aware that it would be extremely invidious to prosecute the barons and gentry upon a charge of heresy, and perhaps convinced that such measures in the time of his predecessor had proved injurious to the hierarchy, the crafty primate commenced his attack by

[1] Calvini Epistolæ, p. 98, *ut supra*. This letter is addressed "*Cnoxo*," (by mistake of the publisher, instead of *Coxo*), "et Gregalibus. Pridie Idus Junii, 1555." Knox was at Geneva when Calvin wrote that letter.

[2] See pp. 45, 46. [3] MS. Letters, p. 255—6.

[4] The following lines were commonly repeated at this time, in allusion to Normand Leslie, who headed the conspirators against Cardinal Beatoun:—

Priestis, content you now, priestis, content you now;
For Normand, and his compunie, hes fillit the gallayis fow.

bringing them to trial for crimes against the state.[1] Although they had conducted themselves in the most peaceable and loyal manner during the late invasion, and many of them had died under the standard of the regent,[2] they were accused of being secretly favourable to the English, and of holding correspondence with them. Cockburn of Ormiston, and Crichton of Brunston, were banished, and their estates forfeited.[3] Sir John Melville of Raith, a gentleman of distinguished probity, and of untainted loyalty, was accused of a traitorous connection with the enemy; and although the only evidence adduced in support of the charge was a letter written by him to one of his sons then in England, and although this letter contained nothing criminal, yet was he unjustly condemned and beheaded.[4] The signing of a treaty of peace with England, in 1550, was a signal for the clergy to proceed to acts of more undisguised persecution. Adam Wallace, who had lived for some time as tutor in the family of Ormiston, was apprehended, and being tried for heresy before a convention of clergy and nobility, was committed to the flames on the Castle-hill of Edinburgh.[5] These prosecutions were not confined to persons in holy orders. George Winchester of Kinglassie was summoned before the archbishop and clergy at St Andrews, and, having made his escape, was condemned as a heretic, and his goods escheated.[6] In the following year the parliament renewed the laws in support of the Church, and added a new statute against the circulation of heretical ballads and tragedies.[7]

By these severe measures the clergy struck terror into the minds of the nation; but they were unable to conceal the glaring corruptions by which their own order was disgraced, and they could not remain strangers to the murmurs that these had excited throughout the whole kingdom. In the month of November 1549, a provincial council was held at Edinburgh "for the reformation of the Church, and the extirpation of heresy."[8] This council acknowledged that "corruption and profane lewdness of life, as well as gross ignorance of arts and sciences, reigned among the clergy of almost every degree,"[9] and they enacted

[1] MS. Letters, pp. 435, 438.

[2] Knox, Historie, p. 78. Hume of Godscroft's History, ii. 128.

[3] Knox, Historie, p. 80.

[4] Buchanani Oper. i. 302. Knox, Historie, p. 82. The following tribute to the memory of this patriot occurs in a work of one of our Latin poets, which is rarely to be met with:—

JOHANNES MALVILLUS RETHIUS,

Nobilis Fifanus, Jacobo V. regi olim familiarissimus, summa vitæ innocentia, ob puræ relligionis studium, in suspicione falsi criminis, iniquissimo judicio sublatus est A° Christi 1548.

Quidnam ego commerui, quæ tanta injuria facti,
Hostis ut in nostrum sæviat ense caput?
Idem hostis, judexque simul. Pro crimine, Christi
Relligio, et fædo crimine pura manus.
O secla! O mores: scelerum sic tollere pœnas
Ut virtus sceleri debita damna luat.
Joh. Jonstoni Heroes, pp. 28, 29.

[5] Knox, Historie, pp. 87, 88. Spotswood, 90, 91. Bezæ Icones, Ff. ij.

[6] Winchester's brother-in-law, William Arthur of Cairnes, obtained his property; and by a disposition, dated 27th August 1555, "out of pity to Christian Martine." (wife of George Winchester), "and her eight fatherless children, disponed to her in liferent the fore-tenement and the tacks of Kinglassie and Polduff, sometime pertaining to the said George, with his haill moveables, fallen in escheat, upon her paying to him the composition that he paid therefor." MS. Genealogical Collections of Martin of Clermont, vol. i. p. 583—5.

[7] Act. Parl. Scot. ii. 488—9.

[8] This council assembled at Linlithgow, but was transferred to Edinburgh. Wilkins, Concil. tom. iv. 46. conf. p. 209.

[9] Procm. Concil. apud Wilkins, iv. 46.

no fewer than fifty-eight canons for correcting these evils. They agreed to carry into execution the decree of the general council of Basle, which ordained, that every clergyman who lived in concubinage should be deprived of the revenues of his benefice for three months, and that if, after due admonition, he did not dismiss his concubine, or if he took to himself another, he should be deprived of his benefices altogether.[1] They exhorted the prelates and inferior clergy not to retain in their own houses their bastard children, nor suffer them to be promoted directly or indirectly to their own benefices, nor employ the patrimony of the Church for the purpose of marrying them to barons, or of erecting baronages for them.[2] That the distinction between clergy and laity might be visibly preserved, they appointed the ordinaries to charge the priests under their care to desist from the practice of preserving their beards, which had begun to prevail, and to see that the canonical tonsure was duly observed.[3] To remedy the neglect of public instruction, which was loudly complained of, they agreed to observe the act of the Council of Trent, which ordained that every bishop, "according to the grace given to him," should preach personally four times a-year at least, unless lawfully hindered; and that such of them as were unfit for this duty, through want of practice, should endeavour to qualify themselves, and for that end should entertain in their houses learned divines capable of instructing them. The same injunctions were laid on rectors.[4] They determined that a benefice should be set apart in each bishopric and monastery, for supporting a preacher who might supply the want of teaching within their bounds; that, where no such benefice was set apart, pensions should be allotted; and that, where neither of these was provided, the preacher should be entitled to demand from the rector forty shillings a-year, provided he had preached four times in his parish within that period.[5] The council made a number of other regulations, concerning the dress and diet of the clergy, the course of study in cathedral churches and monasteries, union of benefices, pluralities, ordinations, dispensations, and the method of process in consistorial courts. But not trusting altogether to these remedies for the cure of heresy, they farther ordained that the bishop of each diocese, and the head of each monastery, should appoint "inquisitors of heretical pravity, men of piety, probity, learning, good fame, and great circumspection," who should make the most diligent search after heresies, foreign opinions, condemned books, and particularly profane songs, intended to defame the clergy, or to detract from the authority of the ecclesiastical constitutions.[6]

Another provincial council, held in 1551 and 1552, besides ratifying the preceding canons,[7] adopted an additional expedient for correcting

[1] Canon 1. Concil. apud Wilkins, iv. 47.
[2] Can. 2. Ibid., 48.
[3] Can. 5. Ibid., 48.
[4] Can. 15, 20. Ibid., 50—1.
[5] Can. 42, 45. Ibid., 56—7.
[6] Can. 43, 44, 47. Ibid., 57—8.
[7] Ibid., 69—73.

the continued neglect of public instruction. After declaring that "the inferior clergy, and the prelates for the most part, were still unqualified for instructing the people in the catholic faith, and other things necessary to salvation, and for reclaiming the erroneous," they proceeded to approve of a catechism which had been compiled in the Scottish language, ordered that it should be printed, and that copies of it should be sent to all rectors, vicars, and curates, who were enjoined to read a portion of it, instead of a sermon, to their parishioners, on every Sunday and holyday, when no person qualified for preaching was present. The rectors, vicars, and curates, were enjoined to practise daily in reading their catechism, lest, on ascending the pulpit, they should stammer and blunder, and thereby expose themselves to the laughter of the people. The archbishop was directed, after supplying the clergy with copies, to keep the remainder beside him "in firm custody;" and the inferior clergy were prohibited from indiscreetly communicating their copies to the people, without the permission of their bishops, who might allow this privilege to "certain honest, grave, trusty, and discreet laics, who appeared to desire it for the sake of instruction, and not of gratifying curiosity."[1] If any of the hearers testified a disposition to call in question any part of the catechism, the clerical reader was prohibited, under the pain of deprivation, from entering into dispute with them on the subject, and was instructed to delate them to the inquisitors.[2]

Many of the regulations enacted by these two councils were excellent;[3] but the execution of them was committed to the very persons who were interested in support of the evils against which they were directed. Accordingly, the canons of the Scottish clergy, like those of general councils called for the reformation of the Church, instead of correcting, served only to proclaim the abuses which prevailed. We know from the declarations of subsequent provincial councils,[4] as well as from the complaints of the people, that the licentiousness of the clergy continued; and the catechism which they had sanctioned seems to have been but little used. I have not found it mentioned by any writer of that age, Popish or Protestant; and we know of its existence only from the canon of the Assembly which authorised its use, and from a few copies of it which have descended to our time.[5]

The council which met in 1551, boasts that, through the singular favour of the government, and the vigilance of the prelates, heresy, which had formerly spread through the kingdom, was now repressed, and almost extinguished.[6] There were still, however, many Protestants in the nation; but they were deprived of teachers, and they satisfied themselves with retaining their sentiments, without exposing their lives to inevitable destruction by avowing their creed, or exciting the suspicions of the clergy by holding private conventicles. In this state they remained from 1551 to 1554.

[1] Can. 16. Concil. apud Wilkins, iv. 72—3. [2] Ibid., p. 73. [3] See Note X.
[4] Wilkins, iv. 207, 209, 210. Keith, pref. p. xiv. [5] See Note Y. [6] Wilkins, iv. 72.

While the Reformation was in this languishing condition, it experienced a sudden revival in Scotland, from two causes which appeared at first view to threaten its utter extinction in Britain. These were, the elevation of the queen-dowager to the regency of Scotland, and the accession of Mary to the throne of England.

The queen-dowager of Scotland, who possessed a great portion of that ambition by which her brothers, the princes of Lorraine, were fired, had long formed the design of wresting the regency from the hands of Arran. After a series of political intrigue, in which she discovered the most consummate and persevering address, she at last succeeded; and on the 10th of April, 1554, the regent resigned his office to her in the presence of parliament, and retired into private life with the title of Duke of Châtelherault. The dowager had, at an early period, made her court to the Protestants, whom Arran had alienated from him by persecution; and, to induce them to favour her pretensions, she promised to screen them from the violence of the clergy. Having received their cordial support, and finding it necessary still to use them as a check upon the clergy, who, under the influence of the primate, favoured the interest of her rival, the queen-regent secretly countenanced them, and the Protestants were emboldened again to avow their sentiments.

In the mean time, the Queen of England was exerting all her power to crush the Reformation; and had the court of Scotland acted in concert with her for this purpose, the Protestants must, according to all human probability, have been exterminated in Britain. But the English queen having married Philip, King of Spain, while the queen-regent was indissolubly attached to France, the rival of Spain, a coldness was produced between these two princesses, which was soon after succeeded by an open breach. Among the Protestants who fled from the cruelty of Mary, some took refuge in Scotland, where they were suffered to remain undisturbed and even to teach in private, through the connivance of the new regent, and in consequence of the security into which the clergy had been lulled by success. Travelling from place to place, they propagated instruction, and by their example and their exhortations fanned the latent zeal of those who had formerly received the knowledge of the truth.

William Harlow, whose zeal and acquaintance with the Scriptures compensated for the defects of his education, was the first preacher who at this time came to Scotland. Let those who do not know, or who wish to forget, that the religion which they profess was first preached by fishermen and tentmakers, labour to conceal the occupations of some of those men whom Providence raised up to spread the reformed gospel through their native country. Harlow had followed the trade of a tailor in Edinburgh;[1]

[1] Keith, Append. p. 90. Episcopal writers have sometimes upbraided the Scottish Church, as reformed by tradesmen and mechanics. They have, however, no reason to talk in this strain; for, in the first place, a sensible pious tradesman is surely better qualified for communicating religious instruction than an ignorant superstitious priest; and, secondly, the Church of England herself, after trying those of the latter class, was glad to betake herself to the former. See Strype's Annals, i. 176, 177.

but having imbibed the Protestant doctrine, he retired to England, where he was admitted to deacon's orders, and employed as a preacher during the reign of Edward VI.[1] Upon his return to Scotland, he remained for some time in Ayrshire, and continued to preach in different parts of the country with great fervour and diligence, until the establishment of the Reformation, when he was admitted minister of St Cuthbert's, in the vicinity of Edinburgh.[2]

Some time after him arrived John Willock. This reformer afterwards became the principal coadjutor of Knox, who never mentions him without expressions of affection and esteem. The cordiality which subsisted between them, the harmony of their sentiments, and the combination of the peculiar talents and qualities by which they were distinguished conduced in no small degree to the advancement of the Reformation. Willock was not inferior to Knox in learning, and though he did not equal him in eloquence and intrepidity, surpassed him in affability, in moderation, and in address;[3] qualities which enabled him sometimes to maintain his station, and to accomplish his purposes, when his colleague could not act with safety or with success. He was a native of Ayrshire, and had belonged to the order of Franciscan friars; but, having embraced the reformed opinions at an early period, he threw off the monastic habit, and fled to England. During the persecution for the Six Articles in 1541, he was thrown into the prison of the Fleet. He afterwards became chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk, the father of Lady Jane Grey;[4] and upon the accession of Queen Mary, left England, and took up his residence at Embden. Having practised there as a physician, he was introduced to Anne, Duchess of Friesland, who patronised the Reformation,[5] and whose opinion of his talents and integrity induced her to send him to Scotland, in the summer of 1555, with a commission to the queen-regent, to make some arrangements respecting the trade carried on between the two countries. The public character with which he was invested gave Willock an opportunity of cultivating acquaintance with the leading Protestants, and while he resided in Edinburgh they met with him in private, and listened to his religious instructions.[6]

Knox received the news of this favourable change in the situation of his brethren with heartfelt satisfaction. He did not know what it was to fear danger, and was little accustomed to consult his own ease, when he had the prospect of being useful in advancing the interests of truth; but he acknowledges that, on the present occasion, he was at first averse to a journey into Scotland, notwithstanding some encouraging circumstances in the intelligence which he had received from that

[1] Cald. MS. i. 256. [2] Keith, Hist. p. 408.

[3] Smetonii Respons. ad. Arch. Hamiltoni Dialog. p. 93. Edinburgi, 1579.

[4] Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, celebrates Willock among the chaplains of the duke, in the following lines:—

Quid memorem quanta Wilocus, Skinerus et Haddon,
Ælmerusque tuos ornârint luce penates?
O Deus! O quales juvenes? Quo principe digni?
His tua luminibus splendet domus.
Strype's Annals, ii. Append. p. 46.

[5] Gerdesii Hist. Reform. iii. 147—8.

[6] Spotswood, p. 93. Knox, 90.

quarter. He had been so much tossed about of late, that he felt a peculiar relish in the learned leisure which he at present enjoyed, and which he was desirous to prolong. His anxiety to see his wife, after an absence of nearly two years, and the importunity with which his mother-in-law, in her letters, urged him to visit them, determined him at last to undertake the journey.[1] Setting out from Geneva in the month of August 1555, he came to Dieppe, and sailing from that port, landed on the east coast near the boundaries between Scotland and England, about the end of harvest.[2] He repaired immediately to Berwick, where he had the satisfaction of finding his wife and her mother in comfortable circumstances, and enjoying the happiness of religious society with several individuals in that city, who, like themselves, had not "bowed the knee" to the established idolatry, nor consented to "receive the mark" of antichrist.[3]

Having remained some time with them, he set out secretly to visit the Protestants in Edinburgh; intending, after a short stay, to return to Berwick. But he found employment which detained him beyond his expectation. He lodged with James Syme, a respectable burgess of Edinburgh, in whose house the friends of the Reformation assembled, to attend the instructions of Knox, as soon as they were informed of his arrival. Few of the inhabitants of the metropolis had as yet embraced the reformed doctrines, but several persons had repaired to it at this time, from other parts of the country, to meet with Willock. Among these were John Erskine of Dun, whom we had formerly occasion to mention as an early favourer of the new opinions, and a distinguished patron of literature,[4] and whose great respectability of character, and approved loyalty and patriotism, had preserved him from the resentment of the clergy, and the jealousy of the government, during successive periods of persecution;[5] and William Maitland of Lethington, a young gentleman of the finest parts, improved by a superior education, but inclined to subtlety in reasoning, accommodating in his religious sentiments, and extremely versatile in his political conduct. Highly gratified with Knox's discourses, which were greatly superior to any which they had heard from Popish or Protestant preachers, they brought their acquaintances along with them to hear him, and his audiences daily increased. Being confined to a private house, he was obliged to preach to successive assemblies; and was unremittingly employed, by night as well as by day, in communicating instruction to persons who demanded it with extraordinary avidity. The following letter, written by him to Mrs Bowes, to excuse himself for not returning so soon as he had purposed, will convey the best idea of his employment and feelings on this interesting occasion.

"The wayis of man are not in his awn power. Albeit my journey

[1] MS. Letters, p. 342.
[2] Discours of the Troubles at Franckford, p lv. lix. Knox, Historie, p. 90.
[3] MS. Letters, p. 343.
[4] See above, pp. 3, 17.
[5] Buchanani Oper. i. 301. Keith, App. p. 57.

toward Scotland, belovit mother, was maist contrarious to my awn judgment, befoir I did interpryse the same ; yet this day I prais God for thame wha was the cause externall of my resort to theis quarteris ; that is, I prais God in yow and for yow, whom hie maid the instrument to draw me from the den of my awn cas, (you allane did draw me from the rest of quyet studie), to contemplat and behald the fervent thirst of our brethrene, night and day sobbing and gronying for the breide of life. Gif I had not sene it with my eis, in my awn country, I culd not have beleveit it ! I praisit God, when I was with you, perceaving that, in the middis of Sodome, God had mo Lottis than one, and mo faithful douchteris than tua. But the fervencie heir doith fer exceid all utheris that I have seen. And thairfor ye sall paciently bear, altho' I spend heir yet sum dayis ; for depart I cannot, unto sic tyme as God quenche thair thirst a littil. Yea, mother, thair fervencie doith sa ravische me, that I cannot but accus and condemp my sleuthful coldnes. God grant thame thair hartis desyre ; and I pray yow adverteis [me] of your estait, and of thingis that have occurit sense your last wrytting. Comfort yourself in Godis promissis, and be assureit that God steiris up mo friendis than we be war of. My commendation to all in your company. I commit you to the protectioun of the Omnipotent. In great haist ; the 4. of November, 1555. From Scotland. Your sone, Johne Knox." [1]

Having executed his commission, Willock returned to Embden ; and he quitted Scotland with the less regret, as he left behind him one who was so capable of promoting the cause which he had at heart. When he first arrived in Scotland, Knox found that the friends of the reformed doctrine continued, in general, to attend the popish worship, and even the celebration of mass ; principally with the view of avoiding the scandal which they would otherwise incur. Highly disapproving of this practice, he laboured, in his conversation and sermons, to convince them of the great impiety of that part of the popish service, and the criminality of countenancing it by their presence. Doubts being still entertained on the subject by some, a meeting of the Protestants in the city was held for the express purpose of discussing the question. Maitland defended the practice with all the ingenuity and learning for which he was distinguished ; but his arguments were so satisfactorily answered by Knox, that he yielded the point as indefensible, and agreed, with the rest of his brethren, to abstain, for the future, from such temporising conduct. Thus was a formal separation made from the Popish Church in Scotland, which may be justly regarded as an important step in the Reformation.[2]

Erskine of Dun prevailed on Knox to accompany him to his family seat in the shire of Angus, where he continued a month, during which he preached every day. The principal persons in that neighbourhood attended his sermons. After his return to the south of the Forth, he

[1] MS. Letters, pp. 342, 343. [2] Knox, Historie, p. 91.

resided at Calder House,[1] in West Lothian, the seat of Sir James Sandilands, commonly called Lord St John, because he was chief in Scotland of the religious order of military knights, who went by the name of Hospitallers, or Knights of St John. This gentleman, who was now venerable for his grey hairs as well as for his valour, sagacity, and correct morals, had long been a sincere friend to the reformed cause, and had contributed to its preservation in that part of the country.[2] In 1548 he had presented to the parsonage of Calder, John Spotswood,[3] afterwards the reformed superintendent of Lothian, who had imbibed the Protestant doctrines from Archbishop Cranmer in England, and who instilled them into the minds of his parishioners, and of the nobility and gentry that frequented the house of his patron.[4] Among those who attended Knox's sermons at Calder, were three young noblemen, who made a great figure in the public transactions which followed,—Archibald, Lord Lorn, who, succeeding to the earldom of Argyll at the most critical period of the Reformation, promoted, with all the ardour of youthful zeal, that cause which his father had espoused in extreme old age,—John, Lord Erskine, afterwards Earl of Mar, who commanded the important fortress of Edinburgh Castle, during the civil war which ensued between the queen-regent and the Protestants, and died Regent of Scotland,—and Lord James Stuart, an illegitimate son of James V., who was subsequently created Earl of Moray, and was the first regent of the kingdom during the minority of James VI. Being designed for the Church, the last-named nobleman had been in his youth made Prior of St Andrews—a title by which he is often mentioned in history; but, on arriving at manhood, he discovered no inclination to follow the clerical profession. He was at this time in the twenty-second year of his age;[5] and although he had lived for the most part in retirement from the court, had already given proofs of those superior talents which he had soon a more favourable opportunity of displaying. Knox had formerly met with him in London, and his sagacity led him, even at that time, to form the highest expectations from the talents and spirit of the youthful prior.[6] The three noblemen were much gratified with Knox's doctrine, and his exhortations made an impression upon their minds, which remained during the succeeding part of their lives.

In the beginning of the year 1556 he was conducted by Lockhart of Bar, and Campbell of Kinyeancleugh, to Kyle, the ancient receptacle of the Scottish Lollards, where there were a number of adherents to the reformed doctrine. He preached in the houses of Bar, Kinyeancleugh,

[1] On the back of a picture of our Reformer, which hangs in one of the rooms of Lord Torphichen's house at Calder, is this inscription: "The Rev. John Knox. The first sacrament of the supper given in Scotland after the Reformation, was dispensed in this hall." The commencement of the Reformation is here dated from the present visit of Knox to Scotland; for we have already seen that he administered the ordinance in the Castle of St Andrews, in 1547. The account given by Knox in his History of the Reformation (p. 92), seems to imply that he performed this service in the west country before he did it in Calder House.

[2] Knox, Historie, pp. 91, 118.

[3] Keith, p. 530.

[4] Spotswood, p. 90.

[5] Chalmers' Caledonia, i. 848.

[6] Knox, Historie, pp. 91, 331.

Carnell, Ochiltree, and Gadgirth, and in the town of Ayr. In several of these places he also dispensed the sacrament of our Lord's supper. A little before Easter he went to Finlayston, the baronial mansion of the noble family of Glencairn. William, Earl of Glencairn, having been killed at the battle of Pinkie, had been succeeded by his son, Alexander, whose superior learning and ability did not escape the discerning eye of Sir Ralph Sadler, during his embassy in Scotland.[1] He was an ardent and steady friend to the reformed religion, and had carefully instructed his family in its principles. In his house, besides preaching, Knox dispensed the sacrament of the supper; the earl himself, his countess, and two of their sons, with a number of their friends and acquaintance, participating of that sacred feast.[2]

From Finlayston he returned to Calder House, and soon after paid a second visit to Dun, during which he preached more openly than before. At this time the greater part of the gentlemen of Mearns made profession of the reformed religion, by sitting down at the Lord's table; and entered into a solemn and mutual bond, in which they renounced the Popish communion, and engaged to maintain and promote the pure preaching of the gospel, as Providence should favour them with opportunities.[3]

This seems to have been the first of those religious bonds or covenants, by which the confederation of the Protestants in Scotland was so frequently ratified. Although they have been condemned as unwarranted in a religious point of view, and dangerous in a political, yet are they completely defensible upon the principles both of conscience and policy. A mutual agreement, compact, or covenant, is virtually implied in the constitution of every society, civil or religious; and the dictates of natural law conspire with the declarations of revelation in sanctioning the warrantableness and propriety of explicit engagements, about any lawful and important matter, and of ratifying these, if circumstances shall require it, by formal subscription, and by a solemn appeal to the Searcher of hearts. By strengthening the motives to fidelity and constancy, and thus producing mutual confidence among those who are embarked in the same cause, they have proved eminently beneficial in the reformation of churches and nations, and in securing the religious and political privileges of men. The misapplication of them, when employed in a bad cause and for mischievous ends, can be no argument against their use in a legitimate way, and for laudable purposes. And

[1] Sadler's State Papers, i. 83. Hume of Godscroft's Hist. ii. 128.

[2] The silver cups which were used on that occasion were, till of late, carefully preserved by the family of Glencairn at Finlayston; and the parish of Kilmalcolm was regularly favoured with the use of them at the time of dispensing the sacrament. "The people," says the minister, in his account of that parish, "respect them much for their antiquity, as well as for the solemnity attending them in former and later times." Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. iv. p. 279. This writer thinks they had been originally candlesticks, and converted to this use on the emergent occasion; the hollow bottom reversed forming the mouth of the cup, and the middle, after the socket was screwed out, being converted into the foot. But it is not very likely that the family of Glencairn were obliged to have recourse to this expedient.

[3] Knox, Historie, p. 92.

the reasoning employed to prove that such covenants should not be entered into without the permission of rulers, would lead to the conclusion, that subjects ought never to profess a religion to which their superiors are hostile, nor make any attempts to obtain the reform of abuses, or the redress of grievances, without the consent and approbation of those who are interested in their support.

The dangers to which Knox and his friends had been accustomed, taught them to conduct matters with such secresy, that he had preached for a considerable time, and in different quarters of the country, before the clergy knew that he was in the kingdom. Concealment was, however, impracticable after his audiences became numerous. His preaching at Ayr was reported to the court, and formed the topic of conversation in the presence of the queen-regent. Some one in the company having affirmed that the preacher was an Englishman, "a prelate, not of the least pride, said, 'Nay; no Englishman, but it is Knox, that knave.'" This was Beatoun, Archbishop of Glasgow. "It was my lord's pleasure," says Knox, "so to baptise a poor man; the reason whereof, if it should be required, his rochet and mitre must stand for authority. What further liberty he used in defining things alike uncertain to him, to wit, of my learning and doctrine, at this present I omit. For what hath my life and conversation been, since it hath pleased God to call me from the puddle of papistry, let my very enemies speak; and what learning I have, they may prove when they please."[1] Interest was at that time made by the bishops for his apprehension, but without success.[2]

After his last journey to Angus, the friars flocked from all quarters to the bishops, and instigated them to adopt speedy and decisive measures for checking the alarming effects of his preaching. In consequence of this, he was summoned to appear before a convention of the clergy, in the Church of the Blackfriars at Edinburgh, on the 15th of May. This diet he resolved to keep, and with that view came to Edinburgh, before the day appointed, accompanied by Erskine of Dun, and several other gentlemen. The clergy had never dreamed of his attendance. Being apprised of his determination, and afraid to bring matters to extremity, while unassured of the regent's decided support, they met beforehand, set aside the summons under pretence of some informality, and deserted the diet against him. On the day on which he should have appeared as a culprit, Knox preached in the Bishop of Dunkeld's large lodging, to a far greater audience than had before attended him in Edinburgh. During the ten following days he preached in the same place, forenoon and afternoon; none of the clergy making the smallest attempt to disturb him. It was in the midst of these labours, that he wrote the following hasty lines to Mrs Bowes.

"Belovit mother, with my maist hartlie commendation in the Lord

[1] Letter to Mary, Regent of Scotland, apud Historie, p. 417. [2] Ibid., pp. 416, 417.

Jesus, albeit I was fullie purposit to have visitit yow before this tyme, yet hath God laid impedimentis, whilk I culd not avoyd. Thay are suche as I dout not ar to his glorie, and to the comfort of many heir. The trumpet blew the ald sound thrie dayis together, till privat houssis of indifferent largenes culd not conteane the voce of it. God, for Christ his Sonis sake, grant me to be myndful, that the sobbis of my hart hath not been in vane, nor neglectit in the presence of his Majestie. O! sweet war the death that suld follow sic fourtie dayis in Edinburgh, as heir I have had thrie. Rejose, mother; the tyme of our deliverance approacheth: for, as Sathan rageth, sa dois the grace of the Halie Spreit abound, and daylie geveth new testymonyis of the everlasting love of oure merciful Father. I can wryt na mair to you at this present. The grace of the Lord Jesus rest with you. In haste—this Monunday—youre sone, John Knox."[1]

About this time the Earl Marischal was induced to attend an evening exhortation delivered by Knox. He was so much pleased with the discourse, that he joined with Glencairn in urging the preacher to write a letter to the queen-regent, which, they thought, might have the effect of inclining her to protect the reformed preachers, if not also to lend a favourable ear to their doctrine. With this request he was induced to comply.[2]

As a specimen of the manner in which this letter was written, I shall give the following quotation, in the original language:—"I dout not, that the rumouris, whilk haif cumin to your grace's earis of me, haif bene such, that (yf all reportis wer trew) I wer unworthie to live in the earth. And wonder it is, that the voces of the multitude suld not so have inflamed your grace's hart with just hatred of such a one as I am accuseit to be, that all acces to pitie suld have been schute up. I am traducit as ane heretick, accusit as a false teacher and seducer of the pepill, besides other opprobries, whilk (affirmit by men of warldlie honour and estimation) may easelie kendill the wrath of majestratis, whair innocencie is not knawin. But blissit be God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Chryst, who, by the dew of his heavenly grace, hath so quenchit the fyre of displeasure as yit in your grace's hart, (whilk of lait dayis I have understood), that Sathan is frustrat of his interpryse and purpois. Whilk is to my heart no small comfort; not so muche (God is witness) for any benefit that I can resave in this miserable lyfe, by protectioun of any earthlie creature, (for the cupe whilk it behoveth me to drink is apoyntit by the wisdome of him whois consallis ar not changeable), as that I am for that benefit whilk I am assurit your grace sall resave; yf that ye continew in like moderation and clemencie towards utheris that maist unjustlie ar and sall be accusit, as that your grace hath begun towardis me, and my most desperate cause." An

[1] MS. Letters, pp. 343, 344.

[2] Knox, Historie, p. 92. Another hearer of Knox at this time was Henry Drummond of Riccartowne, who was married to a niece of Robert Creighton, Bishop of Dunkeld. Lord Strathallan's Account of the House of Drummond, MS. in Advocates' Library.

orator (he continued) might justly require of her grace a motherly pity towards her subjects, the execution of justice upon murderers and oppressors, a heart free from avarice and partiality, a mind studious of the public welfare, with other virtues which heathen as well as inspired writers required of rulers. But, in his opinion, it was vain to crave reformation of manners, when religion was so much corrupted. He could not propose, in the present letter, to lay open the sources, progress, and extent of those errors and corruptions which had overspread and inundated the Church; but, if her majesty would grant him opportunity and liberty of speech, he was ready to undertake this task. In the mean time, he could not refrain from calling her attention to this important subject, and pointing out to her the fallacy of some general prejudices by which she was in danger of being deluded. She ought to beware of thinking, that the care of religion did not belong to magistrates, but was devolved wholly on the clergy; that it was a thing incredible that religion should be so universally depraved; or that true religion was to be judged of by the majority of voices, by custom, by the laws and determinations of men, or by anything but the infallible dictates of inspired Scripture. He knew that innovations in religion were deemed hazardous; but the urgent necessity and immense magnitude of the object ought, in the present case, to swallow up the fear of danger. He was aware that a public reformation might be thought to exceed her authority as regent; but she could not be bound to maintain idolatry and manifest abuses, nor to suffer the clergy to murder innocent men, merely because they worshipped God according to his word.

Though Knox's pen was not the most smooth nor delicate, and though he often irritated by the plainness and severity of his language, the letter to the queen-regent is very far from being uncourtly or inelegant. It seems to have been written with great care, and in point of style may be compared with any composition of that period, for simplicity and forcible expression.[1] Its strain was well calculated for stimulating the inquiries, and confirming the resolutions, of one who was impressed with a conviction of the reigning evils of the Church, or who, though not resolved in judgment as to the matters in controversy, was determined to preserve moderation between the contending parties. Notwithstanding her imposing manners, the regent was not a person of this description. The Earl of Glencairn delivered the letter into her hand; she glanced over it with a careless air, and gave it to the Archbishop of Glasgow, saying, "Please you, my lord, to read a pasquil."[2] The report of this induced Knox, after he retired from Scotland, to publish the letter, with additions. The style of the additions is more spirited and sharp than that of the original letter; but there is nothing even in them which is indecorous, or which will warrant the charge

[1] This is more evident from the letter in its original language, which is now before me in manuscript. In the copies of it which have been published along with his History, and even in the edition of 1732, freedoms have been used, and the style is not a little injured by the insertion of unnecessary and enfeebling expletives. [2] Historie, 92, 125.

which has been brought against him of being accustomed to treat crowned heads with irreverence and disrespect. "As charitie," says he, "persuadeth me to interpret thinges doubtfully spoken in the best sence, so my dutie to God (who hath commanded me to flatter no prince in the earth) compelleth me to say, that if no more ye esteme the admonition of God nor the cardinalles do the scoffing of pasquilles, then he shall schortly send you messagers, with whom ye shall not be able on that maner to jest.—I did not speak unto you, madame, by my former lettre, nether yet do I now, as Pasquillus doth to the pope, in behalf of such as dare not utter their names; but I come, in the name of Jesus Christ, affirming that the religion which ye maintain is damnable idolatrie: the which I offre myselfe to prove by the most evident testimonies of Goddis Scriptures. And, in this quarrelle, I present myself againste all the Papistes within the realme, desireing none other armore but Goddis holie word, and the libertie of my tonge."[1]

While he was thus employed in Scotland, he received letters from the English congregation at Geneva, stating that they had made choice of him as one of their pastors, and urging him to come and take the inspection of them.[2] He judged it his duty to comply with this invitation, and began immediately to prepare for the journey. His wife and mother-in-law had by this time joined him at Edinburgh; and Mrs Bowes, being now a widow, resolved to accompany Mrs Knox and her husband to Geneva. Having sent them before him in a vessel to Dieppe, Knox again visited and took his leave of the brethren in the different places where he had preached. He was conducted, by his friend Campbell of Kinyeancleuch, to the Earl of Argyll, and preached for some days at his seat of Castle Campbell.[3] That aged nobleman appears to have received durable impressions from the instructions of the Reformer. He resisted all the arts which the clergy afterwards employed to detach him from the Protestant interest, and on his deathbed laid a solemn charge upon his son to use his utmost influence for its preservation and advancement. Argyll, and Glenorchy, who was also a hearer of Knox, endeavoured to detain him in Scotland, but without success. "If God so blessed their small beginnings," he said, "that they continued in godliness, whensoever they pleased to command him, they should find him obedient. But once he must needs visit that little flock, which the wickedness of men had compelled him to leave." Accordingly, in the month of July 1556, he left Scotland, and having joined his family at Dieppe, proceeded along with them to Geneva.[4]

No sooner did the clergy understand that he had quitted the kingdom, than they, in a dastardly manner, renewed the summons against

[1] Letter, &c. apud Historie, pp. 425, 426.

[2] This congregation, (which consisted of those who had withdrawn from Frankfort), as early as September 1555, "chose Knox and Goodman for their pastors, and Gilby requested to supplie the rome till Knox returned owte of France." Troubles at Franckford, p. lix.

[3] A piece of sloping ground on the south side of the castle is still pointed out as the spot on which Knox preached.

[4] Knox, Historie, pp. 92—3, 108.

him which they had deserted during his presence, and, upon his failing to appear, passed sentence against him, adjudging his body to the flames, and his soul to damnation. As his person was out of their reach, they caused his effigy to be ignominiously burned at the cross of Edinburgh. Against this sentence he drew up his Appellation, which he afterwards published, with a supplication and exhortation, directed to the nobility and commonalty of Scotland. It may not be improper here to subjoin the summary which he gave in this treatise of the doctrine taught by him during his late visit to Scotland, which the clergy pronounced so execrable, and deserving of such horrible punishment. He taught, that there is no other name by which men can be saved but that of Jesus, and that all reliance on the merits of others is vain and delusive; that the Saviour having by his own sacrifice sanctified and reconciled to God those who should inherit the promised kingdom, all other sacrifices which men pretend to offer for sin are blasphemous; that all men ought to hate sin, which is so odious before God that no sacrifice but the death of his Son could satisfy for it; that they ought to magnify their heavenly Father, who did not spare him who is the substance of his glory, but gave him up to suffer the ignominious and cruel death of the cross for us; and that those who have been washed from their former sins are bound to lead a new life, fighting against the lusts of the flesh, and studying to glorify God by good works. In conformity with the certification of his Master, that he would deny and be ashamed of those who should deny and be ashamed of him and his words before a wicked generation, he farther taught, that it is incumbent on those who hope for life everlasting, to make an open profession of the doctrine of Christ, and to avoid idolatry, superstition, vain religion, and, in one word, every way of worship which is destitute of authority from the word of God. This doctrine he did believe so conformable to God's holy Scriptures, that he thought no creature could have been so impudent as to deny any point or article of it; yet had the false bishops and ungodly clergy condemned him as a heretic, and his doctrine as heretical, and pronounced against him the sentence of death, in testimony of which they had burnt his effigy; from which sentence he appealed to a lawful and general council, to be held agreeably to ancient laws and canons; humbly requesting the nobility and commons of Scotland, to take him, and others who were accused and persecuted, under their protection, until such time as these controversies were decided, and to regard this his plain Appellation of no less effect, than if it had been made with the accustomed solemnity and ceremonies.[1]

The late visit of our Reformer was of vast consequence. By his labours on this occasion, he laid the foundations of that noble edifice which he was afterwards so instrumental in completing. The friends of the Protestant doctrine were separated from the corrupt communion

[1] Appellation, &c. apud Historie, p. 428.

to which, in a certain degree, they had hitherto adhered; their information in scriptural truth was greatly improved; and they were brought together in different parts of the nation, and prepared for being organised into a regular church, as soon as Providence should grant them external liberty, and furnish them with persons qualified for acting as overseers. Some may be apt to blame him for abandoning with too great precipitation the undertaking which he had so auspiciously begun. But, without pretending to ascertain the train of reflections which occurred to his mind, we may trace, in his determination, the wise arrangements of that Providence which watched over the infant Reformation, and guided the steps of the Reformer. His absence was now no less conducive to the preservation of the cause, than his presence and personal labours had lately been to its advancement. Matters were not yet ripened for a general reformation in Scotland; and the clergy would never have suffered so zealous and able a champion of the new doctrines to live in the country. By retiring at this time, he not only preserved his own life, and reserved his labours to a more fit opportunity, but he also averted the storm of persecution from the heads of his brethren. Deprived of teachers, they became objects of less jealousy to their adversaries; while in their private meetings, they continued to confirm one another in the doctrine which they had received, and the seed lately sown had sufficient time to take root and spread.

Before he took his departure, Knox gave his brethren such directions as he judged most necessary, and most useful to them, in their present circumstances. Not satisfied with communicating these orally, he committed them to writing in a common letter, which he either left behind him, or sent from Dieppe, to be circulated in the different quarters where he had preached. In this letter he warmly recommends to every one the frequent and careful perusal of the Scriptures. He inculcates the duty of attending to religious instruction and worship in each family. He exhorts the brethren to meet together once every week, if practicable, and gives them directions for conducting their assemblies, in the manner best adapted for their mutual improvement, while destitute of public teachers. They ought to begin with confession of sins, and invocation of the divine blessing. A portion of the Scriptures should then be read; and they would find it of great advantage to observe a regular course in their reading, and to join a chapter of the Old and of the New Testament together. After the reading of the Scriptures, if an exhortation, interpretation, or doubt, occurred to any brother, he might speak; but he ought to do it with modesty, and a desire to edify or to be edified, carefully avoiding "multiplication of words, perplexed interpretation, and wilfulness in reasoning." If, in the course of reading or conference, they met with any difficulties which they could not solve, he advised them to commit these to writing, before they separated, that they might submit them to the judgment of the

learned; and he signified his own readiness to give them his advice by letter, whenever it should be required. Their assemblies ought always to be closed, as well as opened, by prayer.[1] There is every reason to conclude, that these directions were punctually complied with; this letter may therefore be viewed as an important document regarding the state of the Protestant Church in Scotland previous to the establishment of the Reformation, and shall be inserted at large in the notes.[2]

Among his subsequent letters are answers to questions which his countrymen had transmitted to him for advice. The questions are such as might be supposed to arise in the minds of pious persons lately made acquainted with Scripture, puzzled with particular expressions, and at a loss how to apply some of its directions to their situation. They discover an inquisitive and conscientious disposition; and at the same time illustrate the disadvantages under which ordinary Christians labour when deprived of the assistance of learned teachers.[3] Our Reformer's answers display an intimate acquaintance with Scripture, and dexterity in expounding it, with prudence in giving advice in cases of conscience, so as not to encourage a dangerous laxity on the one hand, or scrupulosity and excessive rigidness on the other.

[1] MS. Letters, p. 352—359. [2] See Note Z.

[3] Among the questions proposed were the following:—Whether the baptism administered by the Popish priests was valid, and did not require repetition? Whether all the things prohibited in the decree of the apostles and elders at Jerusalem (Acts, xv.) were still unlawful? Whether the prohibition in 2 John, verse 10, extended to the *common* salutation of those who taught erroneous doctrine? How are the directions respecting dress, in 2 Peter, iii. 3, to be obeyed? In what sense is God said to repent?

PERIOD V.

FROM THE YEAR 1556, WHEN HE RETURNED TO GENEVA, AFTER VISITING SCOTLAND, TO MAY 1559, WHEN HE RETURNED TO SCOTLAND FOR THE LAST TIME.

KNOX reached Geneva before the end of harvest, and took upon him the charge of the English congregation there,[1] among whom he laboured during the two following years. This short period was the most quiet of his life. In the bosom of his own family, he experienced that soothing care to which he had hitherto been a stranger, and which his frequent bodily ailments now required. Two sons were born to him in Geneva. The greatest affection to him, and cordiality among themselves, subsisted in the small flock under his charge. With his colleague, Christopher Goodman, he lived as a brother; and he was happy in the friendship of Calvin and the other pastors of Geneva. So much was he pleased with the purity of religion established in that city, that he warmly recommended it to his religious acquaintances in England, as the best Christian asylum to which they could flee. "In my heart," says he, in a letter to his friend Mr Locke, "I could have wished, yea, and cannot cease to wish, that it might please God to guide and conduct yourself to this place, where, I neither fear nor eshame to say, is the most perfect school of Christ that ever was in the earth since the days of the apostles. In other places I confess Christ to be truly preached; but manners and religion to be so sincerely reformed, I have not yet seen in any other place beside."[2]

But neither the enjoyment of personal accommodations, nor the pleasures of literary society, nor the endearments of domestic happiness, could subdue Knox's ruling passion, or unfix his determination to revisit Scotland, as soon as an opportunity should offer, for advancing the Reformation among his countrymen. In a letter written to some of his friends in Edinburgh, March 16, 1557, he expresses himself in the following manner: "My own motion and daily prayer is, not only that I may visit you, but also that with joy I may end my battle among you. And assure yourself of this, that whenever a greater number

[1] The congregation appear to have delayed the final settlement of their form of worship and discipline until Knox's arrival, for the preface to The Order of Geneva is dated "the 10th of February, anno 1556." Dunlop's Collection of Confessions, ii. 401. If this date was according to the old method of reckoning, Knox must have been present at the time. But I am not sure but that the new mode of beginning the year in January was introduced in Geneva as early as 1556.

[2] MS. Letters, p. 377.

among you shall call upon me than now hath bound me to serve them, by his grace it shall not be the fear of punishment, neither yet of the death temporal, that shall impede my coming to you."[1] A certain heroic confidence, and assurance of ultimate success, have often been displayed by those whom Providence has raised up to achieve great revolutions in the world; by which they have been borne up under discouragements which would have overwhelmed men of ordinary spirits, and emboldened to face dangers from which others would have shrunk appalled. Knox possessed no inconsiderable portion of that enthusiastic heroism which was so conspicuous in the German reformer. "Satan, I confess, rageth," says he, in a letter written at this time; "but potent is he that promiseth to be with us, in all such enterprises as we take in hand at his commandment, for the glory of his name, and for maintenance of his true religion. And therefore the less fear we any contrary power; yea, in the boldness of our God, we altogether contemn them, be they kings, emperors, men, angels, or devils. For they shall be never able to prevail against the simple truth of God which we openly profess; by the permission of God they may appear to prevail against our bodies, but our cause shall triumph in despite of Satan."[2]

Soon after the above letter had been written, two citizens of Edinburgh, James Syme and James Barron, arrived at Geneva with a letter and credentials, from the Earl of Glencairn, and Lords Lorn, Erskine, and James Stuart, informing him, that the professors of the reformed doctrine remained steadfast, that its adversaries were daily losing credit in the nation, and that those who possessed the supreme authority, although they had not yet declared themselves friendly to it, continued to refrain from persecution; and inviting him, in their own name, and in that of their brethren, to return to Scotland, where he would find them all ready to receive him, and to spend their lives and fortunes in advancing the cause which they had espoused.[3]

Knox, at the same time that he laid this letter before his congregation, craved the advice of Calvin and the other ministers of Geneva. They gave it as their opinion, "that he could not refuse the call without showing himself rebellious to God, and unmerciful to his country." His congregation agreed to sacrifice their particular interest to the greater good of the Church; and his own family silently acquiesced. Upon this, he returned an answer to the letter of the nobility, signifying that he meant to visit them with all reasonable expedition. The congregation chose as his successor William Whittingham,[4] a learned Englishman, with whom he had been long united by the ties of friendship and congeniality of sentiment. Having settled his other affairs, he took an affectionate leave of his friends at Geneva, and went to Dieppe in the month of October. But on his arrival there, he received letters from

[1] MS. Letters, p. 408.
[2] Ibid., p. 378.
[3] Knox, Historie, pp. 97, 98.
[4] See Note AA.

Scotland, written in a very different strain from the former. By these he was informed, that new consultations had been held among the Protestants in that country; that some of them began to repent of the invitation which they had given him to return; and that the greater part seemed irresolute and faint-hearted.

This intelligence exceedingly disconcerted and embarrassed him. He instantly despatched a letter to the nobility who had invited him, upbraiding them for their timidity and inconstancy. The information which he had just received, had, he said, confounded him, and pierced his heart with sorrow. After taking the advice of the most learned and godly in Europe, to satisfy his own conscience and theirs as to the propriety of this enterprise, the abandonment of it must reflect disgrace either on him or them—it argued either that he had been marvellously forward and vain, or that they had betrayed great imprudence and want of judgment in the invitation which they had given him. To some it might appear a small matter that he had left his poor family destitute of a head, and committed the care of his little but dearly-beloved flock to another; but, for his part, he could not name the sum that would induce him to go through that scene a second time, and to behold so many grave men weeping at his departure. What answer could he give to those who inquired, why he did not prosecute his journey? He could take God to witness that the personal inconveniences to which he had been subjected, and the mortification which he felt at the disappointment, were not the chief causes of his grief. He was alarmed at the awful consequences which would ensue—at the bondage and misery, spiritual and temporal, which they would entail on themselves and their children, their subjects and their posterity, if they neglected the present opportunity of introducing the gospel into their native country. In his conscience, he could exempt none that bore the name of nobility in Scotland from blame in this affair. His words might perhaps appear sharp and indiscreet; but charity would construe them in the best sense, and wise men would consider that a true friend cannot flatter, especially in a matter which involves the salvation of the bodies and souls, not of a few persons, but of a whole realm. "What are the sobs, and what is the affliction, of my troubled heart, God shall one day declare. But this will I add to my former rigour and severity; to wit, if any persuade you, for fear or dangers to follow, to faint in your former purpose, be he esteemed never so wise and friendly, let him be judged of you both foolish and your mortal enemy. I am not ignorant that fearful troubles shall ensue your enterprise, as in my former letters I did signify unto you. But, O! joyful and comfortable are those troubles and adversities which man sustaineth for accomplishment of God's will revealed in his word. For how terrible soever they appear to the judgment of natural men, yet they are never able to devour nor utterly to consume the sufferers; for the invisible and invincible power of God sustaineth and preserveth,

according to his promise, all such as with simplicity do obey him. No less cause have ye to enter in your former enterprise, than Moses had to go to the presence of Pharaoh; for your subjects, yea, your brethren, are oppressed—their bodies and souls holden in bondage; and God speaketh to your consciences (unless ye be dead with the blind world), that ye ought to hazard your own lives, be it against kings or emperors, for their deliverance. For only for that cause are ye called princes of the people, and receive honour, tribute, and homage at God's commandment,—not by reason of your birth and progeny (as the most part of men falsely do suppose), but by reason of your office and duty; which is, to vindicate and deliver your subjects and brethren from all violence and oppression, to the uttermost of your power."[1]

Having sent off this letter, with others written in the same strain, to Erskine of Dun, Wishart of Pittarow, and some other gentlemen of his acquaintance, he cherished the hope that he would soon receive more favourable accounts from Scotland, and resolved in the mean time to remain in France.[2] The reformed doctrine had been early introduced into that kingdom; it had been copiously watered with the blood of martyrs; and all the violence which had been employed by its enemies had not been able to extirpate it, or to prevent its spreading among all ranks. The Parisian Protestants were at present smarting under the effects of one of those massacres which so often disgraced the Roman Catholic religion in that country, before as well as after the commencement of the civil wars. Not satisfied with assaulting them when peaceably assembled for worship in a private house, and treating them with great barbarity, their adversaries, in imitation of their pagan predecessors, invented the most diabolical calumnies against them, and circulated the report that they were guilty of abominable practices in their religious assemblies.[3] The innocent sufferers had drawn up an apology, in which they vindicated themselves from the atrocious charge; and Knox, having got this translated into English,[4] wrote a preface and

[1] Knox, Historie, p. 98—100.

[2] I find him, about this time, addressing a letter to one of his correspondents from Lyons. MS. Letters, p. 346. This letter is subscribed John Sinclair. See above, p. 1, note [3].

[3] Histoire des Martyrs, pp. 425, 426. Anno 1597, folio. Beza. Vita Calvini, ad ann. 1557. The Cardinal of Lorraine, uncle to Mary, the young Queen of Scotland, was industrious in propagating these vile calumnies: a circumstance which increased Knox's bad opinion of that determined enemy of the Reformation. This is mentioned by him in his preface to the Parisian Apology. "This was not bruited be the rude and ignorant pepil; but a cardinall (whais ipocrisie nevertheless is not abil to cover his awn filthiness) eschamit not openlie at his tabill to affirm that maist impudent and manifest lie; adding, moreover, (to the further declaratioun whais sone he was), that, in the hous whair thay wer apprehendit, 8 bedis wer preparit. When in verie deed, in that place whair they did convene, (except a table for the Lord's supper to have been ministered, a chayr for the preicher, and bankis and stullis for the easement of the auditors), no preparation nor furniture was abill to be proved, not even by the verie enemyis." MS. Letters, pp. 445, 446.

[4] MS. Letters, p. 442—500. The Apology of the Parisian Protestants was published; but I do not think that the English translation, with Knox's additions, ever appeared in print. The writer of the Life of Knox, prefixed to the edition of his History, 1732, p. xxi. has fallen into several blunders on this subject. There are no letters to the French Protestants in the MS. to which he refers. The Apology was written by the Parisians themselves, and Knox informs us that a part of the translation only was done by him,—"the former and maist part was translatit by another, because of my other labors." *Ut supra*, p. 446.

additions to it, with the intention of publishing it for the use of his countrymen.

Having formed an acquaintance with many of the Protestants of France, and being able to speak their language, he occasionally preached to them in passing through the country. It seems to have been on this occasion that he preached in the city of Rochelle, and having alluded to his native country in the course of his sermon, told his audience that he expected, within a few years, to preach in the Church of St Giles, in Edinburgh.[1]

It does not appear that there were any Protestants in Dieppe when Knox first visited it. But he had now the satisfaction of officiating in a reformed church, recently planted in that town. In the course of the year 1557, a travelling merchant from Geneva, named John Venable, had come to Dieppe, and by his conversation and the circulation of books, imparted the knowledge of the Protestant doctrine to some of the inhabitants. At his request, they were visited by Delajonché, pastor at Rouen, who applied to the ministers of Geneva to furnish them with a preacher. They sent André de Sequeran, sieur d'Amont, who, having removed in the course of a few months, was succeeded by Delaporte, one of the pastors of the Church of Rouen. Knox having come to Dieppe at this time, was chosen colleague to Delaporte; and under their ministry the Reformation was embraced by some of the principal persons of the town, and among the rest by M. de Bagueville, a descendant of Charles Martel. A surprising change was soon observed on the morals of the inhabitants, which had formerly been very dissolute; and the Church at Dieppe continued long in a flourishing condition.[2]

Being disappointed in his expectation of letters from Scotland, Knox determined to relinquish his journey, and return to Geneva. This resolution does not accord with the usual firmness of our Reformer, and is not sufficiently accounted for in the common histories. The Protestant nobles had not retracted their invitation; the discouraging letters which he had received, were written by individuals without any authority from the rest; and if their zeal and courage had begun to flag, his presence

[1] "Having particularly declared to me," says Row, "by those who heard him say, when he was in Rochel, in France, that within two or three years he hoped to preach the gospel publicly in St Giles in Edinburgh. But the persons who heard him say it, being Papists for the time, and yet persuaded by a nobleman to hear him preach privately, and see him baptise a bairn that was carried many miles to him for that purpose, thought that such a thing could never come to pass, and hated him for so speaking; yet, coming home to Scotland, and through stress of weather likely to perish, they began to think of his preaching, and allowed of every part of it, and vowed to God, if he would preserve their lives, that they would forsake Papistry, and follow the calling of God; whilk they did, and saw and heard John Knox preach openly in the kirk of Edinburgh, at the time whereof he spoke to them." Row's Historie, MS. pp. 8, 9. The same fact is mentioned by Pierre de la Roque, a French author, in Recueil des Dernières Heures Edifiantes: Wodrow, MSS. No 15, Advocates' Library.

[2] Annuaire, ou Repertoire Ecclesiastique, à l'usage des Eglises Reformées et Protestantes de l'empire Français, par M. Rabaut le Jeune, pp. 273, 274. A Paris, 1807.

The pastor of Dieppe was a member of the first National Synod of the reformed churches of France, held at Paris in 1559. Quick's Synodicon, 1, 2, 7. In 1630, there were upwards of 5000 communicants in the Church of Dieppe. Diary of Mr Robert Trail, minister of Greyfriars, Edinburgh, pp. 22, 23. MS. in the possession of the Rev. Dr Trail.

was the more necessary to recruit them. From the letters which he wrote to his familiar acquaintance, I am enabled to state the motives by which he was actuated in making this retrograde step. He was perfectly aware that a violent struggle must precede the establishment of the Reformation in his native country; he knew that his presence in Scotland would excite the rage of the clergy, who would make every effort to crush their adversaries, and to maintain the lucrative system of superstition; and he dreaded that civil discord, and tumult, and bloodshed would ensue. The prospect of these things rushed into his mind, and, regardless of public tranquillity as some have pronounced him to be, staggered his resolution to prosecute an undertaking which, in his judgment, was not only lawful, but laudable and necessary. "When," says he, "I heard such troubles as appeared in that realm, I began to dispute with myself as followeth: 'Shall Christ, the author of peace, concord, and quietness, be preached where war is proclaimed, sedition engendered, and tumults appear to rise? Shall not his evangel be accused as the cause of all this calamity which is like to follow? What comfort canst thou have to see the one half of the people rise up against the other; yea, to jeopard the one to murder and destroy the other? But, above all, what joy shall it be to thy heart, to behold with thy eyes thy native country betrayed into the hands of strangers, which, to no man's judgment, can be avoided; because that those who ought to defend it, and the liberty thereof, are so blind, dull, and obstinate, that they will not see their own destruction?'"[1] To "these and more deep cogitations," which continued to distract his mind for several months after he returned to Geneva, he principally imputed his abandonment of the journey to Scotland. At the same time, he was convinced that they were not sufficient to justify his desisting from an undertaking recommended by so many powerful considerations. "But, alas!" says he, "as the wounded man, be he never so expert in physic or surgery, cannot suddenly mitigate his own pain and dolour, no more can I the fear and grief of my heart, although I am not ignorant of what is to be done. It may also be, that the doubts and cold writing of some brethren did augment my dolour, and somewhat discourage me that before was more nor feeble. But nothing do I so much accuse as myself." Whatever were the secondary causes of this step, I cannot help again directing the reader's attention to the wisdom of Providence, in throwing impediments in his way, by which his return to Scotland was protracted to a period, before which it might have been injurious, and at which it was calculated to be in the highest degree beneficial, to the great cause that he meant to promote.

In judging of Knox's influence in advancing the Reformation, we must take into view not only his personal labours, but also the epistolary correspondence which he maintained with his countrymen. By this he instructed them in his absence, communicated his own advice,

[1] MS. Letters, p. 349.

and that of the learned among whom he resided, upon every difficult case which occurred, and animated them to constancy and perseverance. During his residence at Dieppe, he transmitted to Scotland two long letters, which deserve particular notice. The one, dated on the 1st of December, is directed to the Protestants in general; the other, dated on the 17th of that month, is addressed to the nobility. In both of them he prudently avoids any reference to his late disappointment.

In the first letter he strongly inculcates purity of morals, and warns all who profess the reformed religion against those irregularities of life which were employed to the disparagement of their cause, by two classes of persons,—by the Papists, who, although the same vices prevailed in a far higher degree among themselves, represented them as the native fruits of the reformed doctrine,—and by a new sect, who were enemies to superstition, but who had deserted the reformed communion, and were become scarcely less hostile to it than the Papists. The principal design of this letter was to put his countrymen on their guard against the arts of this last class of persons, and to expose their leading errors.

The persons to whom he referred went under the general name of Anabaptists, a sect which sprung up soon after the commencement of the Reformation under Luther, and, breaking out into the greatest excesses, produced violent commotions in different parts of Germany. Being suppressed in the place of its birth, it spread through other countries, and secretly made converts by high pretensions to seriousness and Christian simplicity; the spirit of wild fanaticism, which at first characterised its disciples, gradually subsiding after the first effervescence. Extravagancies of a similar kind have not unfrequently accompanied great revolutions; when the minds of men, released from the fetters of implicit obedience, and dazzled by a sudden illumination, have been disposed to fly to the extreme of anarchy and turbulence. Nothing proved more vexatious to the original reformers than this. It was urged by the defenders of the old system as a popular argument against all change. The extravagant opinions and disorderly practices of the new sect, though disowned and opposed by all sober Protestants, were artfully imputed to them by their adversaries. And many, who had declared themselves friendly to reform, alarmed, or pretending to be alarmed, at this hideous spectre, drew back, and sheltered themselves within the sacred pale of that Church which, notwithstanding her notorious dissensions, errors, and corruption, both in head and members, continued to arrogate to herself exclusively the properties of unity, universality, and perpetual infallibility.

The radical error of this sect, according to the more improved system held by them at the time of which I write, was a fond conceit of a certain ideal spirituality and perfection, by which they considered the Christian Church to be essentially distinguished from the Jewish, which was, in their opinion, a mere carnal, secular society. Entertaining this

notion, they were naturally led to abridge the rule of faith and manners, by confining themselves almost entirely to the New Testament, and to adopt their other opinions concerning the unlawfulness of infant baptism, of civil magistracy, national churches, oaths, and defensive war. But besides these tenets, the Anabaptists were, at this period, generally infected with the Pelagian heresy, and united with the Papists in loading the doctrines which the reformers held respecting predestination and grace with the most odious charges.[1]

Our Reformer had occasion to meet with some of these sectaries both in England and on the Continent, and had ascertained their extravagant and dangerous principles. In the year 1553, one of them came to his lodging in London, and, after requiring secresy, gave him a book, written by one of the party, which he pressed him to read. It contained the following proposition, "God made not the world, nor the wicked creatures in it; but these were made by the devil, who is therefore called the god of this world." He immediately warned the man against such gross doctrine, and began to explain to him the sense in which the devil is called "the god of this world" in Scripture. "Tush for your written word!" replied the enthusiast, "we have as good and as sure a word and veritie that teacheth us this doctrine, as ye have for you and your opinion."[2] Being apprised that persons who had imbibed these opinions were creeping into Scotland, Knox was afraid that they might insidiously instil their poison into the minds of some of his brethren. He refuted their opinion respecting church-communion, by showing that they required a purity which had never been found in the Church, either before or since the completion of the canon of Scripture. In opposition to their Pelagian tenets, he gave the following statement of his sentiments: "If there be anything which God did not predestinate or appoint, then lacked he wisdom and free regimen; or, if anything was ever done, or yet after shall be done, in heaven or in earth, which he might not have impeded, (if so had been his godly pleasure), then he is not omnipotent: which three properties, to wit, wisdom, free regimen, and power, denied to be in God, I pray you what rests in his Godhead? The wisdom of our God we acknowledge to be such, that it compelleth the very malice of Satan, and the horrible iniquity of such as be drowned in sin, to serve to his glory, and to the profit of his elect. His power we believe and confess to be infinite, and such as no creature in heaven or earth is able to resist. And his regimen we acknowledge to be so free, that none of his creatures dare present them in judgment, to reason or

[1] The Careles by Necessitie, as reprinted in Knox's Answer to an Anabaptist, in 1560, Spanhemii (Patris) Disput. Theol. Miscell. Genevæ, 1652. Spanhemii (Fillii) Opera, tom. iii. p. 771—798. It is scarcely necessary to state, that the greater part of those who, in the present day, oppose the baptism of infants, do not hold a number of the tenets specified above. They are decidedly hostile to Pelagianism, and friendly to the doctrine of grace. So far from denying the lawfulness of magistracy among Christians, they have in general (at least in Scotland) adopted the principle of non-resistance to civil rulers in all cases.

[2] Knox, Answer to the Blasphemous Cavillations written by an Anabaptist, pp. 405, 407. Anno 1560.

demand the question, why hast thou done this or that? But the fountain of this their damnable error, (which is, that in God they can acknowledge no justice except that which their foolish brain is able to comprehend), at more opportunity, God willing, we shall entreat."[1]

He assigns his reasons for warning them so particularly against the seduction of these erroneous teachers. Under the cloak of mortification, and the colour of a godly life, they "supplanted the dignity of Christ," and "were become enemies to free justification by faith in his blood." The malice of Papists was now visible to all the world; the hypocrisy of mercenary teachers and ungodly professors would soon discover itself; and seldom had open tyranny been able to suppress the true religion, when it had once been earnestly embraced by the body of any nation or province. "But deceivable and false doctrine is a poison and venom, which, once drunken and received, with great difficulty can afterward be purged." Accordingly, he charged them to "try the spirits" which came to them, and to suffer no man to take the office of preacher upon him of his own accord, and without trial, or to assemble the people in secret meetings; else Satan would soon have his emissaries among them, who would "destroy the plantation of our heavenly Father."[2] His admonitions on this head were not without effect; and the Protestants of Scotland, instead of being distracted with these opinions, remained united in their views, as to doctrine, worship, and discipline.

His letter to the Protestant lords breathes an ardent and elevated spirit. Its object was to purify their minds from selfish and worldly principles—to raise, sanctify, and Christianise their views, by exhibiting and recommending to them the examples of those great and good men whose characters were delineated, and whose deeds were recorded, in the sacred annals. The glory of God, the advancement of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, the salvation of themselves and their brethren, the emancipation of their country from spiritual and political bondage—these, and not their own honour and aggrandisement, or the revenging of their petty private feuds, were the objects which they ought to keep steadily and solely in view.

In this letter, he also communicates his advice on the delicate question of resistance to supreme rulers. They had consulted him on this subject, and he had submitted it to the judgment of the most learned men on the Continent. Soon after they had agreed to the marriage of their young queen to the dauphin of France, the Scots began to be jealous of the designs of the French court against their liberties and independence. Their jealousies increased after the regency was transferred to the queen-dowager, who was wholly devoted to the interest of France, and had contrived, under different pretexts, to keep a body of French troops in the kingdom. It was not difficult to excite to resistance the indepen-

[1] This he afterwards accomplished in the book referred to in the preceding note.
[2] MS. Letters, p. 403—424.

dent and haughty barons of Scotland, accustomed to yield a very limited and precarious obedience even to their native princes. They had lately given a proof of this by their refusal to co-operate in the war against England, which they considered as undertaken merely for French interests. And, encouraged by this circumstance, the Duke of Châtelherault had begun, under the direction of his brother, the Archbishop of St Andrews, to intrigue for regaining the authority which he had reluctantly resigned.

Our Reformer displayed his moderation, and the soundness of his principles, by the advice which he gave at this critical period. He did not attempt to inflame the irascible minds of the nobility by aggravating the mal-administration of the queen-regent; far less did he advise them to join with the duke, and others who were discontented with the government, and to endeavour in this way to advance their cause. Instead of this, he informed them that it was currently reported on the Continent that a rebellion was intended in Scotland; and he solemnly charged all the professors of the Protestant religion to avoid accession to it, and to beware of countenancing those who sought to promote their private and worldly ends by disturbing the government. "He did not mean," he said, "to retract the principle which he had advanced in former letters, nor to deny the lawfulness of inferior magistrates, and the body of a nation, resisting the tyrannical measures of supreme rulers." He still held, that there was "a great difference between lawful obedience, and a fearful flattering of princes, or an unjust accomplishment of their desires, in things which be required or devised for the destruction of a commonwealth." The nobility were the hereditary guardians of the national liberties; and there were limits beyond which obedience was not due by subjects. But recourse ought not to be had to resistance, except when matters were tyrannically driven to an extreme. And it was peculiarly incumbent on the Protestants of Scotland to be circumspect in all their proceedings, that they might give their adversaries no reason to allege that seditious and rebellious designs were concealed under the cloak of zeal for reforming religion. His advice and solemn charge to them therefore was, that they should continue to yield cheerful obedience to all the lawful commands of the regent, and endeavour, by humble and repeated requests, to procure her favour, and to prevail upon her, if not to promote their cause, at least to protect them from persecution. If she refused to take any steps for reforming religion, it was their duty to provide that the gospel should be preached, and the sacraments administered in purity, to themselves and their brethren. If, while they were endeavouring peaceably to accomplish this, attempts should be made to crush them by violence, he did not think, considering the station which they occupied, that they were bound to look on and see their innocent brethren murdered. On the contrary, it was lawful for them, nay, it was their incumbent duty, to stand up in their defence. But even in this case they ought to pro-

test their readiness to obey the regent in everything consistent with their fidelity to God, and to avoid all association with the ambitious, the factious, and the turbulent.[1]

This is a specimen of the correspondence with Knox maintained with the Protestant nobility, by which he enlightened their views, aroused their zeal, and restrained their impetuosity, at this important juncture. I shall afterwards have occasion to call the attention of the reader more particularly to his political principles.

Knox returned to Geneva in the beginning of the year 1558. During that year he was engaged, along with several learned men of his congregation, in making a new translation of the Bible into English; which, from the place where it was composed and first printed, has obtained the name of the Geneva Bible.[2] It was at this time also that he published his Letter to the Queen-Regent, and his Appellation and Exhortation; both of which were transmitted to Scotland, and contributed not a little to the spread of the reformed opinions. I have already given an account of the first of these tracts, which was chiefly intended for removing the prejudices of Roman Catholics. The last was more immediately designed for instructing and animating the friends of the reformed religion. Addressing himself to the nobility and estates of the kingdom, he shows that the care and reformation of religion belonged to them as civil rulers, and constituted one of the primary duties of their office. This was a dictate of nature as well as revelation; and he would not insist on it, lest he should seem to suppose them "lesse careful over God's true religion, than were the ethnicks[3] over their idolatrie." Inferior magistrates, within the sphere of their jurisdiction—the nobles and estates of a kingdom, as well as kings and princes, were bound to attend to this high duty. He then addresses himself to the commonalty of Scotland, and points out their duty and interest, with regard to the important controversy in agitation. They were rational creatures, formed after the image of God—they had souls to be saved—they were accountable for their conduct—they were bound to judge of the truth of religion, and to make profession of it, as well as kings, nobles, or bishops. If idolatry was maintained, if the gospel

[1] MS. Letters, p. 424—438.

[2] Strype's Mem. of Parker, p. 205. This translation was often reprinted in Britain. The freedom of remark used in the notes gave offence to Queen Elizabeth, and her successor James; the last of whom said, that it wasthe worst translation which he had seen. Notwithstanding this expression of disapprobation, it is evident that the translators appointed by his authority made great use of it; and if they had followed it still more, the version which they have given us would, upon the whole, have been improved. The late Dr Geddes had a very different opinion of it from the royal critic.

I pretend not to know the versions referred to in the following passage of a foreign critic:—"Nec vero melius operâ suæ factioni, vel astuta vulpecula illa Joannes Cnoxius Scotus, vel ōes magnæ & celebris Angliceanæ veridictianæ reformationis authores, cum in suis Bibliis eodem capite, ita reponunt: Scoti primi quia proprius Calvinisimo accedunt; 'Thou ar Piter, and vpon that rok I wil buld my kirk,' id est, Tu es Petrus, & super istam rupē ego volo ædificare meā Ecclesiā. Videmus 'that rok' non esse id quod Petrum Cnoxius vocauit, atque Dominus Petrum affatur, et de eodem intelligit fore ipsum Ecclesiæ suæ columen. Angli nihil habent discriminis, nisi quod dicunt 'churk' pro 'Kirk.'" Paradigma De Quatuor Linguis Orientalibvs Præcipvis. Petro Victore Caietano Palma Avthore, p. 115. Parisiis, 1595.

[3] *i. e.* Heathen.

was suppressed, if the blood of the innocent was shed, and if, in these circumstances, they kept silence, and did not exert themselves to prevent such evils, how could they vindicate their conduct?[1]

But the most singular treatise published this year by Knox, and that which made the greatest noise, was, "The first Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment[2] of Women;" in which he attacked, with great vehemence, the practice of admitting females to the government of nations. There is some reason to think that his mind was struck with the incongruity of this practice as early as Mary's accession to the throne of England.[3] This was probably one of the points on which he had conferred with the Swiss divines in 1554.[4] That his sentiments respecting it were fixed in 1556, appears from an incidental reference to the subject in one of his familiar letters.[5] Influenced, however, by deference to the opinion of others, he refrained for a considerable time from publishing them to the world. But, at last, provoked by the tyranny of the queen of England, and wearied out with her increasing cruelties, he applied the trumpet to his mouth, and uttered a terrible blast. "To promote a woman to bear rule, superiority, dominion, or empire, above any realm, nation, or city, is repugnant to nature, contumely to God, a thing most contrarious to his revealed will and approved ordinance, and, finally, it is a subversion of all equity and justice." Such is the first sentence and principal proposition of the work. The arguments by which he endeavours to establish it are, that nature intended the female sex for subjection, not superiority, to the male, as appears from their infirmities, corporal and mental, (excepting always such as God, "by singular privilege, and for certain causes, exempted from the common rank of women;") that the divine law, announced at the creation of the first pair, had expressly assigned to man the dominion over woman, and commanded her to be subject to him; that female government was not permitted among the Jews; that it is contrary to apostolical injunctions; and that it leads to the perversion of government, and other pernicious consequences.

Knox's theory on this subject was not novel. In support of his opinion, he could appeal to the constitutions of the free states of antiquity, and to the authority of their most celebrated legislators and philosophers.[6] In the kingdom of France, females were, by an express law, excluded from succeeding to the crown. Edward VI., some time before his death, had proposed to the privy council the adoption of this law in England; but the motion, not suiting the ambitious views of the Duke of Northumberland, was overruled.[7] Though his opinion was

[1] Appellation, apud Historie, pp. 434—440, 453, 454.

[2] *i. e.* Regimen, or government.

[3] First Blast, apud Historie, p. 478.

[4] MS. Letters, pp. 318, 319.

[5] Ibid., pp. 322, 323.

[6] Tacitus has expressed his contempt of those who submit to female government with his usual emphatic brevity, in the account which he gives of the Sitones, a German tribe. "Cætera similes, uno differunt, quod fœmina dominatur; in tantum, non modo a libertate, sed etiam a servitute degenerant." De Mor. Germ. c. 45.

[7] Warner's Eccles. History of England, ii. 308.

sanctioned by such high authority, Knox was by no means sanguine in his expectations as to the reception of this performance. He tells us, in the preface, that he laid his account not only with the indignation of those who were interested in the support of the reprobated practice, but also with the disapprobation of such gentle spirits among the learned as would be alarmed at the boldness of the attack. He did not doubt, that he would be called "curious, despiteful, a sower of sedition, and one day perchance be attainted for treason;" but, in uttering a truth of which he was deeply convinced, he was determined to "cover his eyes, and shut his ears," from these dangers and obloquies. He was not mistaken in his anticipations. It exposed him to the resentment of two queens, during whose reign it was his lot to live; the one his native princess, and the other exerting a sway over Scotland scarcely inferior to that of any of its monarchs. Several of the English exiles approved of his opinion,[1] and few of them would have been displeased at seeing it reduced to practice, at the time that the Blast was published. But Queen Mary dying soon after it appeared, and her sister Elizabeth succeeding her, they raised a great outcry against it. John Foxe wrote a letter to the author, in which he expostulated with him, in a very friendly manner, as to the impropriety of the publication, and the severity of its language. Knox, in his reply, did not excuse his "rude vehemencie and inconsidered affirmations, which may appear rather to proceed from choler than of zeal and reason;" but signified, that he was still persuaded of the principal proposition which he had maintained.[2]

His original intention was to blow his trumpet thrice, and to publish his name with the last blast, to prevent the odium from falling on any other person. But, finding that it gave offence to many of his brethren, and being desirous to strengthen rather than invalidate the authority of Elizabeth, he relinquished his design of prosecuting the discussion.[3] He retained his sentiments to the last, but abstained from any farther declaration of them, and from replying to his opponents; although he was provoked by their censures and triumph, and sometimes hinted, in his private letters, that he would break silence, if they did not study greater moderation.

In the course of the following year, an answer to the Blast appeared under the title of "An Harborow for Faithful Subjects."[4] Though

[1] Christopher Goodman adopted the sentiment, and commended the publication of his colleague, in his book on "Obedience to Superior Powers." Whittingham and Gilby declared themselves on the same side of the question. I might also mention countrymen of his own who agreed with Knox on this subject; as James Kennedy, the celebrated Archbishop of St Andrews, and Sir David Lyndsay. Buchanani Hist. lib. xii. tom. i. 221—24, edit. Rudim. Chalmers's Lyndsay, iii. 175.

[2] Strype's Annals, i. 127. Foxe's letter was written before the death of Queen Mary. Knox's Answer to it, from the original in the British Museum, will be found in the Appendix.

[3] The heads of the intended Second Blast are subjoined to his Appellation, which was published some months after the First Blast.

[4] "An Harborowe for Faithful and Trewe Subjectes, against the late blowne Blaste, concerning the Government of Wemen, &c. anno MD. lix. At Strasborowe the 26. of Aprill." The Blast drew forth several other defences of female government, two of which were written by natives of Scotland. Bishop

anonymous, like the book to which it was a reply, it was soon declared to be the production of John Aylmer, one of the English refugees on the Continent, who had been archdeacon of Stowe, and tutor to Lady Jane Grey. It was not undertaken until the accession of Elizabeth, and was written, as Aylmer's biographer informs us, "upon a consultation holden among the exiles, the better to obtain the favour of the new queen, and to take off any jealousy she might conceive of them, and of the religion which they professed."[1] Aylmer himself says, that if the author of the Blast "had not swerved from the particular question to the general," but had confined himself to the queen who filled the throne when he wrote, "he could have said nothing too much, nor in such wise as to have offended any indifferent man;" and he allows with Knox, that Mary's government was "unnatural, unreasonable, unjust, and unlawful."[2] From these and some other considerations, Knox was induced to express a suspicion that his opponent had accommodated his doctrine to the times, and courted the favour of the reigning princess by flattering her vanity and love of power.[3] It is certain, that if Knox is entitled to the praise of boldness and disinterestedness, Aylmer carried away the palm for prudence; the latter was advanced to the bishopric of London, the former could not, without great difficulty, obtain leave to set his foot again upon English ground. Knox's Trumpet would never have sounded its alarm, had it not been for the tyranny of Mary; and there is reason to think that Aylmer would never have opened his "Harborow for Faithful Subjects," but for the auspicious succession of Elizabeth.

This, however, is independent of the merits of the question, which I do not feel inclined to examine minutely. The change which has taken place in the mode of administering government in modern times, renders it of less practical importance than it was formerly, when so much depended upon the personal talents and activity of the reigning prince. It may be added, that the evils incident to a female reign will be less felt under such a constitution as that of Britain, than under a pure and absolute monarchy. This last consideration is urged by Aylmer; and here his reasoning is most satisfactory.[4] The Blast bears the mark of hasty composition.[5] The Harborow has evidently been written with great care; it contains a good collection of historical facts bearing on the question; and though more distinguished for rhetorical exaggeration than logical precision, the reasoning is ingeniously conducted, and

Lesley's tract on this subject was printed along with his defence of Queen Mary's honour. David Chalmers, one of the Lords of Session, published his "Discours de la légitime succession des Femmes," after he retired from Scotland. Lord Hailes's Catal. of the Lords of Session, note 23. Mackenzie's Lives, iii. 388, 392.

[1] Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 16.

[2] Harborowe, sig. B. Strype says, contrary to the plain meaning of the passage, that Aylmer speaks here of "the *Scotch* queen Mary." Life of Aylmer, p. 230.

[3] The same suspicion seems to have been entertained by some of Elizabeth's courtiers. Strype's Aylmer, p. 20.

[4] See Note BB.

[5] The editions of the Blast printed along with Knox's History are all extremely incorrect: whole sentences are often omitted.

occasionally enlivened by strokes of humour.[1] It is, upon the whole, a curious as well as rare work.

After all, it is easier to vindicate the expediency of continuing the practice, where it has been established by law and usage, than to support the affirmative, when the question is propounded as a general thesis on government. It may fairly be questioned, if Aylmer has refuted the principal arguments of his opponent; and had Knox deemed it prudent to rejoin, he might have exposed the fallacy of his reasoning in different instances. In replying to the argument from the apostolical canon,[2] the archdeacon is not a little puzzled. Distrusting his distinction between the greater office, "the ecclesiastical function," and the less, "extern policy," he argues, that the apostle's prohibition may be considered as temporary, and peculiarly applicable to the women of his own time; and he insists that his clients shall not, *in toto*, be excluded from teaching and ruling in the Church, any more than in the State. "Me thinke," says he, very seriously, "even in this poynte, we must use επιεικεια, a certain moderacion, not absolutely, and in every wise to debar them herein (as it shall please God) to serve Christ. Are there not, in England, women, think you, that for their learninge and wisdom, could tell their householde and neighbouris as good a tale as the best Sir Jhone there?"[3] Beyond all question. Who can doubt that the learned Lady Elizabeth, who on a certain time interrupted the dean of her chapel, and told him to "stick to his text," was able to make as good a sermon as any of her clergy? or, that she was better qualified for other parts of the duty, when she composed a book of prayers for herself, while they were obliged to use one made to their hands? In fact, the view which the archdeacon gave of the text was necessary to vindicate the authority of his queen, who was head, or supreme governor, of the Church, as well as of the State. She who, by law, had supreme authority over all the reverend and right reverend divines in the land, with power to superintend, suspend, and control them in all their ecclesiastical functions—who, by her injunctions, could direct the primate himself when to preach, and how to preach—and who could license and silence ministers at her pleasure, must have been bound very moderately indeed by the apostolical prohibition, "I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence." Reason would also say, that she had an equal right to assume the exercise of the office in her own person, if she chose to avail herself of that right; and had she issued a *congé d'élire*, accompanied with her royal recom-

[1] In his answer to Knox's argument, from Isaiah, iii. 12, he concludes thus: "Therefore the argumente ariseth from wrong understandinge. As the vicar of Trumpenton understode *Eli, Eli, lama-zabatani*, when he read the passion on Palme Sonday. When he came to that place, he stopped, and calling the churchwardens, saide, 'Neighbours! this gear must be amended. Here is Eli twice in the book: I assure you if my L. [the bishop] of Elie come this waye and see it, he will have the book. Therefore, by mine advice, we shall scrape it out, and put in our own towne's name, *Trumpington, Trumpington, lamah zabactani.*' They consented, and he did so, because he understode no grewe." Harborowe, G. 3. G 4.

[2] 1 Tim. ii. 11—14. [3] Harborowe, G. 4. H.

mendation to elect some learned sister to a vacant see, the archdeacon at least would not have felt so squeamish at complying with it, as the Italian university did at conferring the degree of Doctor in Divinity upon the learned Helen Lucrecia Piscopia Cornaca.[1]

There are some things in the Harborow which might have been unpalatable to the queen, if the author had not sweetened them with that personal flattery, which was as agreeable to Elizabeth as to others of her sex and rank, and which he took care to administer in sufficient quantities before concluding his work. The ladies will be ready to excuse a slight slip of the pen in the good archdeacon, in consideration of the handsome manner in which he has defended their right to rule; but they will scarcely believe that the following description of the sex could proceed from him. "Some women," says he, "be wiser, better learned, discreater, constanter, than a number of men;" but others ("the most part," according to his biographer) he describes[2] as "fond, foolish, wanton, flibbergibs, tatlers, trifling, wavering, witles, without counsel, feable, carles, rashe, proud, daintie, nise, tale-bearers, eves-droppers, rumour-raisers, evil-tongued, worse-minded, and, in every wise, doltified with the dregges of the devil's doungehill!!!" The rude author of the monstrous Blast never spoke of the sex in terms half so disrespectful as these. One would suppose that Aylmer had already renounced the character of advocate of the fair sex, and recanted his principles on that head, as he did respecting the titles and revenues of bishops, which he inveighed against before his return from exile, but afterwards accepted with little scruple; and, when reminded of the language which he had formerly used, apologised for himself by saying, "When I was a child, I thought as a child; but when I became a man I put away childish things."[3]—But it is time to return to the narrative.

Our Reformer's letter to the Protestant lords in Scotland produced its intended effect, in reanimating their drooping courage. At a consultative meeting, held at Edinburgh, in December 1557, they unanimously resolved to adhere to one another, and exert themselves in advancing the Reformation. Having subscribed a solemn bond of mutual assistance, they renewed their invitation to Knox; and being afraid that he might hesitate on account of their former irresolution, they wrote to Calvin, to employ his influence to induce him to comply. Their letters did not reach Geneva until November 1558.[4] By the same conveyance, Knox received letters of a later date, communicating the most agreeable intelligence respecting the progress which the reformed cause had made, and the flourishing appearance which it continued to wear in Scotland.

Through the exertions of our Reformer, during his residence among them in the year 1556, and in pursuance of the instructions which he left behind him, the Protestants had formed themselves into congrega-

[1] See Note CC.
[2] Harborowe, sig. G. 3. Life of Aylmer, p. 279.
[3] Life of Aylmer, p. 269.
[4] Knox, Historie, p. 101.

tions, which met in different parts of the country with greater or less privacy, according to the opportunities which they enjoyed. Having come to the resolution of withdrawing from the Popish worship, they provided for their religious instruction and mutual edification in the best manner that their circumstances would permit. As there were no ministers among them, they continued for some time to be deprived of the dispensation of the sacraments ;[1] but certain intelligent and pious men of their number were chosen to read the Scriptures, to exhort, and offer up prayers in their assemblies. Convinced of the necessity of order and discipline in their societies, and desirous to have them organised, as far as was in their power, agreeably to the institution of Christ, they next proceeded to choose elders for the inspection of their manners, to whom they promised subjection, and deacons for the collection and distribution of alms to the poor.[2] Edinburgh was the first place in which this order was established : Dundee the first town in which a reformed Church was completely organised, provided with a regular minister, and favoured with the dispensation of the sacraments.

During the war with England, which began in autumn, 1556, and continued through the following year, the Protestants enjoyed considerable liberty ; and they improved it with great zeal and success. The clergy were not indifferent to the progress which the reformed opinions were daily making, and they prevailed with the regent to summon such as had presumed to preach without their authority ; but she was obliged to abandon the process against them, in consequence of the arrival of certain gentlemen from the west country, who demanded their release in a tone which declared that they were resolved not to be refused.[3]

At a meeting of the nobles and barons attached to the Reformation, held at Edinburgh, in December 1557, two resolutions were adopted for regulating their conduct in the present delicate juncture. It was agreed, in the first place, that they should rest satisfied for the present with requiring that prayers, and the lessons of the Old and New Testament, should be read in English, according to the book of Common Prayer,[4] in every parish, on Sundays and festival days, by the curates of the respective parishes, or, if they were unable or unwilling, by such persons within the bounds as were best qualified. And secondly, that the reformed preachers should teach in private houses only, till the

[1] Ninian Winget says, that "sum lordis and gentilmen" ministered the saerament of the supper "to their awn household servandis and tenantis." If only one instance of this kind occurred, the Papists would exaggerate it. The same writer adds, "that Knox blamed the persons who did it, saying, that they had 'gretumlie failzeit.'" Winzet's Buke of Fourscoir Three Questions, in Keith, Append. p. 239. Comp. Knox, p. 217.

[2] Cald. MS. i. 257. "The Electioun of Eldaris and Deaconis in the Church of Edinburgh," in Dunlop's Confessions, ii. 635, 636. Calderwood plaees his account of this under the year 1555; but I think that date too early. It was rather in the end of 1556, or in the course of 1557. The names of the first elders in Edinburgh were George Smail, Michael Robertson, Adam Craig, John Cairns, and Alexander Hope. There were at first two assemblies in Edinburgh ; but Erskine of Dun persuaded them to unite, and they met sometimes in the houses of Robert Watson and James Barron, and sometimes in the Abbey.

[3] Knox, Historie, p. 94—5.

[4] See Note DD.

government should allow them to preach in public.[1] The first resolution has been represented as an unwarrantable assumption of authority by this reforming assembly, and as implying that they had a right to dictate to the whole nation, by setting aside the established worship, and imposing a new form. This construction is, however, irreconcilable with the situation in which they were then placed, and with the moderate and submissive tone in which they continued to urge their claims at a subsequent period. It is rather to be viewed as expressing the opinion of that meeting respecting the degree of reformation which individuals of their body might introduce, in places to which their authority and influence extended. And, accordingly, it was reduced to practice in many parishes where Protestant barons resided, and where the people were disposed to imitate their example.[2]

In pursuance of the second resolution agreed on at the general meeting, the Earl of Argyll undertook the protection of John Douglas, a Carmelite friar, who had embraced the reformed sentiments ;[3] and the rest of the preachers were received into the houses of other barons, and employed to preach as their chaplains. This measure alarmed the clergy no less than the former practice of itinerant preaching had done. They saw that it would be vain to commence prosecutions against preachers who were entertained in the families of the principal men in the kingdom ; and they resolved to exert all their influence to deprive them of such powerful patronage. Presuming upon the easy temper of the aged Earl of Argyll, and upon the friendship which had long subsisted between his family and the Hamiltons, the Archbishop of St Andrews wrote a letter to that nobleman in a very insinuating strain, and at the same time sent a relation of his own, Sir David Hamilton, with instructions to represent the danger to which he exposed his noble house by countenancing Douglas, and to entreat him, in the most earnest manner, to withdraw his protection from such a pestilent heretic. Argyll's reply was temperate and respectful, but at the same time firm and spirited : he not only vindicated the doctrine taught by his chaplain, and refused to dismiss him, but made several shrewd and pointed remarks which the archbishop could not fail to apply to himself. The bishop having written that he felt himself bound "in honour and conscience" to inquire into the heresies of which Douglas was accused, the earl replies : "He preiches against idolatrie, I remit to your lordschip's conscience gif it be heresie or not ; he preiches against adultrie and fornicatioun, I referre that to your lordschip's conscience ;[4] he preiches against hypocrisie, I referre that to your lordschip's conscience ; he preiches against all maner of abuses and corruptioun of Christis sincere

[1] Knox, 101. [2] Spotswood, p. 117. [3] Ibid. Knox, p. 102.

[4] How the bishop's conscience stood affected as to these points we know not ; but it is certain that his practice was very far from being immaculate. Wilkins, Concilia, iv. 209. Knox, Historie, p. 104. Keith, p. 208.

religioun, I referre that to your lordschip's conscience. My lord, I exhort yow, in Christis name, to wey all thir affairis in your conscience, and considder if it be your dewtie also not onlie to thole[1] this, bot in like maner to do the same. This is all, my lord, that I varie in my age, and na uther thing, bot that I knew not befoir these offences to be abhominable to God, and now, knawing his will by manifestatioun of his word, abhorres thame." Referring to the bishop's offer to send him a learned and Catholic teacher, the earl replies, "God Almichtie send us mony of that sorte, that will preiche trewlie, and nathing but ane catholic universall Christian fayth; and we Hieland rude pepill hes mister[2] of thame. And if your lordschip wald get and provyde me sic a man, I sould provyde him a corporal leving as to my self, with grit thanks to your lordschip; for trewlie, I and many ma hes grit mister of sic men. And becaus I am abill to sustain ma nor ane of thame, I will requeist your lordschip earnestlie to provyde me sic a man as ye wrait; for the harvest is grit, and thair ar few labouraris."[3]

Foiled in his attempts to prevail on the nobility to withdraw their protection from the preachers, the archbishop determined to wreak his vengeance upon such of them as were still within his power, and proceeded to revive those cruel measures which had been suspended for several years, by the political circumstances of the country rather than by the clemency and moderation of the clergy. Walter Mill, parish priest of Lunan in Angus, having been condemned as a heretic in the time of Cardinal Beatoun, had escaped from execution, and continued to preach, sometimes in private, and at other times openly, in different quarters of the kingdom. Being lately discovered by one of the archbishop's spies, he was brought to trial at St Andrews. He appeared before the court so worn out with age, and the hardships which he had endured, that it was not expected he would be able to answer the questions which might be put to him; but, to the surprise of all, he conducted his defence with great spirit. Such was the compassion excited by his appearance, and the horror which was now felt at the punishment to which he was doomed, that the clergy, after pronouncing him guilty, could not procure a secular judge to pass sentence of death upon him, and the archbishop was at last obliged to employ a worthless servant of his own to perform the odious task. On the 28th of August 1558, Mill expired amidst the flames, uttering these words: "As for me, I am fourscore and two years old, and cannot live long by course of nature; but a hundred better shall rise out of the ashes of my bones. I trust in God, I shall be the last that shall suffer death in Scotland for this cause!"[4]

This barbarous and illegal execution produced effects of the greatest importance. It raised the horror of the nation to an incredible pitch; and

[1] Endure. [2] Need. [3] Knox, Historie, p. 106—7.
[4] Lindsay of Pitscottie's History, p. 200—1. Knox, 122. Spotswood, 95—7. Petrie, Part ii. 191.

as it was believed at that time that the regent was not accessory to the deed, their indignation was directed wholly against the clergy. Throwing aside all fear, and disregarding those restraints which prudence, or respect for established order, had hitherto imposed on them, the people now assembled openly to join in the reformed worship, and avowed their determination to adhere to it at all hazards. Harlow, Douglas, Paul Methven, and some others, were emboldened to break through the regulations to which they had submitted, and began to preach, and administer the sacraments, with greater publicity than formerly.[1] In the month of October,[2] they were joined by John Willock, who returned a second time from Embden.

Meanwhile the Protestant barons, having assembled at Edinburgh in the month of July,[3] had resolved to lay their complaints in a formal manner before the regent. They renewed the request which they had formerly made, that she would, by her authority, and in concurrence with the parliament, restrain the violence of the clergy, correct the flagrant and insufferable abuses which prevailed in the Church, and grant to them and their brethren the liberty of religious instruction and worship, at least according to a restricted plan which they laid before her, and to which they were willing to submit, till their grievances should be deliberately examined and legally redressed.[4] Their petition was presented to the regent, in the palace of Holyroodhouse, by Sir James Sandilands of Calder, in the presence of a number of the nobility and bishops. Her reply was such as to persuade them that she was friendly to their proposals; she promised that she would take measures for carrying them legally into effect as soon as it was in her power, and assured them, that in the mean time they might depend on her protection.[5]

It did not require many arguments to persuade Knox to comply with an invitation, which was accompanied with such gratifying intelligence; and he began immediately to prepare for his journey to Scotland. The future settlement of the congregation under his charge,

[1] Wilkins, Concilia, iv. 216. Besides the persons above named, the council mention (in the place here referred to) "Johannes Patritz, et alii complures, catholicæ fidei et ecclesiasticæ unitatis desertores." Who this Patritz was I do not know. The reformed preachers were obliged to assume feigned names on particular occasions, to escape apprehension. Thus Douglas went by the name of Grant. Comp. Knox, Hist. pp. 103, 106.

[2] Historie of the Estate of Scotland from 1559 to 1566, p. 1. MS. belonging to Thomas Thomson, Esq., advocate. This MS., which I had not seen when I published the first edition of this work, contains a number of minute particulars not mentioned in other histories. It would have been extremely valuable if it had been complete, but the copy which I have used stops short in the middle of the year 1560.

[3] Ibid.

[4] See Note EE.

[5] Knox, Historie, p. 122. Bishop Bale, who was then at Basle, inserted, in a work which he was just publishing, a letter sent him at this time by Thomas Cole, an English refugee residing at Geneva, communicating this information. "Heri enim," says Cole, "D. Knoxus ex Scotia nova certissima de immutata religione accepit: Christum publice per totum illud regnum doceri; et ita demum hominum corda occupasse, ut omni metu posito audeant publicis precibus interesse sua lingua celebratis, et sacramenta quoque habeant rite administrata, impuris antichristi ceremoniis abjectis. Nunc regina cogitat Reformationem religionis, indicto die quo conventus fiat totius regni," &c. Scriptor. Illustr. Major. Britanniæ Poster. Pars. Art. *Knoxus*. Basil. 1559.

occupied him for some time. Information being received of the death of Mary, Queen of England,[1] and the accession of Elizabeth, the Protestant refugees hastened to return to their native country. The congregation at Geneva, having met to return thanks to God for this deliverance, agreed to send one of their number with letters to their brethren in different places of the Continent, and particularly in Frankfort, congratulating them on the late happy change, and requesting a confirmation of the mutual reconciliation which had already been effected, the burial of all past offences, and a brotherly co-operation, in endeavouring to obtain such a settlement of religion in England as would be agreeable to all the sincere well-wishers of the Reformation. A favourable return to their letters being obtained,[2] they took leave of the hospitable city, and set out for their native country. By them Knox sent letters to some of his former acquaintances, who were now in the court of Elizabeth, requesting permission to travel through England on his way to Scotland.

In the month of January 1559 our Reformer took his leave of Geneva for the last time.[3] In addition to former marks of respect, the republic, before his departure, conferred on him the freedom of the city.[4] He left his wife and family behind him until he should ascertain that they could live with safety in Scotland. Upon his arrival at Dieppe, in the middle of March, he received information that the English government had refused to grant him liberty to pass through their dominions. The request had appeared so reasonable to his own mind, considering the station which he had held in that country, and the object of his present journey, that he once thought of proceeding to London without waiting for a formal permission ; yet it was with some difficulty that those who presented his letters escaped imprisonment.[5]

This impolitic severity was occasioned by the informations of some of the exiles, who had not forgotten the old quarrel at Frankfort, and had accused of disloyalty and disaffection to the queen, not only Knox, but all those who had been under his charge at Geneva, whom they represented as proselytes to the opinion which he had published against

[1] "God would not suffer her to reign long," says a Catholic writer, "either on account of the sins of her father, or on account of the sins of her people, who were unworthy of a princess so holy, so pious, and endued with such divine and rare dispositions." Laing, de Vita Hæretic. fol. 28.

[2] Troubles at Franckford, pp. 189, 190.

[3] Cald. MS. i. 380.

[4] Histoire Littéraire de Geneve, par Jean Senebier, tome i. 375, Genev. 1786. It is somewhat singular that Calvin did not obtain this honour until December 1559. "Il n'y a cependant point de citoyen," says Senebier, "qui ait acheté ce titre honorable aussi chèrement que lui par ses services, et je ne crois pas qu'il y en ait beaucoup qui l'aient autant mérité, et qui le rendent aussi célèbre." Ibid., pp. 230, 231.

Our Reformer obtained another public testimony of esteem at this time from Bishop Bale, who dedicated his work on Scottish Writers to him and Alexander Aless. The praise which he bestows on him deserves the more notice, because the bishop had been one of his opponents at Frankfort. "Te vero, Knoxe, frater amatissime, conjunxit mihi Anglia et Germania, imprimis autem doctrinæ nostræ in Christo Domino fraterna consensio. Nemo est enim qui tuam fidem, constantiam, patientiam, tot erumnis, tanta persecutione, exilioque diuturno et gravi, testatum, non collaudet, et non admiretur, non amplectatur." Balei Script. Illustr. Maj. Brit. Poster. Pars. pp. 175, 176. Basiliæ, ex officina Joan. Operini, 1559. Mense Februario.

[5] Knox, Historie, p. 205.

female government.[1] There was not an individual who could believe that Knox had the most distant eye to Elizabeth in publishing the obnoxious book; nor a person of judgment who could seriously think that her government was exposed to the slightest danger from him or his associates, who felt no less joy at her auspicious accession than their brethren.[2] If he had been imprudent in that publication, if he had "swerved from the particular question to the general," his error (to use the words of his respondent) "rose not of malice, but of zeal, and by looking more to the present cruelty, than to the inconveniences that after might follow;" and it was the part of generosity and of good policy to overlook the fault. Instead of this, Elizabeth and her counsellors took up the charge in a serious light; and the accused were treated with such harshness and disdain, that they repented of leaving their late asylum to return to their native country. One cannot help feeling indignant at this weak revenge, when it is considered that Elizabeth had admitted to favour, and retained at court, persons who had endeavoured to prevent her succession, and who had thirsted for her blood;[3] and that those who, under the preceding reign, had advised and practised the greatest severities against the Protestants, were now treated with the utmost lenity. Even the infamous Bonner was allowed to appear at court, and although the queen shuddered at the thought of a man who was polluted with so much blood kissing her hand, yet was he at this time going about London without the smallest molestation.[4] In the first parliament of Elizabeth, one Dr Story made a speech, in which he had the effrontery to justify the cruelties of Mary, to boast of his own activity in carrying her orders into execution, and to regret that measures still more violent and effectual had not been adopted for the utter extirpation of

[1] Knox, Historie, pp. 206, 210.

[2] In February 1559 the English exiles at Geneva published a prose translation of the Book of Psalms, which they dedicated to Elizabeth; and in this dedication, their congratulations on her accession to the throne, and their professions of loyalty, are as warm as those of any of her subjects were. It is inscribed, "To the most Vertuous and Noble Queene Elizabeth, Queene of Englande, France, and Irelande, &c. your humble subjects of the English Church at Geneva, wyth grace," &c. After mentioning that they had employed the time of their exile in revising the English translation of the Bible, and endeavouring to bring it as near as they could to the pure simplicity and true meaning of the Hebrew tongue, they add:—"When we heard that the almightie and most mercyfull God had no less myraculously preferred you to that excellent dignitie, than he had aboue all mens expectations preserued you from the furie of such as sought your blood: with most joyful myndes and great diligence we endeavoured our selves, to set foorth and dedicate this most excellent booke of the Psalmes vnto your grace as a speciall token of our seruice and good will, till the rest of the Byble, which, praysed be God, is in good readinesse, may be accomplished and presented." Epistle, p. 3, prefixed to the Booke of Psalmes, Geneva, 1559, 16mo.

[3] Haynes, State Papers, p. 295. Knox, Historie, p. 210.

[4] Burnet, ii. 374, 396. Stow, Annals, p. 635, edit. 1631. When afterwards committed to the Marshalsea for refusing to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy, Bonner was kept "under a very easy restraint." Godwin de Præsulibus Angliæ, p. 251, edit. 1616. Stapleton, a Popish writer, says that Tonstal was "cast into prison, as most of the bishops were, where he made a glorious end of a confessor, and satisfied for his former crime of schisme." "A prison!" exclaims Dr Jortin; "Lambeth palace, and the archbishop's table, was a dreadful dungeon, to be sure; and as bad as those into which the righteous Bonner, and other saints of the same class, used to thrust the poor heretics! Will men never be ashamed of these godly tricks and disingenuous prevarications?" Life of Erasmus, i. 101.

heresy.[1] Nor does it appear that this speech was resented either by the house or by the queen.

De nobis, post hæc, tristis sententia fertur:
Dat veniam corvis, vexat censura columbas.

The refusal of his request, and the harsh treatment of his flock, touched to the quick the irritable temper of our Reformer; and it was with some difficulty that he suppressed the desire which he felt rising in his breast, to prosecute a controversy which he had resolved to abandon. "My first Blast," says he, in a letter, dated Dieppe, 6th April 1559, "hath blown from me all my friends in England. My conscience bears record, that yet I seek the favour of my God; and so I am in the less fear. The second Blast, I fear, shall sound somewhat more sharp, except that men be more moderate than I hear they are. England hath refused me; but because, before, it did refuse Christ Jesus, the less do I regard the loss of this familiarity. And yet have I been a secret and assured friend to thee, O England, in cases which thyself could not have remedied."[2] But greater designs occupied his mind, and engrossed his attention. It was not for the sake of personal safety, nor from the vanity of appearing at court, that he desired to pass through England. He felt the natural wish to visit his old acquaintance in that country, and was anxious for an opportunity of once more addressing those to whom he had preached, especially at Newcastle and Berwick. But there was another object which he had still more at heart, and in which the welfare of both England and Scotland were concerned.

Notwithstanding the flattering accounts which he had received of the favourable disposition of the queen-regent towards the Protestants, and the directions which he sent them to cultivate this, he appears to have always entertained suspicions of the sincerity of her professions. Since he left Geneva these suspicions had been confirmed; and the information which he had procured, in travelling through France, conspired, with intelligence which he had lately received from Scotland, to convince him, that the immediate suppression of the Reformation in his native country, and its consequent suppression in the neighbouring kingdom, were intended. The plan projected by the gigantic ambition of the princes of Lorraine, brothers of the queen-regent of Scotland, has been developed and described with great accuracy and ability by a celebrated modern historian.[3] Suffice it to say here, that their counsels had determined the French court to set up the claim of the young Queen of Scots to the crown of England; to attack Elizabeth, and wrest the sceptre from her hands, under the pretext that she was a bastard and a heretic; and to commence their operations by suppressing the Reforma-

[1] He said, "that he saw nothing to be ashamed of or sorry for; wished that he had done more, and that he and others had been more vehement in executing the laws; and said that it grieved him that they laboured only about the young and little twigs, whereas they should have struck at the root;" by which he was understood to mean Queen Elizabeth. Strype's Annals, i. 79, 536.

[2] Cald. MS. i. 384. See also Knox, Historie, p. 204—207.

[3] Robertson's History of Scotland, b. ii. ad an. 1559.

tion, and establishing the French influence in Scotland, as the best preparative to an attack upon the dominions of the English queen. In the course of his journeys through France, Knox had formed an acquaintance with certain persons about the court, and by their means had gained some knowledge of this plan.[1] He was convinced that the Scottish reformers were unable to resist the power which France might bring against them; and that it was no less the interest than the duty of the English court to afford them the most effectual support. But he was afraid that a selfish and narrow policy might prevent them from doing this until it was too late, and was therefore anxious to call their attention to the subject at an early period, and to put them in possession of the facts that had come to his knowledge. The assistance which Elizabeth granted to the Scottish Protestants in the year 1560, was dictated by the soundest policy. It baffled and defeated the designs of her enemies at the very outset; it gave her an influence over Scotland, which all her predecessors could not obtain by the terror of their arms, nor the influence of their money; and it secured the stability of her government, by extending and strengthening the Protestant interest, the principal pillar on which it rested. And it reflects not a little credit on our Reformer's sagacity, that he had conceived this plan at so early a period, was the first person who proposed it, and persisted, in spite of great discouragements, to urge its adoption, until his endeavours were ultimately crowned with success.

Deeply impressed with these considerations, he resolved, although he had already been twice repulsed, to brook the mortification, and make another attempt to obtain an interview with some confidential agent of the English government. With this view, he, on the 10th of April, wrote a letter to secretary Cecil, with whom he had been personally acquainted during his residence in London. Adverting to the treatment of the exiles who had returned from Geneva, he exculpated them from all responsibility as to the offensive book which he had published, and assured him that he had not consulted with any of them previous to its publication. As for himself, he did not mean to deny that he was the author, nor was he yet prepared to retract the leading sentiment which it contained. But he was not, on that account, less friendly to the person and government of Elizabeth, in whose exaltation he cordially rejoiced; although he rested the defence of her authority upon

[1] Knox, Historie, pp. 206, 214, 260. He had an opportunity of receiving a confirmation of this intelligence during his voyage to Scotland. In the same ship in which he sailed, there was sent by the French court to the queen-regent, a staff of state, with a great seal, on which were engraved the arms of France, Scotland, and England. This was shown to him in great secresy. The English court, after they were awakened from their lethargy, and convinced of the hostile designs of France, applied to Knox for the information which they might have had from him six months before. Cotton MSS. Caligula, b. ix. f. 38, 74. Sadler's State Papers, i. 463, 688. Keith, Append. pp. 38, 42. The English certainly suffered themselves to be amused during the treaty of Chateau-Cambresis, while the courts of France and Spain concerted measures dangerous to England, and to the whole Protestant interest. Dr Wotton, one of the commissioners, complains, in a letter to Cecil, of want of intelligence, and that the English had no spies on the Continent. Forbes's State Papers, i. 23.

grounds different from the common. This was the third time that he had craved liberty to pass through England. He had no desire to visit the court, nor to remain long in the country; but he was anxious to communicate to him, or some other trusty person, matters of great importance, which it was not prudent to commit to writing, or intrust to an ordinary messenger. If his request was refused, it would turn out to the disadvantage of England.[1]

The situation in which he stood at this time with the court of England was so well known, that it was not without great difficulty that he could find a messenger to carry his letter;[2] and, either despairing of the success of his application, or urged by intelligence received from Scotland, he sailed from Dieppe on the 22d of April, and landed safely at Leith on the 2d of May 1559.[3]

[1] Knox, Historie, pp. 204, 206.

[2] The person whom he at last persuaded to take his letter was Richard Harrison. But the cautious spy (for such was his employment at that time), dreading that Knox had made him the bearer of another Blast, which, if it did not endanger the throne of Elizabeth, might blow up his credit with the court, prudently communicated the suspicious packet to Sir Nicholas Throkmorton, the English ambassador at the court of France, who conveyed it to London. Letter from Throkmorton to Cecil, 15th of May 1559. Forbes's State Papers, i. 90, 91.

[3] Cald. MS. i. 392, 393. Knox, Historie, pp. 127, 207.

PERIOD VI.

FROM MAY 1559, WHEN HE FINALLY RETURNED TO SCOTLAND, TO AUGUST 1560, WHEN HE WAS SETTLED AS MINISTER OF EDINBURGH, AT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REFORMATION.

On his arrival, Knox found matters in the most critical state in Scotland. The queen-regent had thrown off the mask which she had long worn, and avowed her determination forcibly to suppress the Reformation. As long as she stood in need of the assistance of the Protestants to support her authority against the Hamiltons, and to procure the matrimonial crown for her son-in-law, the dauphin of France, she courted their friendship, listened to their plans of reform, professed her dissatisfaction with the ecclesiastical order, and her desire of correcting its corruption and tyranny as soon as a fit opportunity offered, and flattered them, if not with the hopes of her joining their party, at least with the assurances that she would shield them from the fury of the clergy. So completely were they duped by her consummate address and dissimulation, that they complied with all her requests, restrained their preachers from teaching in public, and desisted from presenting to the parliament a petition which they had prepared; nor would they believe her to be insincere, even after different parts of her conduct had afforded strong grounds for suspicion. But, having accomplished the great objects which she had in view, she at last adopted measures which completely undeceived them, and discovered the gulf into which they were about to be precipitated.

As this discovery of the regent's duplicity produced consequences of the greatest importance; as it completely alienated from her the minds of the reformers, and aroused that spirit of determined and united opposition to her insidious policy, and her violent measures, which ultimately led to the establishment of the Reformation; and as the facts connected with it have not been accurately or fully stated in our common histories,[1] the reader may not be displeased at having the following more circumstantial detail laid before him.

A mutual jealousy had long subsisted between the queen-regent and that able but unprincipled prelate, Archbishop Hamilton, whose zeal for the Church was uniformly subordinated to personal ambition, and

[1] Some remarks on the representation which Dr Robertson has given of the regent's conduct will be found in Note FF.

the desire of aggrandising his family. While he exerted the influence which his station gave him over the clergy to embarrass the administration of the regent, she employed the Protestants as a counterbalance to his power. But amidst the jarring excited by rival interests, both parties beheld the rapid progress of the reformed sentiments with equal concern; and intelligent persons early foresaw that their differences would finally be compromised, and a coalition formed between them to accomplish the ruin of the Protestants.[1] It does not appear that the primate ever entertained the slightest suspicion that the regent was friendly to the cause of the reformers. Independently of her own sentiments, he was well acquainted with the influence which her brothers possessed over her, and with their devoted attachment to the Roman Catholic Church. Had he not had good reasons for presuming upon her connivance and secret approbation, his known prudence would not have allowed him to venture upon the invidious measure of putting Mill to death. As early as July 1558, she had held consultations with him on the course which should be adopted for checking the Reformation.[2] In consequence of this, steps were taken to bring to trial certain individuals who had given great offence to the clergy by expounding the Scriptures in private meetings, and contemning the laws of the Church.[3] And immediately after the meeting of parliament in November, at which the regent obtained, by the assistance of the Protestants, all the objects which she wished to carry, the primate received positive assurances of her support in his exertions for maintaining the authority of the Church. Accordingly, in the end of December, he summoned the reformed preachers to appear before him in St Andrews, on the 2d of February following, to answer for their conduct in usurping the sacred office, and disseminating heretical doctrines.[4]

Upon this a deputation of the Protestants waited on the regent, and informed her, that after what had recently taken place in the instance of Mill, they were determined to attend and see justice done to their preachers; and that, if the prosecution went forward, there would be a greater convocation at St Andrews than had been seen at any trial in Scotland for a long period. Dreading the consequences of a concourse of people in a place adjacent to counties in which the Protestants were numerous, the queen wrote to the archbishop to prorogue the trial. She, at the same time, summoned a convention of the nobility, to be held at Edinburgh on the 7th of March, to advise upon the most proper measures for settling the religious differences which had so long agitated the nation.[5] And the primate, at her request, called a provincial council of the clergy to meet in the same place on the first of March.[6]

When our Saviour was condemned to be crucified, it was observed, that "on the same day, Pilate and Herod were made friends together,

[1] Knox, Historie, p. 125.
[2] MS. History of the Estate of Scotland, from 1559 to 1566, p. 1.
[3] See Note GG.
[4] MS. Historie, *ut supra*, p. 2.
[5] Ibid., pp. 2, 3.
[6] Ibid., p. 3. Wilkins, Concilia, tom. iv. p. 205.

for before they were at enmity between themselves." The determination which was at this time formed to crush the Protestant interest in Scotland seems to have brought about the reconciliation of more than the queen-regent and the primate. A rivalship had long subsisted between those who occupied the two Scottish archbishoprics; the bishops of Glasgow insisting on the independence of their see, and boasting of the priority of its erection, while the bishops of St Andrews claimed an authoritative primacy over all the clergy in the kingdom, as belonging to that see from the time of its foundation.[1] Hamilton, in the mandate issued for assembling this council, had asserted his primacy in very formal terms, founding upon it, as well as upon the authority with which he was invested as papal legate, his right to convocate the clergy.[2] Beatoun, Archbishop of Glasgow, seems to have resented this claim of superiority, and declined for some time to countenance the council by his presence, or to cite his suffragans and the clergy of his diocese to attend. This dissension, which might have proved highly injurious to the Roman Church at this critical period, was got accommodated, and Beatoun, with the western clergy, at length joined the council.[3]

In the mean time the Protestants, having assembled at Edinburgh, appointed commissioners to lay their representations before the convention of the nobility, and the council of the clergy.[4] The commissioners gave in to the latter certain preliminary articles of reformation, in which they craved that the religious service should be performed in the vulgar tongue; that such as were unfit for the pastoral office should be removed from their benefices; that, in time coming, bishops should be admitted with the assent of the barons of the diocese, and parish priests with the assent of the parishioners; and that measures should be adopted for preventing immoral and ignorant persons from being employed in ecclesiastical functions.[5] But there was another paper laid before the council, which, it is probable, gave them more uneasiness than the representation of the Protestants. This was a remonstrance by certain persons attached to the Roman Catholic faith, "craving redress of several grievances complained of in the ecclesiastical administration of Scotland." It consisted of thirteen articles, in which, among other points of reformation, they required that the exacting of corpse-presents and Easter offerings should be abolished; that, for the more effectual instruction of those who partake of the sacraments, "there should be an godlie and faithful declaration set forth in Inglis toung, to be first shewin to the

[1] Act. Parl. Scot. ii. 342. Knox, p. 51. Spotswood, 24. Lord Hailes, Provincial Councils, 39, 40.

[2] Wilkins, Concilia, iv. p. 204—5.

[3] The primate's letter, summoning the Archbishop of Glasgow to the council, is dated the last day of January. Wilkins, *ut supra*. The council met on the 1st of March. Ibid., p. 208. But the Archbishop of Glasgow's letter, calling his clergy to the council, is dated so late as the 18th of March, and he requires them to attend on the 6th of April. Ibid., p. 206. We may also observe that Beatoun, in his citation, takes no notice of the primate's mandate. It is likely that the matter was settled by the good offices of the queen-regent, whose favourable inclinations towards the Church are warmly celebrated by the council. Ibid., p. 209.

[4] MS. Hist. of the Estate of Scotland, p. 3.

[5] Lesley, Hist. p. 546. Lord Hailes, Provincial Councils, p. 38.

pepil at all times," when any of the sacraments are administered; and that the common prayers and litanies should also be read in the vulgar language. At the same time, they desired that none should be permitted to speak irreverently of the mass, make innovations upon the ceremonies of the Church, or administer divine ordinances without authority from the bishops.[1]

The council were not disposed to agree to the proposals either of the Protestant or the Popish reformers. After making certain partial regulations relating to some of the grievances complained of by the latter,[2] and renewing the canons of former councils respecting the lives of the clergy and public instruction,[3] they refused to allow any part of the public service to be performed in the vulgar language;[4] they ratified, in the strongest terms, all the popish doctrines which were controverted by the Protestants;[5] and they ordained, that strict inquisition should be made after such as absented themselves from the celebration of mass,[6] and that excommunication should be fulminated against those who administered or received the sacrament after the Protestant forms, and against parents and sponsors who had presented children for baptism to the reformed preachers, and did not bring them to the priests to be re-baptised.[7]

The council were emboldened to take these decisive steps in consequence of a secret treaty which they had concluded with the regent, and in which they had stipulated to raise a large sum of money to enable her to suppress the reformers.[8] This arrangement could not be long concealed from the Protestant deputies, who, perceiving that they were mocked by the clergy, and abandoned by the court, broke off the fruitless negotiations in which they had been engaged, and left Edinburgh. They were no sooner gone than a proclamation was made at the market cross, by order of the regent, prohibiting any person from preaching or administering the sacraments without authority from the bishops, and commanding all the subjects to prepare to celebrate the ensuing feast of Easter, according to the rites of the Catholic Church. Understanding that her proclamation was disregarded, she determined on taking decisive steps to enforce obedience, by bringing the preachers to justice.[9] Accordingly, Paul Methven, John Christison, William Harlaw, and John

[1] Wilkins, Concilia, iv. 207—8. Wilkins has inserted the remonstrance at large, which he procured from the records in the Scots college at Paris. It is surprising that this curious document should have escaped the inquisitive eye of Lord Hailes, who has not taken the slightest notice of it in his account of the Scottish councils.

[2] Can. 21, 22, 24, 32: in Wilkins, 214—16.

[3] Can. 2—20; ibid., p. 210—14.

[4] Lesley, Hist. p. 546. Lord Hailes, Prov. Coun. p. 38—9.

[5] Can. 16: in Wilkins, *ut supra*, p. 212—13.

[6] Can. 30. Ibid., p. 216.

[7] Can. 33, 34. Ibid., p. 216—17. The following is the form of words appointed by the council to be used by the priest in re-baptisation:— "Si tu es baptizatus, ego non te baptizo; sed si non es baptizatus, ego te baptizo, in nomine Patris," &c. *i. e.* "If thou hast been baptised, I do not baptise thee; but if thou hast not been baptised, I do baptise thee, in the name of the Father," &c. This was not, however, a new form.

[8] MS. Historic of the Estate of Scotland, p. 3. Knox, Historie, p. 122. According to the first of these authorities, the sum promised by the clergy was £15,000; but according to a chronicle written by the Laird of Erleshall, and referred to by Knox, it was £40,000.

[9] MS. Hist. of the Estate of Scotland, *ut supra*.

Willock, were summoned to stand trial before the justiciary court at Stirling, on the 10th of May, for usurping the ministerial office, for administering, without the consent of their ordinaries, the sacrament of the altar in a manner different from that of the Catholic Church, during three several days of the late feast of Easter, in the burghs and boundaries of Dundee, Montrose, and various other places in the sheriffdoms of Forfar and Kincardine, and for convening the subjects in these places, preaching to them, seducing them to their erroneous doctrines, and exciting seditions and tumults. As the preachers were resolved to make their appearance, George Lovell, burgess of Dundee, became surety for Methven, John Erskine of Dun for Christison, Patrick Murray of Tibbermuir for Harlaw, and Robert Campbell of Kinyeancleugh for Willock.[1]

To prevent matters from coming to extremity, the Earl of Glencairn, and Sir Hugh Campbell of Loudon, sheriff of Ayr, waited on the queen, and remonstrated against these proceedings; but she told them haughtily, that, "in spite of them, all their preachers should be banished from Scotland." They reminded her of the promises she had repeatedly made to protect them; upon which she unblushingly replied, that "it became not subjects to burden their princes with promises, farther than they pleased to keep them." Surprised, but not intimidated, at this language, Glencairn and Loudon told her, that, if she violated the engagements which she had come under to her subjects, they would consider themselves as absolved from their allegiance to her. After they had remonstrated with her very freely, and pointed out the dangerous consequences that might result from adopting such a line of conduct, she began to speak in a milder tone, and promised to suspend the trial of the preachers, and take the whole affair into serious consideration.[2] But receiving intelligence soon after that peace was concluded between France and Spain, by a treaty in which these two powers had agreed to unite their endeavours for the extirpation of heresy, and being irritated by the introduction of the reformed worship into the town of Perth, she ordered the process against the preachers to go on, and summoned them peremptorily to stand their trial at Stirling on the appointed day.[3]

The state of our Reformer's mind, upon receiving this information, will appear from the following letter, hastily written by him on the day after he landed in Scotland.

"The perpetual comfort of the Holy Ghost for salutation. These few lines are to signify unto you, dear sister, that it hath pleased the merciful providence of my heavenly Father to conduct me to Edinburgh, where I arrived the 2d of May: uncertain as yet what God shall further work in this country, except that I see the battle shall be great. For Satan rageth even to the uttermost, and I am come, I praise my

[1] Justiciary Records, May 10, 1559. [2] Knox, 126.
[3] Knox, 126. Spotswood, 120—1. Buchanani Oper. i. 312—13.

God, even in the brunt of the battle. For my fellow-preachers have a day appointed to answer before the queen-regent, the 10th of this instant, when I intend (if God impede not) also to be present; by life, by death, or else by both, to glorify his godly name, who thus mercifully hath heard my long cries. Assist me, sister, with your prayers, that now I shrink not, when the battle approacheth. Other things I have to communicate with you, but travel after travel doth so occupy me, that no time is granted me to write. Advertise my brother, Mr Goodman, of my estate; as, in my other letter sent unto you from Dieppe, I willed you. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ rest with you. From Edinburgh, in haste, the 3d of May."[1]

His arrival in Scotland was not long concealed from the clergy. On the morning after he landed at Leith, one came to the monastery of the Greyfriars, where the provincial council was still sitting,[2] and informed them that John Knox was come from France, and had slept last night in Edinburgh. The clergy were panic-struck with the intelligence, and foreboding the ruin of all the plans which they had formed with so much care, they dismissed the council in great haste and confusion. A messenger was instantly despatched by them with the information to the queen-regent, who was at Glasgow; and within a few days Knox was proclaimed an outlaw and a rebel, in virtue of the sentence formerly pronounced against him by the clergy.[3]

Although his own cause was prejudged, and he knew that he was liable to be apprehended as a condemned heretic, he did not hesitate a moment in resolving to present himself voluntarily at Stirling, to assist his brethren in their defence, and share their danger. Having remained only a single day at Edinburgh, he hurried to Dundee, where he found the principal Protestants in Angus and Mearns already assembled, and determined to attend their ministers to the place of trial, and avow their adherence to the doctrines for which they were accused. The providential arrival of such an able champion of the cause, at this crisis, must have been very encouraging to the assembly; and the liberty of accompanying them, which he requested, was readily granted.

Lest the unexpected approach of such a multitude, though unarmed, should alarm or offend the regent, the assembled Protestants agreed to stop at Perth, and sent Erskine of Dun before them to Stirling, to acquaint her with the peaceable object and manner of their coming. Apprehensive that their presence would disconcert her measures, the regent had again recourse to dissimulation. She persuaded Erskine to write to his brethren to desist from their intended journey, and

[1] Letter to Mrs Anne Locke, apud Cald. MS. i. 393.

[2] MS. Historie of the Estate of Scotland, pp. 3, 4. Knox, Historie, p. 109. In the preamble to the acts of this council, it is said to have been "finitum 10 die mensis Aprilis." But in the conclusion of the acts there is an expression which enables us to reconcile this with the two preceding authorities—"*finiendo seu finito* die 10 mensis Aprilis:" from which it appears, that though the acts were concluded, it was not yet agreed to close the council on that day. Wilkins, iv. 209, 217.

[3] MS. Historie of the Estate of Scotland, p. 4.

authorised him to promise, in her name, that she would put a stop to the trial. The Protestants testified their pacific intentions by a cheerful compliance with this request, and the greater part, confiding in the royal promise, returned to their homes. But when the day of trial came, the summons was called by the orders of the queen, the preachers were outlawed for not appearing, and all persons were prohibited, under the pain of rebellion, from harbouring or assisting them.[1] At the same time, the gentlemen who had given security for their appearance were fined.[2]

Escaping from Stirling, Erskine brought to Perth the intelligence of this disgraceful transaction, which could not fail to incense the Protestants. It happened that, on the same day on which the news came, Knox, who remained at Perth, preached a sermon, in which he exposed the idolatry of the mass, and of image-worship. The audience had quietly dismissed, and a few idle persons only loitered in the church, when an imprudent priest, wishing to try the disposition of the people, or to show his contempt of the doctrine which had just been delivered, uncovered a rich altar-piece, decorated with images, and prepared to celebrate mass. A boy, having uttered some expressions of disapprobation, was struck by the priest. He retaliated by throwing a stone at the aggressor, which, falling on the altar, broke one of the images. This operated as a signal upon the people present, who had sympathised with the boy; and, in the course of a few minutes, the altar, images, and all the ornaments of the church, were torn down, and trampled under foot. The noise soon collected a mob, which, finding no employment in the church, flew, by a sudden and irresistible impulse, upon the monasteries; and although the magistrates of the town and the preachers assembled as soon as they heard of the riot, yet neither the persuasions of the one, nor the authority of the other, could restrain the fury of the people until the houses of the grey and black friars, with the costly edifice of the Carthusian monks, were laid in ruins. None of the gentlemen or sober part of the congregation were concerned in this unpremeditated tumult; it was wholly confined to the lowest of the inhabitants, or, as Knox designs them, "the rascal multitude."[3]

The demolition of the monasteries having been represented as the first-fruits of our Reformer's labours on this occasion, it was necessary to give this minute account of the causes which produced that event. Whatever his sentiments were as to the destruction of the instruments and monuments of idolatry, he did not wish the work to be accomplished in an irregular manner; he was sensible that tumultuary proceedings, especially in present circumstances, were prejudicial to the cause of the reformers; and, instead of instigating, he exerted himself in putting a stop to the ravages of the mob. If this disorderly conduct must be traced to a remote cause, we can impute it only to the wanton and dishonourable perfidy of the queen-regent.

[1] Knox. Historie, p. 127. Spotswood, 121. Buchanani Oper. i. 313.
[2] See Note GG.
[3] Knox. Historie, p. 128. Buchanani Oper. i. 313.

In fact, nothing could be more favourable to the designs of the regent than this riot. By her recent conduct, she had forfeited the confidence of the Protestants, and even exposed herself in the eyes of the sober and moderate of her own party. This occurrence afforded her an opportunity of turning the public indignation from herself, and directing it against the Protestants. She did not fail to improve it with her usual address. She magnified the accidental tumult into a dangerous and designed rebellion. Having called the nobility to Stirling, she, in her interviews with them, insisted upon such topics as were best calculated to persuade the parties into which they were divided. In conversing with the Catholics, she dwelt upon the sacrilegious overthrow of those venerable structures which their ancestors had dedicated to the service of God. To the Protestants who had not joined their brethren at Perth, she complained of the destruction of the Charterhouse, which was a royal foundation; and, protesting that she had no intention of offering violence to their consciences, promised to protect them, provided they would assist her in punishing those who had been guilty of this violation of public order.[1] Having inflamed the minds of both parties, she collected an army from the adjacent counties,[2] and advanced to Perth, threatening to lay waste the town with fire and sword, and to inflict the most exemplary vengeance on all who had been instrumental in producing the riot.[3]

The Protestants of the north were not insensible to their danger, and did all in their power to avert the storm which threatened them. They wrote to the queen-regent, to the commander of the French troops, to the Popish nobles, and to those of their own persuasion: they solemnly disclaimed all rebellious intentions; they protested their readiness to yield due obedience to the government; they entreated all to refrain from offering violence to peaceable subjects, who sought only the liberty of their consciences, and the reformation of religion. But, finding all their endeavours fruitless, they resolved not to suffer themselves and their brethren to be massacred, and prepared for a defence of the town against an illegal and furious assault. And so prompt and vigorous were they in the measures which they adopted, that the regent, when she approached, deeming it imprudent to attack them, proposed overtures of accommodation, to which they readily acceded.[4]

[1] Knox, Historie, pp. 128—9, 135, 137.

[2] MS. Historie of the Estate of Scotland p. 5.

[3] Buchanani Oper. i. 313. Knox, 128. A writer has given the name of "bellum *imaginarium*" to this war, undertaken by the regent to avenge the destruction of the *images;* and the crimes charged upon the Protestants he denominates "mere *imaginaria* seditio et rebellio." Historie of the Church of Scotland to 1566. MS. Adv. Lib. A. 5, 43.

[4] When the overtures were proposed to the Protestants, they exclaimed with one voice, "Cursit be they that seik effusioun of blude, weir, or dissentioun. Let us possess Christ Jesus, and the benefite of his evangell, and nane within Scotland sall be mair obedient subjectis than we sall be." Knox, Historie, p. 137. The regent's army consisted of 8000, that of the Protestants amounted to 5000 men. This seems to have been the number of the latter previous to the arrival of the Earl of Glencairn with a reinforcement from the west. Glencairn had joined them, before the conclusion of the treaty, with 2500 men, a circumstance which did not alter their pacific wishes. Cald. MS. i. 426. MS. Historie of the Estate of Scotland, p. 5. Knox, Historie, 136.

While the two armies lay before Perth, and negotiations were going on between them, our Reformer obtained an interview with the Prior of St Andrews and the young Earl of Argyll, who adhered to the regent. He reminded them of the solemn engagements which they had contracted, and charged them with violating these, by abetting measures which tended to suppress the reformed religion, and enslave their native country. The noblemen replied, that they had been induced, by the representations of the regent and the clergy, to believe that their brethren intended to swerve from their former loyalty, and although they were now convinced that this charge was unfounded, they were anxious to fulfil the promise which they had made to the queen, by bringing the present difference to an amicable termination; but, if she should violate the proposed treaty, they would withdraw their countenance from her, and openly take part with their brethren, to whom they considered themselves as bound by the most sacred ties. The regent was not long in affording them an opportunity of verifying their promise. No sooner had she taken possession of Perth, and perceived that the forces of the Protestants were disbanded, than she began to disregard the conditions to which she had agreed. Argyll and the Prior remonstrated against the infractions of a treaty which they had concluded at her earnest request, but were answered in such an unsatisfactory manner, that they deserted her court, and could never afterwards be persuaded to place any confidence in her promises.[1]

From the time that the leading Protestants discovered the hostile intentions of the regent, they had used great industry to ascertain the numbers of their friends, to establish means of correspondence among them, and to have them united by the strictest bonds. For this purpose, copies of their religious covenant were committed to persons who procured subscriptions to it in the different districts where they resided.[2] From the designation which they gave themselves in this covenant, or from the union which subsisted among them, they began at this time to be distinguished by the name of The Congregation. The nobles who had joined the association, were the Earls of Argyll, Glencairn, Monteith, and Rothes; Lords Ochiltree, Boyd, Ruthven, and the Prior of St Andrews. The Earl Marischal, and Lord Erskine, with some others who were friendly to the reformed religion, still supported the regent, or remained neutral. A large proportion of the lesser barons belonged to the Congregation; particularly those of Mearns, Angus, Strathearn, Monteith, Fife, Cunningham, Kyle, Carrick, and Galloway.[3]

In the beginning of June, the lords of the Congregation held a consultation on the measures which they should adopt for their own security, and for the advancement of the Reformation. They had

[1] MS. Historie of the Estate of Scotland, p. 6. Knox, 135—9. Buchanani Oper. i. 314—5. Spotswood, 123.

[2] Buchanani Oper. i. 311.

[3] MS. Historie of the Estate of Scotland, p. 8. Knox, Historie, 136, 138, 144.

repeatedly applied to the clergy to rectify the abuses which prevailed in the Church, and to release them from those unjust and oppressive laws by which their consciences had long been enslaved; but their petitions had been treated with neglect and disdain. "To abandon usurped power, to renounce lucrative error, are sacrifices which the virtue of individuals has, on some occasions, offered to truth; but from any society of men no such effort can be expected. The corruptions of a society, recommended by common utility, and justified by universal practice, are viewed by its members without shame or horror; and reformation never proceeds from themselves, but is always forced upon them by some foreign hand."[1] Convinced of this, the Protestant leaders had next addressed themselves to the regent, and requested her to employ her authority to bring about a reformation, which could not be much longer deferred without interrupting the peace of the kingdom. As long as they had any reason to think that she was disposed to listen to their petitions, they had waited with exemplary patience, and restrained the ardour of such of their friends as were inclined, without further delay, to use the right which nature and Christianity gave them; but the regent had disappointed their expectations, and from being a professed friend was become a declared enemy; they could no longer place the smallest dependence on her promises; and they were satisfied that she had formed a systematic plan for suppressing the Reformation, and enforcing the existing ecclesiastical laws in all their rigour. It behoved them now either to submit to have their chains riveted, or by a bold and vigorous effort to shake them off altogether. They determined upon the latter. The scandalous lives of the established clergy, their total neglect of the religious instruction of the people, and the profanation of Christian worship by gross idolatry, were the most glaring abuses. The lords of the Congregation resolved to take immediate steps for removing these, by abolishing the popish service, and setting up the reformed worship in all those places to which their authority or influence extended, and in which the greater part of the inhabitants were friendly to the design. This step is justified in part by the feudal ideas respecting the jurisdiction of the nobility which at that time prevailed in Scotland: the urgent and extreme necessity of the case, however, forms its best vindication. A great part of the nation loudly demanded such a reformation, and, had not regular measures been adopted for its introduction, the popular indignation would have effected the work in a more exceptionable way.

St Andrews was the place fixed on for commencing these operations. With this view, the Earl of Argyll, and Lord James Stuart, who was prior of the abbey of St Andrews, made an appointment with Knox to meet them, on a certain day, in that city. Travelling along the east coast of Fife, he preached at Anstruther and Crail, and, on the 9th of

[1] Dr Robertson.

June, joined them at St Andrews. The archbishop, apprised of his design to preach in his cathedral, assembled an armed force, and sent information to him, that if he appeared in the pulpit, he would give orders to the soldiers to fire upon him. The noblemen, having met to consult what ought to be done, agreed that Knox should desist from preaching at that time, and strongly urged upon him the reasons of their opinion. Their retinue was very slender; they had not yet ascertained the disposition of the inhabitants of the town; the queen-regent lay at a small distance with an army; and his appearance in the pulpit might lead to the sacrifice of his own life, and the lives of those who were determined to defend him from violence.

There are occasions on which it is a proof of superior wisdom to disregard the ordinary dictates of prudence; on which, to face danger is to avoid it, to flee from it is to invite it. Had the reformers, after announcing their intentions, suffered themselves to be intimidated by the bravading attitude and language of the archbishop, their cause would, at the very outset, have received a blow from which it would not easily have recovered. This was prevented by the firmness and intrepidity of Knox. Fired with the recollection of the part which he had formerly acted on that spot, and with the near prospect of realising the sanguine hopes which he had so long cherished in his breast, he resisted all the importunities of his friends. He could take God to witness, he said, that he never preached in contempt of any man, nor with the design of hurting an earthly creature; but to delay to preach next day (unless forcibly hindered), he could not in conscience agree. In that town, and in that church, had God first raised him to the dignity of a preacher, and from it he had been "reft" by French tyranny, at the instigation of the Scottish bishops. The length of his imprisonment, and the tortures which he had endured, he would not at present recite; but one thing he could not conceal, that, in the hearing of many yet alive, he had expressed his confident hope of again preaching in St Andrews. Now, therefore, when Providence, beyond all men's expectation, had brought him to that place, he besought them not to hinder him. "As for the fear of danger that may come to me," continued he, "let no man be solicitous; for my life is in the custody of Him whose glory I seek. I desire the hand nor weapon of no man to defend me. I only crave audience; which, if it be denied here unto me at this time, I must seek where I may have it."

This intrepid reply silenced all remonstrance; and next day Knox appeared in the pulpit and preached to a numerous assembly, including many of the clergy, without experiencing the slightest interruption. He discoursed on the subject of our Saviour's ejecting the profane traffickers from the temple of Jerusalem, from which he took occasion to expose the enormous corruptions which had been introduced into the Church under the Papacy, and to point out what was incumbent upon Christians, in their different spheres, for removing them. On the three

following days he preached in the same place; and such was the influence of his doctrine, that the provost, bailies, and inhabitants, harmoniously agreed to set up the reformed worship in the town; the church was stripped of images and pictures, and the monasteries were pulled down. This happened on the 14th of June 1559.

Understanding that the lords at St Andrews were accompanied by a small retinue, the queen-regent, who lay at Falkland, attempted to surprise them. But the Protestants in Angus, having received information of the critical situation of their brethren, came to their assistance with such celerity and in such numbers, that they were able to face the royal army at Cupar Moor; and the regent, afraid to risk a battle, consented to a truce, by which she engaged to remove her French troops from Fife, and to send commissioners to St Andrews for the purpose of settling all differences between her and the Congregation. The troops were removed, but no commissioners appeared; and the lords of the Congregation, being apprised that the queen intended to fortify the passage of the Forth at Stirling, and to cut off their communication with the Protestants in the south, proceeded to Perth, and, having expelled the garrison from that town, by a rapid march seized upon Stirling, and, advancing, took possession of the capital of the kingdom; the regent, as they approached, retiring with her forces to Dunbar.[1]

The example of St Andrews, in abolishing the popish worship, was quickly followed in other parts of the kingdom; and, in the course of a few weeks, at Crail, at Cupar, at Lindores, at Stirling, at Linlithgow, at Edinburgh, and at Glasgow, the houses of the monks were overthrown, and all the instruments of idolatry destroyed.[2]

These proceedings were celebrated in the singular lays, which were at that time circulated among the reformers.

His cardinalles hes cause to mourne,
His bishops are borne a backe;
His abbots gat an uncouth turne,
When shavellinges went to sacke:
With burges wifes they led their lives,
And fare better than wee.
Hay trix, trim goe trix, under the
greene-wod tree.

His Carmelites and Jacobinis,
His Dominikes had great adoe;
His Cordeliers and Augustines,
Sanct Francis's ordour to;
The sillie friers, mony yeiris
With babbling bleirit our ee.
Hay trix, &c.

Had not your self begun the weiris,
Your stepillis had been standand yit;
It was the flattering of your friers
That ever gart sanct Francis flit:
Ye grew sa superstitious
In wickednesse,
It gart us grow malicious
Contrair your messe.[3]

Scarcely anything in the progress of the Scottish Reformation has been more frequently or more loudly condemned than the demolition of those edifices upon which superstition had lavished all the ornaments of the chisel and the pencil. To the Roman Catholics, who anathematised all who were engaged in this work of inexpiable sacrilege, and

[1] Knox, Historie, 141—6. Buchanani Oper. i. 315—6. Spotswood, 142—6.

[2] Letter written by Knox from St Andrews, 23d June 1559. Cald. MS. i. 426, 428. Knox, Historie, pp. 140, 141. MS. Historie of the Estate of Scotland, p. 6.

[3] Gude and godly Ballates, in Dalyell's Scottish Poems of the 16th century, ii. 192, 198.

represented it as involving the complete overthrow of religion,[1] have succeeded another race of writers, who, although they do not in general make high pretensions to devotion, have not scrupled at times to borrow the language of their predecessors, and have bewailed the wreck of these precious monuments in as bitter strains as ever idolater did the loss of his gods. These are the warm admirers of Gothic architecture, and other relics of ancient art; some of whom, if we may judge from their language, would welcome back the reign of superstition, with all its ignorance and bigotry, if they could recover the objects of their adoration.[2] Writers of this stamp depict the ravages and devastation which marked the progress of the Reformation, in colours as dark as ever were employed by the historian in describing the overthrow of ancient learning, by the irruption of the barbarous Huns and Vandals. Our Reformer cannot be mentioned by them but with symptoms of horror, and in terms of detestation, as a barbarian, a savage, and a ringleader of mobs, for overthrowing whatever was venerable in antiquity, or sacred in religion. It is unnecessary to produce instances.

Expectes eadem a summo minimoque poeta.

To remind such persons of the divine mandate to destroy all monuments of idolatry in the land of Canaan would be altogether insufferable, and might provoke from some of them a profane attack upon the authority from which it proceeded. To plead the example of the early Christians, in demolishing the temples and statues dedicated to pagan polytheism, would only awaken the keen regrets that are felt for the irreparable loss.[3] It would be still worse to refer to the apocalyptic predictions, which some have been so fanatical as to think were fulfilled in the miserable spoliation of that "great city," which, under all its revolutions, has so eminently proved the nurse of the arts, and given encouragement to painters, statuaries, and sculptors, to "harpers, and musicians, and pipers, and trumpeters, and craftsmen of whatsoever craft," who to this day have not forgotten their obligations to it, nor

[1] The tolbooth of Musselburgh was built out of the ruins of the chapel of Loretto; on which account the good people of that town were, till lately, annually excommunicated at Rome. Sibbald's Chronicle of Scottish Poetry, vol. iii. p. 19. Those who wish to see a specimen of Catholic declamation on this subject, may consult Note HH.

[2] The reader may take one example, which I adduce, not because it is the strongest, but because it happens to be at hand. "This abbey [Kelso] was demolished 1569, in consequence of the enthusiastic Reformation, which, in its violence, was a greater disgrace to religion than all the errors it was intended to subvert. Reformation has hitherto always appeared in the form of a zealot, full of fanatic fury, with violence subduing, but through madness creating, almost as many mischiefs in its oversights as it overthrows errors in its pursuit. Religion has received a greater shock from the present struggle to repress some formularies and save some scruples, than it ever did by the growth of superstition." Hutchinson's History of Northumberland, and of an Excursion to the Abbey of Melrose, i. 265.

[3] "Alas! how little of its former splendour have time and the fanatic rage of the early Christians left to the Roman forum! The covered passage, with a flight of steps, founded by Tarquin the elder, is no more here to shelter us from bad weather, or to serve for the spectators to entertain themselves with mountebanks in the market-place." A most deplorable loss truly! This writer adds, that the statues of the twelve gods are yet standing: no great proof, one would imagine, of the fanatic rage of the Christians. Kotzebue's Travels through Italy, vol. i. p. 200.

ceased to bewail its destruction. In any apology which I make for the reformers, I would alleviate instead of aggravating the distress which is felt for the loss of such valuable memorials of antiquity. It has been observed by high authority, that there are certain commodities which derive their principal value from their extreme rarity, and which, if found in great quantities, would cease to be sought after or prized. A nobleman of great literary reputation has, indeed, questioned the justness of this observation, so far as respects precious stones and metals.[1] But I flatter myself that the noble author and the learned critic, however much they may differ as to public wealth, will agree that the observation is perfectly just, as applied to those commodities which constitute the wealth and engage the researches of the antiquary. With him rareness is always an essential requisite and primary recommendation. His property, like that of the possessor of the famous Sibylline books, does not decrease in value by the reduction of its quantity; but after the greater part has been destroyed, becomes still more precious. If the matter be viewed in this light, antiquarians have no reason to complain of the ravages of the reformers, who have left them such valuable remains, and placed them in that very state which awakens in their minds the most lively sentiments of the sublime and beautiful, by reducing them to—ruins.

But, to speak seriously, I would not be thought so great an enemy to any of the fine arts as to rejoice at the wanton destruction of their models, ancient or modern, or to vindicate those who, from ignorance and fanatical rage, may have excited the mob to such violence. But I am satisfied that the charges usually brought against our reformers on this head are highly exaggerated, and in some instances altogether groundless. The demolition of the monasteries is, in fact, the only thing of which they can be fairly accused. Cathedral and parochial churches, and, in several places, the chapels attached to monasteries, were appropriated to the Protestant worship; and in the orders issued for stripping them of images, idolatrous pictures, and superstitious furniture, particular directions were given to avoid whatever might injure the buildings, or deface any of their ordinary decorations. It is true that some churches suffered from popular violence during the ferment of the Reformation, and that others were dilapidated, in consequence of their most valuable materials being sold to defray the expenses of the war in which the Protestants were involved: but the former will not be matter of surprise to those who have attended to the conduct of other nations in similar circumstances; and the latter will be censured by such persons only as are incapable of entering into the feelings of a people who were engaged in a struggle for their lives, their liberties, and their religion. Of all the charges thrown out against our reformers, the most ridiculous is, that, in their zeal against Popery, they waged

[1] Edinburgh Review, vol. iv. p. 348, and Lord Lauderdale's Observations on Edinburgh Review.

war against literature, by destroying the valuable books and records which had been deposited in the monasteries. The state of learning among the monks at the era of the Reformation was wretched, and their libraries poor: the only persons who patronised or cultivated literature in Scotland were Protestants; and so far from sweeping away any literary monuments which remained, the reformers were disposed to search for them among the rubbish, and to preserve them with the utmost care. In this respect we have no reason to deprecate a comparison between our Reformation and that of England, notwithstanding the flattering accounts which have been given of the orderly and temperate manner in which the latter was conducted under the superintending control of the supreme powers.[1]

But even although the irregularities committed in the progress of that work had been greater than have been represented, I must still reprobate the spirit which disposes persons to dwell with unceasing lamentation upon losses which, in the view of an enlightened and liberal mind, will sink and disappear in the magnitude of the incalculable good which rose from the wreck of the revolution. What! do we celebrate with public rejoicings victories over the enemies of our country, in the gaining of which the lives of thousands of our fellow-creatures have been sacrificed? and shall solemn masses and sad dirges, accompanied with direful execrations, be everlastingly sung, for the mangled members of statues, for torn pictures, and ruined towers? Shall those who, by a display of the horrors of war, would persuade their countrymen to repent of a contest which had been distinguished by uncommon feats of valour, and crowned with the most brilliant success, be accused of a desire to tarnish the national glory? Shall the topics on which they insist, however forcible in themselves—the effusion of human blood, the sacking of cities, the devastation of fertile provinces, the ruin of arts and manufactures, and the intolerable burdens entailed even upon the victors themselves—be represented as mere commonplace topics, employed as a cover to disloyalty? And do not those who, at the distance of nearly three centuries, continue to wail evils of a far inferior kind which attended the Reformation, justly expose themselves to the suspicion of indifference and disaffection to a cause, in comparison with which all contests between rival kingdoms and sovereigns dwindle into insignificance? I will go farther, and say, that I look upon the destruction of these monuments as a piece of good policy, which contributed materially to the overthrow of the Roman Catholic religion and the prevention of its re-establishment. It was chiefly by the magnificence of its temples, and the splendid apparatus of its worship, that the Popish Church fascinated the senses and imaginations of the people. A more successful method of attacking it, therefore, could not be adopted than the demolition of what contributed so much to uphold and extend its influence. There is more wisdom than many seem to perceive in the

See Note II.

maxim which Knox is said to have inculcated, "that the best way to keep the rooks from returning, was to pull down their nests." In demolishing, or rendering uninhabitable, all those buildings which had served for the maintenance of the ancient superstition (except what were requisite for the Protestant worship), the reformers only acted upon the principles of a prudent general, who dismantles or razes the fortifications which he is unable to keep, and which might afterwards be seized and employed against him by the enemy. Had they been allowed to remain in their former splendour, the popish clergy would not have ceased to indulge hopes, and to make efforts to be restored to them; occasions would have been taken to tamper with the credulous, and to inflame the minds of the superstitious; and the reformers might soon have found reason to repent their ill-judged forbearance.[1]

Our Reformer was along with the forces of the Congregation when they faced the army of the regent in Cupar Moor;[2] he accompanied them on their expedition to Perth,[3] and in the end of June arrived with them at Edinburgh.[4] On the same day he preached in St Giles's, and next day in the Abbey Church. On the 7th of July the inhabitants of the metropolis met in the Tolbooth, and made choice of him as their minister. With this choice, which was approved of by his brethren, he judged it his duty to comply, and immediately began his labours in the city.

On their arrival at Edinburgh, the lords of the Congregation had sent deputies to Dunbar, to assure the queen that they had no intention of throwing off their allegiance, and to induce her to yield to reasonable terms of accommodation. As a preliminary, she agreed to release their ministers from the sentence of outlawry, and allow them to preach to those who chose to hear them.[6] Meanwhile, she was busily employed in endeavours to disunite her opponents. Having spun out the negotiations which they had opened with her until she understood that the greater part of their forces had left them, she advanced suddenly with her army to Edinburgh. The Protestants took up a position on the east side of Craigingate,[7] and resolved to defend the capital, though against superior forces;[8] but Leith having opened its gates to her, and Lord Erskine, who commanded the castle, threatening to fire upon them, they were forced to conclude a treaty by which they agreed to leave Edinburgh. They stipulated, however, that the inhabitants should

[1] ——When we had quell'd
The strength of Aztlan, we should have thrown down
Her altars, cast her idols to the fire.
——The priests combined to save their craft;
And soon the rumour ran of evil signs
And tokens; in the temple had been heard
Wailings and loud lament; the eternal fire
Gave dismally a dim and doubtful flame;
And from the censer, which at morn should steam
Sweet odours to the sun, a fetid cloud
Black and portentous rose.
Southey's *Madoc*, part i. book ii.

[2] Knox, Historie, p. 332.

[3] Ibid., p. 146.

[4] Ibid., p. 145.

[5] MS. Historie of the Estate of Scotland, pp. 8, 9.

[6] Ibid., p. 7.

[7] Probably a part of the Calton Hill.

[8] The army of the regent consisted of 5000 men, the Congregation could not muster above 1500. MS. Historie of the Estate of Scotland, p. 9.

be left at liberty to use that form of worship which was most acceptable to them.[1] Knox would have remained with his congregation after the regent took possession of the city; but the nobles, knowing the value of his services, and the danger to which his life would be exposed, insisted on his accompanying them.[2] Willock, who was less obnoxious to the hatred of the court and clergy, was therefore substituted in his place; and the prudence and firmness which this preacher displayed in that difficult situation proved that he was not unworthy of the choice which had fallen on him. The regent was extremely anxious to have the Roman Catholic service re-established in the church at St Giles, and employed the Earl of Huntly to persuade the citizens to declare in favour of the measure; but neither the authority of the queen, nor the entreaties which Huntly employed, both in private and at a public meeting called with that view, could prevail with them to swerve from their profession of the reformed religion, or to relinquish the right which was secured to them by the late treaty.[3] Although the French soldiers who had come to the regent's assistance kept the city in alarm, and disturbed the Protestant service,[4] Willock maintained his place; and in the month of August he administered the sacrament of the supper after the reformed manner in St Giles's Church.[5] The celebration of the popish worship was confined to the royal chapel and the church of Holyrood House, during the time that the capital was in the possession of the royal forces.[6]

In the month of August a singular phenomenon was seen in the Abbey Church. The Archbishop of St Andrews appeared in the pulpit, and preached. If his grace did not acquit himself with great ability on the occasion, he at least behaved with becoming modesty. After discoursing for a short time, he requested the audience to excuse the defects of his sermon, as he had not been accustomed to the employment, and told them that he had provided a very skilful preacher to succeed him; upon which he concluded, and gave way to Friar Black.[7]

On retiring from Edinburgh, Knox undertook a tour of preaching through the kingdom. The wide field which was before him, the interesting situation in which he was placed, the dangers by which he was surrounded, and the hopes which he cherished, increased the ardour of his zeal, and stimulated him to extraordinary exertions both of body and mind. Within less than two months, he travelled over a great part of Scotland. He visited Kelso, and Jedburgh, and Dumfries, and Ayr, and Stirling, and Perth, and Brechin, and Montrose, and Dundee, and returned to St Andrews. This itinerancy had great influence in diffusing the knowledge of the truth, and in strengthening the Protestant interest. The attention of the nation was aroused; their eyes were

[1] MS. Historie, p. 10. Knox, Historie, 151—5.
[2] Knox, p. 158.
[3] MS. Historie of the Estate, &c. p. 11.
[4] Knox, 159.
[5] MS. Historie, p. 12.
[6] Ibid. Knox, 159.
[7] MS. Historie of the Estate of Scotland, p. 12.

opened to the errors by which they had been deluded; and they panted for a continued and more copious supply of the word of life, which they had once been permitted to taste, and had felt so refreshing to their souls.[1] I cannot better describe the emotions which this success excited in Knox's breast, than by quoting from the familiar letters which he wrote at intervals snatched from his constant employment.

"Thus far hath God advanced the glory of his dear Son among us," says he, in a letter written from St Andrews, on the 23d of June, "O! that my heart could be thankful for the superexcellent benefit of my God. The long thirst of my wretched heart is satisfied in abundance that is above my expectation; for now forty days and more hath my God used my tongue, in my native country, to the manifestation of his glory. Whatsoever now shall follow as touching my own carcass, his holy name be praised. The thirst of the poor people, as well as of the nobility, here, is wondrous great; which putteth me in comfort, that Christ Jesus shall triumph here in the north and extreme parts of the earth for a space." In another letter, dated the 2d September, he says: "Time to me is so precious, that with great difficulty can I steal one hour in eight days, either to satisfy myself, or to gratify my friends. I have been in continual travel since the day of appointment;[2] and, notwithstanding the fevers have vexed me, yet have I travelled through the most part of this realm, where (all praise to His blessed Majesty!) men of all sorts and conditions embrace the truth. Enemies we have many, by reason of the Frenchmen who lately arrived, of whom our Papists hope golden hills. As we be not able to resist, we do nothing but go about Jericho, blowing with trumpets, as God giveth strength, hoping victory by his power alone."[3]

Soon after his arrival in Scotland he wrote for his wife and family, whom he had left behind him at Geneva. On the 13th of June Mrs Knox and her mother were at Paris, and applied to Sir Nicholas Throkmorton, the English ambassador, for a safe-conduct to pass into England. Throkmorton, who by this time had penetrated the counsels of the French court, not only granted this request, but wrote a letter to Elizabeth, in which he urged the propriety of overlooking the offence which Knox had given by his publication against female government, and of conciliating him by the kind treatment of his wife; seeing he was in great credit with the lords of the Congregation, had been the principal instrument in producing the late change in Scotland, and was capable of doing essential service to her majesty.[4] Accordingly, Mrs Knox came into

[1] Cald. MS. i. 472, 473. Forbes, i. 131, 155. Sadler, i. 431. 432.

[2] This refers to the agreement between the regent and lords of the Congregation, by which the latter gave up Edinburgh. The lords left Edinburgh on the 25th of July. MS. Historie of the Estate of Scotland, p. 10. Knox, Historie, p. 154.

[3] Cald. MS. i. 428, 471.

[4] Forbes, i. 129, 130. Throkmorton wrote to the same effect to Cecil, in letters dated 7th June, and 19th July 1559. Ibid., pp. 119, 167. The ambassador was probably moved to more earnestness in this matter by the influence of Alexander Whitlaw of Greenrig, a particular friend of our Reformer, who was at this time in France. He returned soon after to Scotland, and Throkmorton recommended him to Cecil, as "a very honest, sober, and godly man." "You must let him

England, and, being conveyed to the Borders by the directions of the court, reached her husband in safety on the 20th of September.[1] Mrs Bowes, after remaining a short time in her native country, followed her daughter into Scotland, where she remained until her death.[2]

The arrival of his family was the more gratifying to our Reformer, that they were accompanied by Christopher Goodman, his late colleague at Geneva. He had repeatedly written, in the most pressing manner, for him to come to his assistance, and expressed much uneasiness at the delay of his arrival.[3] Goodman became minister of Ayr, and was afterwards translated to St Andrews. The settlement of Protestant ministers began to take place at an earlier period than is mentioned in our common histories. Previous to September 1559, eight towns were provided with pastors; and other places remained unprovided, owing to the scarcity of preachers.[4]

In the mean time it became daily more apparent that the lords of the Congregation would be unable, without foreign aid, to maintain the struggle in which they were involved. Had the contest been merely between them and the domestic party of the regent, they would soon have brought it to a successful termination; but they could not withstand the veteran troops which France had already sent to her assistance, and was preparing to send in still more formidable numbers.[5] As far back as the middle of June, our Reformer had renewed his exertions for obtaining assistance from England, and persuaded William Kirkaldy of Grange first to write, and afterwards to pay a visit, to Sir Henry Percy, who held a public situation on the English marches. Percy immediately transmitted his representations to London, and an answer was returned from Secretary Cecil, encouraging the correspondence.[6]

Knox himself wrote to Cecil, requesting permission to visit England,[7] and enclosed a letter to Queen Elizabeth, in which he attempted to apologise for his rude attack upon female government. When a man

se as littel sin in England as yowe maye." He "is greatly estemyd of Jhone Knokes, and he doth allso favour hym above other: nevertheless, he is sory for his boke rashly written." Ibid., pp. 137, 147—149.

[1] Cald. MS. i. 491.

[2] Knox applied to the English court for a safe-conduct for Mrs Bowes to come into Scotland, which was granted about the month of October 1559. Sadler, i. 456, 479, 509. I have already noticed, (p. 92), that Mrs Bowes's husband was dead. The particular time of his death I have not ascertained, but it seems to have been between 1554 and 1556. She is designed a widow in the correspondence between Cecil and Sadler.

[3] Cald. MS. i. 429, 473.

[4] Edinburgh, St Andrews, Dundee, Perth, Brechin, Montrose, Stirling, and Ayr, were the towns provided with ministers. Letter, Knox to Locke, 2d September 1559. Cald. MS. i. 472.

[5] Sadler, i. 403, 411. Forbes, vol. i. passim. Dr Robertson complains that, from the carelessness of the contemporary historians, it is impossible to ascertain the number of French soldiers in Scotland, or at what times, and under what pretexts, they had returned, after having left the kingdom in 1550. History of Scotland, p. 108: Lond. 1791. In September 1559, when the queen-regent retired within the fortifications of Leith, her forces amounted to 3000 soldiers, of whom 500 only were Scots. MS. Historie of the Estate of Scotland from 1559 to 1566, p. 13. A thousand men had arrived from France in the month of August, and it does not appear that any other arrival had taken place since the commencement of the late commotions. It seems pretty evident that the other 1500 had been sent from France during the war between Scotland and England, in 1556 and 1557. The lords of the Congregation mustered 8000 men in September; but only 1000 of these were trained to arms. Ibid.

[6] Knox, Historie, p. 207.

[7] Knox, Historie, p. 209. Forbes, i. 155, 167.

has been "overtaken in a fault," it is his glory to confess it; but those who have been so unfortunate as to incur the resentment of princes, must, if they expect to appease them, condescend to very ample and humiliating apologies. Luther involved himself more than once by attempting this task, and, had not the lustre of his talents protected him, his reputation must have suffered materially from his ill success. He was prevailed on to write submissive apologies to Leo X. and Henry VIII. for the freedom with which he had treated them in his writings; but, in both instances, his apologies were rejected with contempt, and he found himself under the necessity of retracting his retractations.[1] Knox was in no danger of committing himself in this way. He was less violent in his temper than the German reformer, but he was also less flexible and accommodating. There was nothing at which he was more awkward than apologies, condescensions, and civilities; and on the present occasion he was placed in a very embarrassing predicament, as his judgment would not permit him to retract the sentiment which had given offence to the English queen. In his letter to Elizabeth, he expresses deep distress at having incurred her displeasure, and warm attachment to her government; but the grounds on which he advises her to found her title to the crown, and indeed the whole strain in which the letter is written, are such as must have aggravated, instead of extenuating, his offence in the opinion of that high-minded princess.[2] But, although his apology had been more ample and humble than it was, it is not probable that he would have succeeded better with Elizabeth than Luther did with her father. Christopher Goodman, after his return to England, was obliged, at two several periods, to subscribe a recantation of the opinion which he had given against the lawfulness of female government, nor could all his condescensions procure for him the favour of his sovereign.[3] In fact, Elizabeth was all along extremely tender on the subject of her right to the throne; she never failed to resent every attack that was made upon this, from whatever quarter it came; and, although several historians have amused their readers with accounts of her ambition to be thought more beautiful and accomplished than the Queen of Scots,[4] I am persuaded that she was always more jealous of Mary as a competitor for the crown, than as a rival in personal charms.

It does not, however, appear, that Elizabeth ever saw Knox's letter,

[1] Beausobre, Hist. Reform. i. 355—377. Macaulay's translation. Milner's History of the Church, iv. 948—9. This last historian, speaking of Luther's apology to Henry, says, that he went "quite far enough, either for the dignity of a leading reformer, or the simplicity of a follower of Christ." Luther himself, after receiving Henry's reply, appears to have been abundantly sensible of the ridiculous situation in which he had placed himself, and with a facetiousness which seldom forsook him, asked his friends, if they would not now advise him to write penitential epistles to the Archbishop of Mentz, the Archduke Ferdinand, and other princes whom he had offended. Milner, *ut sup.* p. 956.

[2] Knox, Historie, p. 210—2.

[3] Strype, Annals, i. 126; ii. 95—6. Life of Grindal, 170, and Life of Parker, 325—6.

[4] See Sir James Melvil's account of his interview with Elizabeth, Memoirs, p. 49—51, which has been adopted, and detailed by Mr Hume, and other historians.

and I have little doubt that it was suppressed by the sagacious secretary.[1] Cecil was himself friendly to the measure of assisting the Scottish Congregation, and exerted all his influence to bring over the queen and her council to his opinion. Accordingly, Knox received a message, desiring him to meet Sir Henry Percy at Alnwick, on the 2d of August, upon business which required the utmost secresy and despatch; and Cecil himself came down to Stamford to hold an interview with him.[2] The confusion produced by the advance of the regent's army upon Edinburgh retarded his journey; but no sooner was this settled, than Knox sailed from Pittenweem to Holy Island. Finding that Percy was recalled from the Borders, he applied to Sir James Croft, the Governor of Berwick. Croft, who was not unapprised of the design on which he came, dissuaded him from proceeding farther into England, and undertook to despatch his communications to London, and to procure a speedy return. Alexander Whitlaw of Greenrig, who had been banished from Scotland, having come to London on his way from France, was intrusted by the English court with their answer to the letters of the Congregation. Arriving at Berwick, he delivered the despatches to Knox, who hastened with them to Stirling, where a meeting of the Protestant lords was to be held. He prudently returned by sea to Fife; for the queen-regent had come to the knowledge of his journey to England, and Whitlaw, in travelling through East Lothian, being mistaken for Knox, was hotly pursued, and made his escape with great difficulty.[3] The irresolution or the caution of Elizabeth's cabinet had led them to express themselves in such general and unsatisfactory terms, that the lords of the Congregation, when the letters were laid before them, were both disappointed and displeased; and it was with some difficulty that our Reformer obtained permission from them to write again to London in his own name. The representation which he gave of the urgency of the case, and the danger of farther hesitation or delay, produced a speedy reply, desiring them to send a confidential messenger to Berwick, who would receive a sum of money to assist them in prosecuting the war. About the same time, Sir Ralph Sadler was sent down to Berwick, to act as an accredited but secret agent, and the correspondence between the court of London and the lords of the Congregation continued afterwards to be carried on through him and Sir James Croft until the English auxiliary army entered Scotland.[4]

[1] Cecil was accustomed to keep back intelligence which he knew would be disagreeable to his mistress. A curious instance of this occurs with respect to the misfortune which happened to Cockburn of Ormiston, while conveying a subsidy which she had sent to the Congregation. Sadler, i. 573. We learn from one of his letters, that he did not usually communicate the epistles of our Reformer, whom he knew to be no favourite with Elizabeth. Ibid, p. 535.

[2] Knox, Historie, p. 212.

[3] Ibid., pp. 59, 213.

[4] Ibid., pp. 212—214. The State Papers of Sir Ralph Sadler have been lately published in 2 vols. 4to. The first volume contains the greater part of the letters that passed between Sadler and the agents of the Congregation. They throw much light upon this interesting period of our national history, and ought to be consulted, in addition to the histories which appeared previous to their publication.

If we reflect upon the connection which the religious and civil liberties of the nation had with the contest in which the Protestants were engaged, and upon our Reformer's zeal in that cause, we shall not be greatly surprised to find him at this time acting in the character of a politician. Extraordinary cases cannot be measured by ordinary rules. In a great emergency, when all that is valuable and dear to a people is at stake, it becomes the duty of every individual to step forward, and exert all his talents for the public good. Learning was at this time rare among the nobility; and though there were men of distinguished abilities among the Protestant leaders, few of them had been accustomed to transact public business. Accordingly, the management of the correspondence with England was for a time devolved chiefly on Knox and Balnaves. But our Reformer submitted to the task merely from a sense of duty and regard to the common cause; and when the younger Maitland acceded to their party, he expressed the greatest satisfaction at the prospect of being relieved from the burden.[1]

It was not without reason that he longed for this deliverance. He now felt that it was as difficult to preserve integrity and Christian simplicity amidst the crooked wiles of political intrigue, as he had formerly found it to pursue truth through the perplexing mazes of scholastic sophistry. In performing a task foreign to his habits, and repugnant to his disposition, he met with a good deal of vexation, and several unpleasant rubs. These were owing partly to his own impetuosity, and partly to the grudge entertained against him by Elizabeth, but chiefly to the particular line of policy which the English cabinet had resolved to pursue. They were convinced of the danger of allowing the Scottish Protestants to be suppressed; but they wished to confine themselves to pecuniary aid, believing that by such assistance the lords of the Congregation would be able to expel the French, and bring the contest to a successful issue, while by the secresy with which it could be conveyed, an open breach between France and England would be prevented. This plan, which originated in the personal disinclination of Elizabeth to the Scottish war,[2] rather than in the judgment of her wisest counsellors, protracted the contest, and gave occasion to some angry disputes between the English agents and those of the Congregation. The former were continually urging the associated lords to attack the forces of the regent before she received fresh succours from France, and blaming their slow operations; they complained of the want of secresy in the correspondence with England; and even insinuated that the money, intended for the common cause, was partially applied to private purposes. The latter were irritated by this insinuation, and urged the necessity of military as well as pecuniary assistance.[3]

[1] Keith, Appendix, p. 42.

[2] See Note KK.

[3] Sadler, i. 520, 524. Randolph mentions in one of his letters, that both Knox and Balnaves were discontented. Keith has inserted a letter in which Balnaves complains of, and vindicates himself from, the charges brought against him. Sadler afterwards endeavoured to pacify them. Keith, Append. 43, 44. Sadler, i. pp. 537, 548. Notwith-

In a letter to Sir James Croft, Knox represented the great importance of their being speedily assisted with troops, without which they would be in much hazard of miscarrying in an attack upon the fortifications of Leith. The court of England, he said, ought not to hesitate at offending France, of whose hostile intentions against them they had the most satisfactory evidence. But "if ye list to craft with thame," continued he, "the sending of a thousand or mo men to us can breake no league nor point of peace contracted betwixt you and France: for it is free for your subjects to serve in warr anie prince or nation for their wages; and if ye fear that such excuses will not prevail, ye may declare thame rebelles to your realme when ye shall be assured that thei be in our companye." No doubt such things have been often done; and such "political casuistry" (as Keith not improperly styles it) is not unknown at courts. But it must be confessed, that the measure recommended by Knox (the morality of which must stand on the same grounds with the assistance which the English were at that time affording) was too glaring to be concealed by the excuses which he suggested. Croft laid hold of this opportunity to check the impetuosity of his correspondent, and wrote him, that he wondered how he, "being a wise man," would require from them such aid as they could not give "without breach of treaty, and dishonour;" and that "the world was not so blind but that it could soon espy" the "devices" by which he proposed "to colour their doings." Knox, in his reply, apologised for his "unreasonable request;" but, at the same time, reminded Croft of the common practice of courts in such matters, and the conduct of the French court towards the English in a recent instance.[1] He was not ignorant, he said, of the inconveniences which might attend an open declaration in their favour, but feared that they would have cause to "repent the drift of time, when the remedy would not be so easy."[2]

This is the only instance in which I have found our Reformer recommending dissimulation, which was very foreign to the openness of his natural temper, and the blunt and rigid honesty that marked his general conduct. His own opinion was, that the English court ought from the first to have done what they found themselves obliged to do at last—avow their resolution to support the Congregation. Keith praises Croft's "just reprimand on Mr Knox's double fac'd proposition," and Cecil says, that his "audacite was well tamed." We must not, however, imagine that these statesmen had any scruple of conscience, or

standing the complaints against the Congregation for being too "open," there is some reason to think that Sir James Croft's own secretary had informed the queen-regent of the correspondence between England and the Congregation. Forbes, i. p. 137.

[1] "See how Mr Knox still presses his underhand management!" says Keith. *Quære:* Did the honest bishop never find any occasion, in the course of his history, to reprimand such management in his own friends? or, did he think that intrigue was criminal, only when it was employed by Protestant cabinets and ministers?

[2] Keith, Append. 40—42. Sadler, i. p. 523. In fact, if a storm had not dispersed and shattered the French fleet, which had on board the Marquis D'Elbeuf, and a large body of troops, destined for the reinforcement of the queen-regent, the English, after so long delay, would have found it very difficult to expel the French from Scotland.

nice feeling of honour on this point. For, on the very day on which Croft reprimanded Knox, he wrote to Cecil that he thought the queen ought openly to take part with the Congregation. And in the same letter in which Cecil speaks of Knox's audacity, he advises Croft to adopt in substance the very measure which our Reformer had recommended, by sending five or six officers, who should "steal from thence with appearance of displeasure for lack of interteynment;" and in a subsequent letter he gives directions to send three or four, fit for being captains, who should give out, that they left Berwick, "as men desyrous to be exercised in the warres, rather than to lye idely in that towne."[1]

Notwithstanding the prejudice which existed in the English court against our Reformer,[2] on account of his "audacity" in attacking female prerogative, they were too well acquainted with his integrity and influence to decline his services. Cecil kept up a correspondence with him; and in the directions sent from London for the management of the subsidy, it was expressly provided, that he should be one of the council for examining the receipts and payments, to see that it was applied to "the common action," and not to any private use.[3]

In the mean time, his zeal and activity, in the cause of the Congregation, exposed him to the deadly resentment of the queen-regent and the Papists. A reward was publicly offered to any one who should apprehend or kill him; and not a few, actuated by hatred or avarice, lay in wait to seize his person. But this did not deter him from appearing in public, nor from travelling through the country in the discharge of his duty. His exertions at this period were incredibly great. By day he was employed in preaching, by night in writing letters on public business. He was the soul of the Congregation; was always found at the post of danger; and by his presence, his public discourses, and private advices, animated the whole body, and defeated the schemes employed to corrupt or disunite them.[4]

[1] Sadler, i. 522, 534, 568.

[2] The lords of the Congregation having proposed to send our Reformer to London as one of their commissioners, Cecil found it necessary to discourage the proposal. "Of all others, Knoxees name, if it be not Goodman's, is most odious here; and, therefore, I wish no mention of him [coming] hither." And in another letter he says,—"His writings [*i. e.* Knox's letters] doo no good here; and, therefore, I doo rather suppress them, and yet I meane not but that ye should contynue in sending of them." Sadler, i. 532, 535. The editor of Sadler supposes, without any reason, that Knox and Goodman were disliked by the English court on account of their Geneva discipline and republican tenets. The unpardonable offence of which both had been guilty was different from either of these; they had attacked "the regiment of women."

[3] Sadler, i. 540. Keith, Append. 40.

[4] "In twenty-four hours, I have not four free to natural rest, and easee of this wicked carcass. Remember my last request for my mother, and say to Mr George (Sir George Bowes, his brother-in-law), that I have need of a good and an assured horse; for great watch is laid for my apprehension, and large money promised till any that shall kyll me. —— And this part of my care now poured in your bosom, I cease farther to trouble you, being troubled myself in body and spirit, for the troubles that be present, and appear to grow. At mydnicht.

"Many things I have to writ, which now tym suffereth not, but after, if ye mak haste with this messinger, ye shall undirstand more R ryt I write with sleaping eis." Knox's letter to Raylton, 23d October 1559. Keith, Append. 38. Sadler, i. 681, 682.

This letter, written with the Reformer's own hand, is in the British Museum. Cotton MS. Calig. B. ix. f. 38. The conclusion of the letter, which is here printed in imita-

The Congregation had lately received a considerable increase of strength by the accession of the former regent, the Duke of Châtelherault. His eldest son, the Earl of Arran, who commanded the Scots guard in France, had embraced the principles of the Reformation; understanding that the French court, which was entirely under the direction of the princes of Lorraine, intended to throw him into prison, he secretly retired to Geneva, from which he was conveyed to London by the assistance of Elizabeth's ministers. In the month of August he came to his father at Hamilton. The representations of his son, joined with those of the English cabinet, and with his own jealousy of the designs of the queen-regent, easily gained over the vacillating duke, who met with the lords of the Congregation, and subscribed their bond of confederation.[1]

Our Reformer was now called to take a share in a very delicate and important measure. When they first had recourse to arms in their own defence, the lords of the Congregation had no intention of making any alteration in the government, or of assuming the exercise of the supreme authority.[2] Even after they had adopted a more regular and permanent system of resistance to the measures of the queen-regent, they continued to recognise the station which she held, presented petitions to her, and listened respectfully to the proposals which she made for removing the grounds of variance. But finding that she was fully bent upon the execution of her plan for subverting the national liberties, and that her official situation gave her great advantages in carrying on this design, they began to deliberate upon the propriety of adopting a different line of conduct. Their sovereigns were minors, in a foreign country, and under the management of persons to whose influence the evils of which they complained were principally to be ascribed. The queen-dowager held the regency by the authority of parliament; and might she not be deprived of it by the same authority? In the present state of the country, it was impossible for a free and regular parliament to meet; but the majority of the nation had declared their dissatisfaction with her administration; and was it not competent for them to provide for the public safety, which was exposed to such imminent danger? These were the questions which formed the topic of frequent conversation at this time.

After much deliberation, a numerous assembly, consisting of nobles, barons, and representatives of burghs, met at Edinburgh, on the 21st of October 1559, to bring this important point to a solemn issue. To this assembly Knox and Willock were called; and the question being stated to them, they were required to deliver their opinions as to the

tion of the original, is very descriptive of the state of the writer at the time. It also appears from this letter, that, amidst his other employments, he had already begun, and made considerable progress in his History of the Reformation.

[1] Forbes, i. 117, 144, 163, 166. Sadler, i. 404, 417, 447.

[2] See Note LL.

lawfulness of the proposed measure. Willock, who then officiated as minister of Edinburgh, being first asked, declared it to be his judgment, founded on reason and Scripture, that the power of rulers was limited; that they might be deprived of it upon valid grounds; and that the queen-regent having, by fortifying Leith and introducing foreign troops into the country, evinced a fixed determination to oppress and enslave the kingdom, might justly be divested of her authority by the nobles and barons, as native counsellors of the realm, whose petitions and remonstrances she had repeatedly rejected. Knox assented to the opinion delivered by his brother, and added, that the assembly might, with safe consciences, act upon it, provided they attended to the three following things: First, that they did not suffer the misconduct of the queen-regent to alienate their affections from due allegiance to their sovereigns, Francis and Mary; second, that they were not actuated in the measure by private hatred or envy of the queen-dowager, but by regard to the safety of the commonwealth; and, third, that any sentence which they might at this time pronounce, should not preclude her readmission to office, if she afterwards discovered sorrow for her conduct, and a disposition to submit to the advice of the estates of the nation. After this, the whole assembly, having severally delivered their opinions, did, by a solemn deed, suspend the queen-dowager from her authority as regent of the kingdom, until the meeting of a free parliament;[1] and, at the same time, elected a council for the management of public affairs during this interval.[2] When the council had occasion to treat of matters connected with religion, four of the ministers were appointed to assist in their deliberations. These were Knox, Willock, Goodman, and Alexander Gordon, Bishop of Galloway, who had embraced the Reformation.[3]

It has been alleged by some writers, that the question respecting the suspension of the queen-regent was altogether incompetent for ministers of the gospel to determine, and that Knox and Willock, by the advice which they gave on this occasion, exposed themselves unnecessarily to odium.[4] But it is not easy to see how they could have been excused in refusing to deliver their opinion, when required by those who had submitted to their ministry, upon a measure which involved a case of conscience, as well as a question of law and political right. The advice which was actually given and followed is a matter of greater consequence than the quarter from which it came. As this rests upon principles very different from those which produced resistance to princes, and limitation on their authority, under feudal governments, and as our Reformer has been the object of much animadversion for inculcating

[1] Dr Robertson says, "It was the work but of one day to examine and resolve this nice problem concerning the behaviour of subjects towards a ruler who abuses his power." But it may be observed, that this was the *formal* determination of the question. It had been discussed among the Protestants frequently before this meeting, and, as early as the beginning of September, they were nearly unanimous about it. Sadler, i. 433. It should also be noticed, that the queen-regent was only suspended from, not absolutely "deprived of," her office.

[2] Knox, 182—187.

[3] Sadler, i. 510, 511.

[4] Spotswood, p. 137. Keith, p. 104.

these principles, I shall embrace the present opportunity to offer a few remarks on this interesting subject.

Among the various causes which affected the general state of society and government in Europe, during the middle ages, the influence of religion cannot be overlooked. Debased by ignorance, and fettered by superstition, the minds of men were prepared to acquiesce without examination in the claims of authority, and tamely to submit to every yoke. In whatever light we view Popery, the genius of that singular system of religion will be found to be adverse to liberty. The court of Rome, while it aimed directly at the establishment of a spiritual despotism in the hands of ecclesiastics, contributed to rivet the chains of political servitude upon the people. In return for the support which princes yielded to its arrogant claims, it was content to invest them with an absolute authority over the bodies of their subjects. By the priestly unction, performed at the coronation of kings in the name of the Holy See, a sacred character was understood to be imparted, which raised them to a superiority over their nobility which they did not possess according to feudal ideas, rendered their persons inviolable, and their office divine. Although the sovereign pontiffs claimed, and on different occasions exercised, the power of dethroning kings, and of absolving subjects from their allegiance, yet any attempt of this kind, when it proceeded from the people themselves, was denounced as a crime deserving the severest punishment in this world, and damnation in the next. Hence sprung the doctrine of the divine right of kings to rule independently of their people, and of passive obedience and non-resistance to their will; under the sanction of which they were encouraged to sport with the lives and happiness of their subjects, and to indulge in the most tyrannical and wanton acts of oppression, without the dread of resistance, or of being called to an account by any power on earth. Even in countries where the people were understood to enjoy certain political privileges, transmitted from remote ages, or wrested from their princes on some favourable occasions, these principles were generally prevalent; and, availing himself of them, it was easy for an ambitious and powerful monarch to violate the rights of the people with impunity, and upon a constitution, the forms of which were friendly to popular liberty, to establish an administration completely arbitrary and despotic.

The contest between papal sovereignty and the authority of general councils, which was carried on during the fifteenth century, elicited some of the essential principles of liberty, which were afterwards applied to political government. The revival of learning, by unfolding the principles of legislation, and modes of government in the republics of ancient Greece and Rome, gradually led to more liberal notions on this subject. But these were confined to a few, and had no influence upon the general state of society. The spirit infused by philosophy

and literature is too feeble and contracted to produce a radical reform of established abuses; and learned men, proud of their own superior illumination, and satisfied with the liberty of indulging their speculations, have generally been too indifferent or too timid to attempt the improvement of the multitude. It is to the religious spirit excited during the sixteenth century, which spread rapidly through Europe, and diffused itself among all classes of men, that we are chiefly indebted for the propagation of the genuine principles of rational liberty, and the consequent amelioration of government.

Civil and ecclesiastical tyranny were so closely combined, that it was impossible for men to emancipate themselves from the latter without throwing off the former; and from arguments which established their religious rights the transition was easy, and almost unavoidable, to disquisitions about their civil privileges. In those kingdoms in which the rulers threw off the Roman yoke, and introduced the Reformation by their authority, the influence was more imperceptible and slow; and in some of them, as in England, the power taken from the ecclesiastical was thrown into the regal scale, which proved so far prejudicial to popular liberty. But where the Reformation was embraced by the great body of a nation, while the ruling powers continued to oppose it, the effect was visible and immediate. The interested and obstinate support which rulers gave to the old system of error and ecclesiastical tyranny, and their cruel persecution of all who favoured the new opinions, drove their subjects to inquire into the just limits of authority and obedience. Their judgments once informed as to the rights to which they were entitled, and their consciences satisfied respecting the means which they might employ to acquire them, the immense importance of the immediate object in view, their emancipation from religious bondage, and the salvation of themselves and their posterity, impelled them to make the attempt with an enthusiasm and perseverance which the mere love of civil liberty could not have inspired.

In effecting that memorable revolution, which terminated in favour of religious and political liberty in so many nations of Europe, the public teachers of the Protestant doctrine had a principal influence. By their instructions and exhortations, they roused the people to consider their rights and exert their power; they stimulated timid and wary politicians; they encouraged and animated princes, nobles, and confederated states, with their armies, against the most formidable opposition, and under the most overwhelming difficulties, until their exertions were ultimately crowned with success. These facts are now admitted, and this honour has at last, through the force of truth, been conceded to the religious leaders of the Protestant Reformation, by philosophical writers, who had too long branded them as ignorant and fanatical.[1]

Our Reformer had caught a large portion of the spirit of civil liberty

[1] Villers's Essay on the Spirit and Influence of the Reformation of Luther, Mill's Translation, pp. 183, 186, 321, 327.

We have already adverted to the circumstance in his education which directed his attention, at an early period, to some of its principles.[1] His subsequent studies introduced him to an acquaintance with the maxims and modes of government in the free states of antiquity; and it is reasonable to suppose that his intercourse with the republics of Switzerland and Geneva had some influence on his political creed. Having formed his sentiments independently of the prejudices arising from established laws, long usage, and commonly received opinions, his zeal and intrepidity prompted him to avow and propagate them, when others, less sanguine and resolute, would have been restrained by fear, or by despair of success.[2] Extensive observation had convinced him of the glaring perversion of government in the European kingdoms; but his principles led him to desire their reform, not their subversion. His admiration of the polity of republics, ancient or modern, was not so great or indiscriminate as to prevent him from separating the essential principles of equity and freedom which they contained, from others which were incompatible with monarchy. He was perfectly sensible of the necessity of regular government to the maintenance of justice and order, and aware of the danger of setting men loose from its salutary control. And he uniformly inculcated a conscientious obedience to the lawful commands of rulers, and respect to their persons as well as to their authority, even when they were chargeable with various mismanagements, so long as they did not break through all the restraints of law and justice, and cease to perform the great and fundamental duties of their office.

But he held that rulers, supreme as well as subordinate, were invested with authority for the public good; that obedience was not due to them in anything contrary to the divine law, natural or revealed; that, in every free and well-constituted government, the law of the land was superior to the will of the prince; that inferior magistrates and subjects might restrain the supreme magistrate from particular illegal acts, without throwing off their allegiance, or being guilty of rebellion; that no class of men have an original, inherent, and indefeasible right to rule over a people, independently of their will and consent; that every nation is entitled to provide and require that they shall be ruled by laws which are agreeable to the divine law, and calculated to promote their welfare; that there is a mutual compact, tacit and implied, if not formal and explicit, between rulers and their subjects; and, if the former shall flagrantly violate this, employ that power for the destruction of the commonwealth which was committed to them for its preservation and benefit, or, in one word, if they shall become habitual tyrants and notorious oppressors, that the people are absolved from allegiance, and have a right to resist them, formally to depose them from their place, and to elect others in their room.

[1] See above, p. 4—5.

[2] "I prais my God," said he, "I have not learned to cry conjuration and treasoun at everything that the godles multitude does condemn, neither yet to fear the things that they fear." Conference with Moray and Maitland. Historie, p. 339.

The real power of the Scottish kings was, indeed, always limited, and there are in our history, previous to the era of the Reformation, many instances of resistance to their authority. But, though these were pleaded as precedents on this occasion, it must be confessed that we cannot trace them to the principles of genuine liberty. They were the effects of sudden resentment on account of some extraordinary act of maladministration, or of the ambition of some powerful baron, or of the jealousy with which the feudal aristocracy watched over the privileges of their own order. The people who followed the standards of their chiefs had little interest in the struggle, and derived no benefit from the limitations which were imposed upon the sovereign. But, at this time, more just and enlarged sentiments were diffused through the nation, and the idea of a commonwealth, including the mass of the people as well as the privileged orders, began to be entertained. Our Reformer, whose notions of hereditary right, whether in kings or nobles, were not exalted, studied to repress the insolence and oppression of the nobility. He reminded them of the original equality of men, and the ends for which some were raised above others; and he taught the people that they had rights to preserve, as well as duties to perform. With respect to female government, he never moved any question among his countrymen, nor attempted to gain proselytes to his opinion.[1]

Such, in substance, were the political sentiments which were inculcated by our Reformer, and which were more than once acted upon in Scotland during his lifetime. That in an age when the principles of political liberty were only beginning to be understood, such sentiments should have been regarded with a suspicious eye by some of the learned who had not yet thrown off common prejudices, and that they should have exposed those who maintained them to a charge of treason from despotical rulers and their numerous satellites, is far from being matter of wonder. But it must excite both surprise and indignation, to find writers in the present enlightened age, and under the sunshine of British liberty (if our sun is not fast going down), expressing their abhorrence of these principles, and exhausting upon their authors all the invective and virulence of the former anti-monarcho-machi, and advocates of passive obedience. They are essentially the principles upon which the free constitution of Britain rests; and the most obnoxious of them were reduced to practice at the memorable era of the Revolution, when the necessity of employing them was not more urgent or unquestionable, than it was at the suspension of the Queen-Regent of Scotland, and the subsequent deposition of her daughter.

I have said *essentially:* for I would not be understood as meaning to say, that every proposition advanced by Knox, on this subject, is expressed in the most guarded and unexceptionable manner, or that all the cases in which he was led to vindicate forcible resistance to rulers,

[1] The authorities for this statement of Knox's political opinions will be found in Note MM.

were such as rendered it necessary, and as may be pleaded as precedents in modern times. The political doctrines maintained at that period received a tincture from the spirit of the age, and were accommodated to a state of society and government comparatively rude and unsettled. The checks which have since been introduced into the constitution, and the influence which public opinion, expressed by the organ of a free press, has upon the conduct of rulers, are sufficient, in ordinary cases, to restrain dangerous encroachments, or to afford the means of correcting them in a peaceable way; and have thus happily superseded the necessity of having recourse to those desperate but decisive remedies which were formerly applied by an oppressed and indignant people. But if ever the time come when these principles shall be generally abjured or forgotten, the extinction of the boasted liberty of Britain will not be far off.

There are objections against our Reformer's political principles which demand consideration, from the authority to which they appeal, and the influence which they may have on pious minds. "The doctrine of resistance to civil rulers," it is alleged, "is repugnant to the express directions of the New Testament, which repeatedly enjoin Christians to be subject to 'the powers that be,' and denounce damnation against such as disobey or resist them on any pretext whatever. With the literal and strict import of these precepts the example of the primitive Christians agreed; for, even after they became very numerous, so as to be capable of opposing the government under which they lived, they never attempted to shake off the authority of the Roman emperors, or to employ force to protect themselves from the tyranny and persecutions to which they were exposed. Besides, granting that it is lawful for subjects to vindicate their civil rights and privileges by resisting arbitrary rulers, to have recourse to forcible measures for promoting Christianity is diametrically opposite to the genius of that religion, which was propagated at first, and is still to be defended, not by arms and violence, but by teaching and suffering."

These objections are more specious than solid. The directions and precepts on this subject, which are contained in the New Testament, must not be stretched beyond their evident scope and proper import. They do not give greater power to magistrates than they formerly possessed, nor do they supersede any of the rights or privileges to which subjects were entitled by the common law of nature, or by the particular statutes of any country. The New Testament does not give directions to communities respecting the original formation or subsequent improvement of their civil constitutions, nor prescribe the course which ought to be pursued in certain extraordinary cases, when rulers abuse the power with which they are invested, and convert their legitimate authority into an engine of despotism and oppression.[1] It supposes

[1] "Concedit autem," says Melancthon, "evangelium uti legibus politicis cum ratione congruentibus. Imo si talis defensio non esset concessa, transformaretur evan-

magistrates to be acting within the proper line of their office, and discharging its duties to the advantage of the society over which they are placed. And it teaches Christians, that the liberty which Christ purchased, and to the enjoyment of which they are called by the gospel, does not exempt them from subjection and obedience to civil authority, which is a divine ordinance for the good of mankind; that they are bound to obey existing rulers, although they should be of a different religion from themselves; and that Christianity, so far from setting them free from obligations to this or any other relative duty, strengthens these obligations, and requires them to discharge their duties for conscience sake, with fidelity, cheerfulness, patience, long-suffering, and singleness of heart. Viewed in this light, nothing can be more reasonable in its own nature, or more honourable to the gospel, than the directions which it gives on this subject; and we must perceive a peculiar propriety in the frequency and earnestness with which they are urged, when we consider the danger in which the primitive Christians were of supposing that they were liberated from the ordinary restraints of the rest of mankind. But if we shall go beyond this, and assert that the Scriptures have prohibited resistance to rulers in every case, and that the great body of a nation consisting of Christians, in attempting to curb the fury of their rulers, or to deprive them of the power which they have grossly abused, are guilty of that crime against which the apostle denounces damnation, we represent the beneficent religion of Jesus as sanctioning despotism, and entailing all the evils of political bondage upon mankind; and we tread in the steps of those enemies to Christianity, who, under the colour of paying a compliment to its pacific, submissive, tolerant, and self-denying maxims, have represented it as calculated to produce a passive, servile spirit, and to extinguish courage, patriotism, the love of civil liberty, the desire of self-preservation, and every kind of disposition to repel injuries, or to obtain the redress of the most intolerable grievances.

The example of the primitive Christians is not binding upon others any farther than it is conformable to the Scriptures; and the circumstances in which they were placed were totally different from those of the Protestants in Scotland, and in other countries at the time of the Reformation. The fathers often indulge in oratorical exaggerations when speaking of the numbers of the Christians; nor is there any satisfactory evidence that they ever approached near to a majority of the Roman empire, during the time that they were exposed to persecution.

"If thou mayest be made free, use it rather," says the Apostle; a

gelium in doctrinam politicam, et stabiliret infinitam tyrannidem." Comment. in Prov. xxiv. 21, 22. And again, "Non constituit evangelium novas politias, quare nec infinitam servitutem præcepit." 2. Artic. Symbol. Nicen. sub quæstione, *Utrum armis reprimendi sunt tyranni?* This argument influenced Luther to retract the unlimited condemnation of resistance which he had formerly published, and to approve of the League of Smalcald. Sleidan, Comment. lib. 8. Dean Milner has overlooked this fact in his statement of the political principles of that Reformer.

maxim which is applicable, by just analogy, to political as well as domestic freedom. The Christian religion natively tends to cherish and diffuse a spirit favourable to civil liberty, and this, in its turn, has the most happy influence upon Christianity, which never flourished extensively, and for a long period, in any country where despotism prevailed. It must therefore be the duty of every Christian to exert himself for the acquisition and defence of this invaluable blessing. Christianity ought not to be propagated by force of arms; but the external liberty of professing it may be vindicated in that way both against foreign invaders and against domestic tyrants. If the free exercise of their religion, or their right to remove religious abuses, enter into the grounds of the struggle which a nation maintains against oppressive rulers, the cause becomes of vastly more importance, its justice is more unquestionable, and it is still more worthy, not only of their prayers and petitions, but of their blood and treasure, than if it had been maintained solely for the purpose of securing their fortunes, or of acquiring some mere worldly privilege. And to those whose minds are not warped by prejudice, and who do not labour under a confusion of ideas on the subject, it must surely appear paradoxical to assert, that, while God has granted to subjects a right to take the sword of just defence for securing objects of a temporary and inferior nature, he has prohibited them from using this remedy, and left them at the mercy of every lawless despot, with respect to a concern the most important of all, whether it be viewed as relating to His own honour, or to the welfare of mankind.

Those who judge of the propriety of any measure from the success with which it is accompanied, will be disposed to condemn the suspension of the queen-regent. Soon after this step was taken, the affairs of the Congregation began to wear a gloomy aspect. The messenger whom they sent to Berwick to receive a remittance from the English court was intercepted on his return, and rifled of the treasure; their soldiers mutinied for want of pay; they were repulsed in a premature assault upon the fortifications of Leith, and worsted in a skirmish with the French troops; the secret emissaries of the regent were too successful among them; their numbers daily decreased; and the remainder, disunited, dispirited, and dismayed, came to the resolution of abandoning Edinburgh on the evening of the 5th of November, and retreated with precipitation and disgrace to Stirling.

Amidst the universal dejection produced by these disasters, the spirit of Knox remained unsubdued. On the day after their arrival at Stirling, he mounted the pulpit, and delivered a discourse which had a wonderful effect in rekindling the zeal and courage of the Congregation. Their faces (he said) were confounded, their enemies triumphed, their hearts had quaked for fear, and still remained oppressed with sorrow and shame. Why had God thus dejected them? The situation of their

affairs required plain language, and he would use it. In the present distressed state of their minds, they were in danger of attributing these misfortunes to a wrong cause, and of imagining that they had offended in taking the sword of self-defence into their hands; just as the tribes of Israel did, when twice discomfited in the war which they undertook, by divine direction, against their brethren the Benjamites. Having divided the Congregation into two classes, those who had been embarked in this cause from the beginning, and those who had lately acceded to it, he proceeded to point out what he considered as blamable in the conduct of each. The former (he said) had laid aside that humility and dependence upon Divine Providence which they had discovered when their number was small; and, since they were joined by the Hamiltons, had become elated, secure, and self-confident. "But wherein had my lord duke and his friends offended? I am uncertain if my lord's grace has unfeignedly repented of his assistance to these murderers, unjustly pursuing us. Yea, I am uncertain if he has repented of that innocent blood of Christ's blessed martyrs, which was shed in his default. But let it be that so he has done (as I hear that he has confessed his fault before the lords and brethren of the Congregation); yet I am assured that neither he, nor yet his friends, did feel before this time the anguish and grief of heart which we felt, when in their blind fury they pursued us. And therefore God hath justly permitted both them and us to fall in this fearful confusion at once,—us, for that we put our trust and confidence in man, and them, because they should feel in their own hearts how bitter was the cup which they made others drink before them." After exhorting all to amendment of life, to prayers, and works of charity, he concluded with an animating address. "God," he said, "often suffered the wicked to triumph for a while, and exposed his chosen congregation to mockery, dangers, and apparent destruction, in order to abase their self-confidence, and induce them to look to himself for deliverance and victory. If they turned unfeignedly to the Eternal, he no more doubted that their present distress would be converted into joy, and followed by success, than he doubted that Israel was finally victorious over the Benjamites, after being twice repulsed with ignominy. The cause in which they were engaged would prevail in Scotland, in spite of all opposition. It was the eternal truth of the eternal God which they maintained; it might be oppressed for a time, but would ultimately triumph."[1]

The audience, who had entered the church in deep despondency, left it with renovated courage. In the afternoon the council met, and after prayer by the Reformer, unanimously agreed to despatch William Maitland of Lethington to London, to supplicate more effectual assistance from Elizabeth. In the mean time, as they were unable to keep the field, it was agreed that they should divide, and that the one half of the

[1] Knox has preserved in his History (p. 194—197) the principal topics on which he insisted in this sermon.

council should remain at Glasgow, and the other at St Andrews. Knox was appointed to attend the latter in the double capacity of preacher and secretary. The French having, in the beginning of the year 1560, penetrated into Fife, he encouraged that small band, which, under the Earl of Arran and the Prior of St Andrews, bravely resisted their progress, until the appearance of the English fleet compelled the enemy to retreat with precipitation.[1]

The disaster which obliged the Protestant army to raise the siege of Leith and to evacuate Edinburgh, turned out eventually to the advantage of their cause. It induced the English court to abandon the line of cautious policy which they had hitherto pursued. Maitland's embassy to London was successful; and, on the 27th of February 1560, Elizabeth concluded a formal treaty with the lords of the Congregation, by which she engaged to send an army into Scotland, to assist them in expelling the French forces. Being informed of this treaty, the queen-regent resolved to disperse the troops which were collected at Glasgow under the Duke of Châtelherault before the English army could arrive. On the 7th of March the French, amounting to two thousand foot and three hundred horse, issued from Leith, and proceeding by Linlithgow and Kirkintulloch, suddenly appeared before Glasgow. Having reduced the episcopal castle, they were preparing to advance to Hamilton, when they received a message from the queen-regent, informing them that the English army had begun its march into Scotland; upon which they relinquished their design, and returned to Leith, carrying along with them a number of prisoners, and a considerable booty.[2] In the beginning of April, the English army joined the forces of the Congregation. The French shut themselves up within the fortifications of Leith, which was invested both by sea and land; and the queen-regent, who had for some time been in a declining state of health, was received by Lord Erskine into the castle of Edinburgh, where she died during the siege of Leith.

These proceedings were viewed with deep interest by the court of France. Henry II., having died in July 1559, was succeeded by Francis II. the husband of the young Queen of Scots; in consequence of which, the administration of affairs fell entirely into the hands of the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine. They employed every art of political intrigue to prevent the Queen of England from giving assistance to the Scottish Congregation, and to prevail on her to desert them, after she had undertaken their protection. Nor were they altogether unsuccessful in their attempts. Elizabeth, partly from extreme caution and parsimony, and partly from the influence of some of her counsellors,

[1] Knox, Historie, pp. 197, 201, 215. Spotswood, p. 140. MS. Historie of the Estate of Scotland, p. 19—22.

[2] A particular account of this expedition, overlooked in our common histories, is given in MS. Historie of the Estate of Scotland, from 1559 to 1566, p. 25—7. Lesley (p. 519) refers to it obscurely. Spotswood (p. 140) and Keith (p. 110) have confounded it with a different expedition, which was undertaken in November preceding.

was induced to listen to their plausible proposals; she delayed the march of her army into Scotland, and after the siege of Leith was commenced, suspended the military operations, and engaged in premature negotiations for peace. This last step justly alarmed the Congregation; and while they neglected no means to persuade the English court to perform the stipulations of the late treaty, they prepared for the worst, by renewing their covenant among themselves.

Elizabeth at last listened to the advice of her ablest ministers, and resolved to prosecute the war with vigour. No sooner did she evince this determination than the French court yielded to all her demands. The armament which they had lately fitted out at great expense for Scotland had been dispersed by a storm; the Firth of Forth was blocked up by an English fleet; and a confederacy had been formed among a number of the nobility in France, to remove the princes of Lorraine from the administration of public affairs, and to free the Protestants in that kingdom from the severe persecutions to which they had hitherto been exposed.[1] Influenced by these circumstances, the French cabinet sent plenipotentiaries to Edinburgh, who concluded a treaty with England, by which the Scottish differences were also adjusted. By this treaty it was provided, that the French troops should immediately be removed from Scotland; that an amnesty should be granted to all who had been engaged in the late resistance to the queen-regent; that the principal grievances of which they complained in the civil administration should be redressed; that a free parliament should be held to settle the other affairs of the kingdom; and that, during the absence of their sovereigns, the government should be administered by a council, to be chosen partly by Francis and Mary, and partly by the estates of the nation. The treaty was signed on the 7th of July. On the 16th the French army embarked at Leith, and the English troops began their march into their own country; and on the 19th the Congregation assembled in St Giles's Church, to return solemn thanks to God for the restoration of peace, and the success which had crowned their exertions.[2] In this manner terminated the civil war which attended the Scottish Reformation, after it had continued for twelve months, with less rancour and bloodshed than have distinguished any other contest of a similar kind.

During the continuance of the war, the Protestant preachers had been assiduous in disseminating knowledge through all parts of the kingdom, and their success was equal to their diligence. They had received a considerable accession to their number from the ranks of their opponents. While we venerate those men who enlisted under the banners of truth when her friends were few, and who boldly took the field in

[1] Those who wish to see a particular account of the negotiations between France and England, and of the motives which influenced both courts in their conduct towards Scotland, may consult the letters published by Forbes and Haynes, particularly those written from November 1559 to July 1560.

[2] Buchanani Oper. i. 313. Knox, 229—234. Spotswood, 147—9. Keith, 130—145.

her defence when the victory was yet dubious and distant, and while we cheerfully award to them the highest meed of honour,—let us not load with heavy censure, or even deprive of all praise, such as, less enlightened, or less courageous, were tardy in appearing for the cause. He who "knew what is in man," has taught us not to reject such disciples, in the dawn of light, and in perilous times. Nicodemus, who at first "came to Jesus by night," and Joseph of Arimathea, who was his disciple, "but secretly, for fear of the Jews," afterwards avouched their faith in him, and obtained the honour of embalming and interring his body, when all his early followers had forsaken him and fled. Several of the Scottish clergy, who were favourable to the Protestant doctrine, had contrived to retain their places in the Church, by concealing their sentiments, or by securing the favour of some powerful patron. Of this class were John Winram, sub-prior of the abbey of St Andrews, Adam Herriot, a friar of that abbey, John Spotswood, parson of Calder, and John Carsewell, rector of Kilmartine. In the gradual diffusion of knowledge through the nation, the minds of many who were attending the schools had been also enlightened; among whom were David Lindsay, Andrew Hay, Robert Montgomery, Patrick Adamson, and Robert and Archibald Hamilton. During the year 1559 these men came forward as auxiliaries to the first Protestant preachers; and so successful were they in instructing the people, that the French would have found it extremely difficult to support the ancient superstition, though they had proved victorious in the military contest.

On the other hand, the exertions of the popish clergy had been feeble in the extreme. Too corrupt to think of reforming their manners, too illiterate to be capable of defending their errors, they placed their forlorn hope on the success of the French arms, and looked forward to the issue of the war as involving the establishment or the ruin of their religion. The Bishop of Amiens, who came to Scotland in the double capacity of ambassador from the French court and papal legate, was accompanied by three doctors of the Sorbonne, who gave out that they would confound the reformed ministers, and bring back the people whom they had misled, to the bosom of the Church, by the force of argument and persuasion. Lesley boasts of the success which attended their exertions; but there is good reason for thinking, that these foreign divines confined themselves to the easier task of instructing the Scottish clergy to perform the religious service with greater solemnity, and to purify the churches, in a canonical manner, from the pollution which they had contracted by the profane worship of heretics.[1] One effort, however, was made by the popish clergy to support their sinking cause, which, if it had succeeded, would have done more to retrieve their reputation than all the arguments of the Sorbonists; and as this was the

[1] Lesley, p. 516—17. Spotswood, 133—4. Keith, 102. Sadler says, that the Bishop of Amiens came to "curse, and also to dispute with the Protestants, and to reconcile them, if it wolbe." State Papers, i. 470.

last attempt of the kind that ever was made in Scotland, the reader may be gratified with the following account of it :—

In the neighbourhood of Musselburgh was a chapel dedicated to our Lady of Loretto, the sanctity of which was increased from its having been the favourite abode of the celebrated Thomas the Hermit. To this sacred place the inhabitants of Scotland, from time immemorial, had repaired in pilgrimage, to present their offerings to the Virgin, and to experience the efficacy of her prayers, and the healing virtue of the wonder-working "Hermit of Lareit."[1] In the course of the year 1559 public notice was given by the friars, that they intended to put the truth of their religion to the proof, by performing a miracle at this chapel upon a young man who had been born blind. On the day appointed, a vast concourse of spectators assembled from all parts of Lothian. The young man, accompanied with a solemn procession of monks, was conducted to a scaffold erected on the outside of the chapel, and was exhibited to the multitude. Many of them knew him to be the blind man whom they had often seen begging, and whose necessities they had relieved ; all looked on him, and pronounced him stone blind. The friars then proceeded to their devotions with great fervency, invoking the assistance of the Virgin, at whose shrine they stood, and that of all the saints whom they honoured ; and after some time spent in prayers and religious ceremonies, the blind man opened his eyes, to the astonishment of the spectators. Having returned thanks to the friars and their saintly patrons for this wonderful cure, he was allowed to go down from the scaffold to gratify the curiosity of the people, and to receive their alms.

It happened that there was among the crowd a gentleman of Fife, Robert Colville of Cleish,[2] who, from his romantic bravery, was usually called Squire Meldrum, in allusion to a person of that name who had been celebrated by Sir David Lyndsay. He was of Protestant principles, but his wife was a Roman Catholic, and, being pregnant at this time, had sent a servant with a present to the chapel of Loretto, to procure the assistance of the Virgin in her labour. The squire was too gallant to hurt his lady's feelings by prohibiting the present from being sent off, but he resolved to prevent the superstitious offering, and with that view had come to Musselburgh. He witnessed the miracle of curing the blind man with the distrust natural to a Protestant, and determined, if possible, to detect the imposition before he left the place. Wherefore, having sought out the young man from the crowd, he put a piece of money into his hand, and persuaded him to accompany him to his lodgings in Edinburgh. Taking him into a private room, and locking the door, he told him plainly that he was convinced he had engaged

[1] The Earl of Glencairn's satirical poem against the friars is written in the form of an epistle from this hermit. Knox, Historie, p. 25.

[2] He was the ancestor of Lord Colville of Ochiltree, (Douglas's Peerage, p. 147), and was killed at the siege of Leith, on the 7th of May 1560. Knox, Historie, p. 227.

in a wicked conspiracy with the friars to impose on the credulity of the people, and at last drew from him the secret of the story. When a boy, he had been employed to tend the cattle belonging to the nuns of Sciennes, in the vicinity of Edinburgh, and had attracted their attention by a peculiar faculty which he had of turning up the white of his eyes, and of keeping them in this position, so as to appear quite blind. Certain friars in the city, having come to the knowledge of this fact, conceived the design of making it subservient to their purposes; and having prevailed on the sisters of Sciennes to part with the poor boy, lodged him in one of their cells. By daily practice he became an adept in the art of counterfeiting blindness; and after he had remained so long in concealment as not to be recognised by his former acquaintance, he was sent forth to beg as a blind pauper; the friars having previously bound him, by a solemn vow, not to reveal the secret. To confirm his narrative, he "played his pavie" before the squire, by "flypping up the lid of his eyes, and casting up the white," so as to appear as blind as he did on the scaffold at Loretto. The gentleman laid before him the iniquity of his conduct, and told him that he must next day repeat the whole story publicly at the cross of Edinburgh; and as this would expose him to the vengeance of the friars, he engaged to become his protector, and to retain him as a servant in his house. The young man complied with his directions, and Cleish, with his drawn sword in his hand, having stood by him till he had finished his confession, placed him on the same horse with himself, and carried him off to Fife. The detection of this imposture was quickly published through the country, and covered the friars with confusion. My author does not say whether it cured Lady Cleish of her superstition, but I shall afterwards have occasion to notice its influence in opening the eyes of one who became a distinguished promoter of the Reformation.[1]

The treaty which put an end to the civil war in Scotland, made no particular settlement respecting the religious differences,[2] but it was, on that very account, the more fatal to Popery. The Protestants were left in the possession of authority; and they were now by far the most powerful party in the nation, both as to rank and numbers. With the exception of those places which had been occupied by the queen-regent and her foreign auxiliaries, the Roman Catholic worship was almost universally deserted throughout the kingdom, and no provision was made in the treaty for its restoration. The firm hold which it once had

[1] Row's MS. Historie of the Kirk, p. 356, transcribed in 1726. An account of this pretended miracle and its detection, probably taken from the above MS., will be found in the Weekly Magazine for June 1772.

[2] The English ambassadors, in a letter to Elizabeth, say:—"Two things have bene tow hott [too hot] for the French too meddle withal; and therefore they be passed, and left as they found them. The first is the matter of religion, which is here as freely, and rather more earnestly, (as I, the secretary, thynk), receaved than in England: a hard thyng now to alter, as it is planted." Haynes, p. 352. Dr Wotton, dean of Windsor, and secretary Cecil, are the subscribers of this letter; but as it would have been rather too much for the dean to say that religion was more "earnestly received" in Scotland than in England, the secretary alone vouches for that fact.

on the opinions and affections of the people was completely loosened; it was supported by force alone; and the moment that the French troops embarked, that fabric which had stood for ages in Scotland fell to the ground. Its feeble and dismayed priests ceased of their own accord from the celebration of its rites; and the reformed service was peaceably set up, wherever ministers could be found to perform it. The parliament, when it entered upon the consideration of the state of religion, as one of the points undecided by the commissioners, which had been left to them,[1] had little else to do but to sanction what the nation had previously done, by legally abolishing the Popish, and establishing the Protestant religion.

When the circumstances in which they were assembled, and the affairs on which they were called to deliberate, are taken into consideration, this must be regarded as the most important meeting of the estates of the kingdom that had ever been held in Scotland. It engrossed the attention of the nation, and the eyes of Europe were fixed on its proceedings. The parliament met on the 10th of July, but, agreeably to the terms of the treaty, it was prorogued, without entering on business, until the first day of August. Although a great concourse of people resorted to Edinburgh on that occasion, yet no tumult or disturbance of the public peace occurred. Many of the lords spiritual and temporal, who were attached to Popery, absented themselves; but the chief patrons of the old religion, as the Archbishop of St Andrews, and the Bishops of Dunblane and Dunkeld, countenanced the assembly by their presence, and were allowed to act with freedom as lords of parliament. There is one fact in its constitution and proceedings which strikingly illustrates the influence of the Reformation upon political liberty. In the reign of James I. the lesser barons had been exempted from personal attendance on parliament, and permitted to elect representatives in their different shires. But a privilege which in modern times is so eagerly coveted, was then so little prized, that, except in a few instances, no representatives from the shires had appeared in parliament,[2] and the lesser barons had almost forfeited their right by neglecting to exercise it. At this time, however, they assembled at Edinburgh, and agreed upon a petition to the parliament, claiming to be restored to their ancient privilege. The petition was granted, and, in consequence of this, about a hundred gentlemen took their seats.[3]

The business of religion was introduced by a petition presented by a number of Protestants of different ranks, in which, after rehearsing their former endeavours to procure the removal of the corruptions which had

[1] By one of the articles of the treaty, the parliament, after agreeing upon such things as they thought necessary for the reformation of religion, were to send deputies into France to represent them to their Majesties. Knox, Historie, p. 234. Spotswood, p. 149.

[2] Robertson's History of Scotland, b. i. Keith, p. 147—8.

[3] Act. Parl. Scot. ii. 525—6. Keith, 146—7. Robertson, i. Append. No. iv. In the list of members in this parliament, the names of the lesser barons, or gentlemen of the shire, are inserted after those of the commissioners of burghs; the roll having been made up previous to the admission of the former.

infected the Church, they requested parliament to use the power which Providence had now put into their hands for effecting this great and urgent work. They craved three things in general,—that the anti-christian doctrine maintained in the Popish Church should be discarded; that means should be used to restore purity of worship, and primitive discipline; and that the ecclesiastical revenues, which had been engrossed by a corrupt and indolent hierarchy, should be applied to the support of a pious and active ministry, to the promotion of learning, and to the relief of the poor. They declared, that they were ready to substantiate the justice of all their demands, and, in particular, to prove that those who arrogated to themselves the name of clergy were destitute of all right to be accounted ministers of religion; and that, from the tyranny which they had exercised, and their vassalage to the court of Rome, they could not be safely tolerated, and far less intrusted with power, in a reformed commonwealth.[1]

In answer to the first demand, the parliament required the reformed ministers to lay before them a summary of doctrine which they could prove to be consonant with the Scriptures, and which they desired to have established. The ministers were not unprepared for this task; and in the course of four days they presented a Confession of Faith, as the product of their joint labours, and an expression of their unanimous judgment. It agreed with the Confessions which had been published by other reformed churches. Professing belief in the common articles of Christianity respecting the divine nature, the trinity, the creation of the world, the origin of evil, and the person of the Saviour, which were retained by the Church of Rome, in opposition to the errors broached by ancient heretics, it condemned not only the idolatrous and superstitious tenets of that Church, but also its gross depravation of the doctrine of Scripture respecting the state of fallen man, and the method of his recovery. It declared, that by "original sin was the image of God defacit in man, and he and his posteritie of nature become enemies to God, slaifis to Sathan, and seruandis to sin;" that "all our salvatioun springs fra the eternall and immutabill decree of God, wha of meir grace electit us in Christ Jesus, his Sone, before the foundatione of the warld was laid;" that it behoves us "to apprehend Christ Jesus, with his justice and satisfactioun, wha is the end and accomplischment of the law, by whome we ar set at this libertie, that the curse and maledictioun of God fall not upon us;" that "as God the Father creatit us whan we war not, as his Sone our Lord Jesus redemit us whan we were enemies to him, sa alswa the Haly Gaist dois sanctifie and regenerat us, without all respect of ony merite proceeding fra us, be it befoir, or be it efter our regeneratioun,—to speik this ane thing yit in mair plaine wordis, as we willinglie spoyle ourselfis of all honour and gloir of our awin creatioun and redemptioun, sa do we alswa of our regeneratioun and sanctificatioun

[1] Knox, Historie, p. 237—8.

for of our selfis we ar not sufficient to think ane gude thocht, bot he wha hes begun the wark in us is onlie he that continewis us in the same, to the praise and glorie of his undeservit grace;" and, in fine, it declared, that although good works proceed "not from our fre-wil, but the Spirit of the Lord Jesus," and although those that boast of the merit of their own works "boist themselfis of that whilk is nocht," yet "blasphemie it is to say, that Christ abydis in the hartis of sic as in whome thair is no spirite of sanctificatioun; and all wirkers of iniquitie have nouther trew faith, nouther ony portioun of the Spirite of the Lord Jesus, sa lang as obstinatlie they continew in thair wickitnes."[1]

The Confession was read first before the Lords of Articles, and afterwards before the whole parliament. The Protestant ministers attended in the house to defend it, if attacked, and to give satisfaction to the members respecting any point which might appear dubious. Those who had objections to it were formally required to state them. And the farther consideration of it was adjourned to a subsequent day, that none might pretend that an undue advantage had been taken of him, or that a matter of such importance had been concluded precipitately. On the 17th of August the parliament resumed the subject, and, previous to the vote, the Confession was again read, article by article.[2] The Earl of Atholl, and Lords Somerville and Borthwick, were the only persons of the temporal estate who voted in the negative, assigning this as their reason, "We will beleve as our forefatheris belevit."[3] "The bischopis spak nothing."[4] After the vote establishing the Confession of Faith, the Earl Marischal rose, and declared that the silence of the clergy had confirmed him in his belief of the Protestant doctrine; and he protested, that if any of the ecclesiastical estate should afterwards oppose the doctrine which had just been received, they should be entitled to no credit; seeing, after full knowledge of it, and ample time for deliberation, they had allowed it to pass without the smallest opposition or contradiction.[5] On the 24th of August the parliament abolished the papal jurisdiction, prohibited, under certain penalties, the celebration of mass, and rescinded all the laws formerly made in support of the Roman Catholic Church, and against the reformed faith.[6]

Thus did the reformed religion advance in Scotland, from small beginnings, and amidst great opposition, until it attained a parliamentary establishment. Besides the influence of Heaven secretly accompanying the labours of the preachers and confessors of the truth, the serious and inquisitive reader will trace the wise arrangements of Pro-

[1] Act Parl. Scot. ii. 526—534. Knox, Historie, p. 240—253. Dunlop's Confessions, ii. 21—98.

[2] In Knox's Historie, "the 17th day of *July*" is printed, by mistake, instead of the 17th of *August*. Act. Parl. Scot. ii. 534.

[3] Knox, Historie, p. 253.

[4] Keith is at a great loss to account for, and excuse the silence of the popish clergy; (to whom he is uniformly partial); and he found himself obliged to retract one apology which he had made for them, namely, that they were deterred from speaking by the threatenings of their opponents. History, pp. 149, 150, comp. 488, note (a).

[5] Knox, Historie, p. 253.

[6] Act. Parl. Scot. ii. 534—5. Knox, Historie, p. 254—5.

vidence in that concatenation of events which contributed to its rise, preservation, and increase,—by overruling the caprice, the ambition, the avarice, and the interested policy of princes and cabinets, many of whom had nothing less in view than to favour that cause, which they were so instrumental in promoting.

The breach of Henry VIII. of England with the Roman See, awakened the attention of the inhabitants of the northern part of the island to a controversy which had formerly been carried on at too great a distance to interest them, and led not a few to desire a reformation more improved than the model which that monarch had held out to them. The premature death of James V. of Scotland saved the Protestants from destruction. During the short period in which they received the countenance of civil authority, at the commencement of Arran's administration, the seeds of the reformed doctrine were so widely spread, and took such deep root, as to be able to resist the violent measures which the regent, after his recantation, employed to extirpate them. Those who were driven from the country by persecution found an asylum in England, under the decidedly Protestant government of Edward VI. After his death, the alliance of England with Spain, and of Scotland with France, the two great contending powers on the Continent, prevented that concert between the two courts which might have proved fatal to the Protestant religion in Britain. While the cruelties of the English queen drove Protestant preachers into Scotland, the political schemes of the queen-regent induced her to favour them, and to connive at the propagation of their opinions. At the critical moment when the latter had accomplished her favourite designs, and was preparing to crush the Reformation, Elizabeth ascended the throne of England, and was induced, by political no less than religious considerations, to support the Scottish reformers. The French court was no less bent on suppressing them, and, having lately concluded peace with Spain, was left at liberty to direct its undivided attention to the accomplishment of that object; but at this critical moment, those intestine dissensions, which continued so long to desolate France, broke out, and forced its ministers to accede to that treaty, which put an end to French influence, and the papal religion, in Scotland.

PERIOD VII.

FROM AUGUST 1560, WHEN KNOX WAS SETTLED AS MINISTER OF EDINBURGH, AT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REFORMATION, TO DECEMBER 1563, WHEN HE WAS ACQUITTED FROM A CHARGE OF TREASON.

In appointing the Protestant ministers to particular stations, a measure which engaged the attention of the privy council immediately after the conclusion of the civil war, the temporary arrangements that had been formerly made were in general confirmed, and our Reformer resumed his charge as minister of Edinburgh.[1] For several months he had officiated as minister of St Andrews;[2] but in the end of April 1560 he left that place, and returned to the capital,[3] where he preached during the siege of Leith, and the negotiations which issued in a peace.

Although the parliament had abolished the papal jurisdiction and worship, and ratified the Protestant doctrine, as laid down in the Confession of Faith, the Reformed Church was not yet completely organised in Scotland. Hitherto the Book of Common Order, used by the English Church at Geneva, had been generally followed as the rule of public worship and discipline. But this, having been compiled for a single congregation, and for one that consisted chiefly of men of education, was found inadequate for the use of an extensive Church, composed of a multitude of confederate congregations. Our reformers were anxious to provide the means of religious instruction to the whole people in the kingdom; but they were very far from approving of the promiscuous admission of persons of all descriptions to the peculiar privileges of the Church of Christ. From the beginning they were sensible of the great importance of ecclesiastical discipline, to the prosperity of religion, the maintenance of order, and the preservation of sound doctrine and morals. In the petition presented to parliament in August, the establishment of this was specially requested.[4] And Knox, who had observed the great advantages which attended the observance of a strict discipline at Geneva, and the manifold evils which resulted from the want of it in

[1] Knox, Historie, p. 236.

[2] "Ult. Mart. 1560. Margaret Aidnam askit God and the congregatioun forgiveness of the adultery committed be her wt William Rantoun, publielie in the paroche kirke of this town: John Knox beand at that tyme minister." Records of the Kirk Session of St Andrews.

[3] Records of Town Council of Edinburgh, May 8, 1560.

[4] Knox, Historie, p. 238.

England, insisted very particularly on this topic, in the discourses which he delivered from the book of Haggai during the sitting of parliament.[1] The difficulties which the reformed ministers had to surmount, before they could accomplish this important object, began to present themselves at this early stage of their progress. When it is considered that Calvin was subjected to a sentence of banishment from the senate of Geneva, and exposed to a popular tumult, before he could prevail on the citizens to submit to ecclesiastical discipline,[2] we need not be surprised at the opposition which our reformers met with in their endeavours to introduce it into Scotland. Knox's warm exhortations on this head were at first disregarded; he had the mortification to find his plan of church polity derided as a "devout imagination," by some of the professors of the reformed doctrine,[3]—and the parliament dissolved without coming to any decision on this important point.

As the ministers, however, continued to urge the subject, and the reasonableness of their demands could not be denied, the privy council, soon after the dissolution of the parliament, gave a commission to Knox, and four other ministers, who had formerly been employed along with him in composing the Confession, to draw up a plan of ecclesiastical government.[4] They immediately set about this task, with a diligence and care proportioned to their convictions of its importance. They "took not their example," says Row, "from any kirk in the world, no, not from Geneva;" but drew their plan from the sacred Scriptures. Having arranged the subject under different heads, they divided these among them; and, after they had finished their several parts, they met together and examined them with great attention, spending much time in reading and meditation on the subject, and in earnest prayers for divine direction. When they had drawn up the whole in form, they laid it before the General Assembly, by whom it was approved, after they had caused some of its articles to be abridged.[5] It was also sub-

[1] Knox, Historie, p. 237.

[2] Beza, Vita Calvini. Melch. Adami Vitæ Exter. Theolog. pp. 70, 88. Persons unfriendly to the government of the reformed churches, have represented the opposition made to Calvin and his brethren, as arising from their attempts to have their discipline established by human laws, and supported by civil penalties. This is an unfair representation of the case. "Neque enim consentaneum est," says Calvin, "ut qui monitionibus nostris obtemperare noluerint, eos ad magistratum deferamus." Institut. Christ. Relig. p. 434. Ludg. Batav. 1654. The dispute between him and his opponents turned on this question, Are ministers obliged to administer the sacraments to those whom they judge unworthy? Or, (which amounts to the same thing), Are the decisions of the church court in such matters to be reviewed and reversed by the civil court? Melch. Adam. *ut supra*. And this will be found to have been the true state of the question in Scotland, in the greater part of the dissensions between the Court and the Church, after the establishment of the Reformation.

[3] Knox, Historie, pp. 237, 256.

[4] The names of the ministers who composed the Confession of Faith, and the Book of Discipline, were John Winram, John Spotswood, John Douglas, John Row, and John Knox. Ibid., p. 256.

[5] Row, MS. Historie of the Kirk, pp. 12, 16, 17. It is probable that the meeting of Assembly by which the Book of Discipline was approved, was that which Knox calls a Convention, held on the 5th of January 1561. Historie, pp. 261, 295. The first General Assembly appointed a meeting to be held at that time. Buik of the Universall Kirk, p. 3. MS. in Advocates' Library. But there is no account of its proceedings in that or in any other register which I have had access to see. In the copy of the First Book of Discipline, published (by Calderwood, I be-

mitted to the privy council; but, although many of the members highly approved of the plan, it was warmly opposed by others. This opposition did not arise from any difference of sentiment between them and the ministers respecting ecclesiastical government, but partly from aversion to the strict discipline which it appointed to be exercised against vice, and partly from reluctance to comply with its requisition for the appropriation of the revenues of the Popish Church to the support of the new religious and literary establishments. Though not formally ratified by the council, it was, however, subscribed by the greater part of the members;[1] and as the sources of prejudice against it were well known, it was submitted to by the nation, and carried into effect in most of its ecclesiastical regulations.[2] It is known in history by the name of the Book of Policy, or First Book of Discipline.

Considering the activity of Knox in constructing and recommending this platform, and the importance of the subject in itself, it cannot be foreign to our object to take a view of the form and order of the Protestant Church of Scotland, as delineated in the Book of Discipline, and in other authentic documents of that period.

The ordinary and permanent office-bearers of the Church were of four kinds: the minister, or pastor, to whom the preaching of the gospel and administration of the sacraments belonged; the doctor, or teacher, whose province it was to interpret Scripture and confute errors (including those who taught theology in schools and universities); the ruling elder, who assisted the minister in exercising ecclesiastical discipline and government; and the deacon, who had the special oversight of the revenues of the church and the poor. But, besides these, it was found necessary at this time to employ some persons in extraordinary and temporary charges. As there was not a sufficient number of ministers to supply the different parts of the country, that the people might not be left altogether destitute of public worship and instruction, certain pious persons, who had received a common education, were appointed to read the Scriptures and the common prayers. These were called *readers*. In large parishes, persons of this description were also employed to relieve the ministers from a part of the public service. If they advanced in knowledge, they were encouraged to add a few plain exhortations to the reading of the Scriptures. In this case they were called *exhorters;* but they were examined and admitted before entering upon this employment.

The same cause gave rise to another temporary expedient. Instead of fixing all the ministers in particular charges, it was judged proper,

lieve) in 1621, pp. 23, 70; and in Dunlop's Confessions, vol. ii. pp. 517, 605, it is said, that the order for compiling it was given on the 29th of April 1560, and that it was finished by them on the 20th of May following. But, as the civil war was not then concluded, I have followed the account given by Knox, who says, that it was undertaken subsequently to the meeting of parliament in August that year. Historie, p. 256.

[1] In Dunlop's Collect. of Confessions, ii. 436, the approbation of it is styled "an act of secret council, 25th January 1560," *i. e.* 1561.

[2] Knox, Historie, pp. 256, 257, 295, 296. Keith, 496, 497. Dunlop, ii. 606—608.

after supplying the principal towns, to assign to the rest the superintendence of a large district, over which they were appointed regularly to travel, for the purpose of preaching, of planting churches, and inspecting the conduct of ministers, exhorters, and readers. These were called *superintendents.* The number originally proposed was ten; but, owing to the scarcity of proper persons, or rather to the want of necessary funds, there were never more than five appointed.[1] The deficiency was supplied by commissioners, or visitors, appointed from time to time by the General Assembly.

None was allowed to preach, or to administer the sacraments, till he was regularly called to this employment. Persons were invested with the pastoral office in the way of being freely elected by the people,[2] examined by the ministers, and publicly admitted in the presence of the congregation. On the day of admission, the minister who presided, after preaching a sermon suited to the occasion, put a number of questions to the candidate, to satisfy the Church as to his soundness in the faith, his willingness to undertake the charge, the purity of his motives, and his resolution to discharge the duties of the office with diligence and fidelity. Satisfactory answers having been giving to these questions, and the people having signified their adherence to their former choice, the person was admitted and set apart by prayer, without the imposition of hands;[3] and the service was concluded with an exhortation, the singing of a psalm, and the pronouncing of the blessing. Superintendents were admitted in the same way as other ministers.[4] The affairs of each congregation were managed by the minister, elders, and deacons, who constituted the kirk-session, which met regularly once a-week, and oftener if business required. There was a meeting, called the weekly exercise, or prophesying, held in every considerable town, consisting of the ministers, exhorters, and learned men in the vicinity, for expounding the Scriptures. This was afterwards converted into the presbytery, or classical assembly. The superintendent met with the ministers and delegated elders of his district twice a-year in the provincial synod, which took cognisance of ecclesiastical affairs within its bounds. And the General Assembly, which was composed of ministers and elders commissioned from the different parts of the kingdom, met twice, sometimes thrice, in a year, and attended to the interests of the national Church.

Public worship was conducted according to the Book of Common

[1] The General Assembly had at different times under their consideration the appointment of superintendents for Jedburgh, Dumfries, Aberdeen, and Banff, but came to no conclusion. Those actually appointed were, John Erskine of Dun, for Angus; John Winram, for Fife; John Spotswood, for Lothian; John Willock, for Glasgow; and John Carswell, for Argyll. Keith's Hist. pp. 511, 512, 518—519. Carswell is not mentioned among the superintendents in a curious document recently printed; but it contains no list of the ministers in Argyll. Register of Ministers, Exhorters, and Readers, and of their Stipends, after the period of the Reformation, p. 1, 2. Edinburgh, 1830.

[2] Dunlop's Confessions, ii. 524, 526, 545, 577, 638, 639.

[3] Dunlop, ii. 526. Imposition of hands was afterwards appointed to be used by the Second Book of Discipline. Ibid., 768—769.

[4] Knox, Historie, p. 263—266.

Order, with a few variations adapted to the state of Scotland. On Sabbath-days, the people assembled twice for public worship; and to promote the instruction of the ignorant, catechising was substituted for preaching in the afternoon. In towns, a sermon was regularly preached on one day of the week besides Sabbath; and on almost every day, the people had an opportunity of hearing public prayers and the reading of the Scriptures. Baptism was never dispensed unless it was accompanied with preaching or catechising. The Lord's Supper was administered four times a-year in towns, and there were ordinarily two "ministrations," one at an early hour of the morning, and another later in the day. The sign of the cross in baptising, and kneeling at the Lord's table, were condemned and laid aside; and anniversary holydays were wholly abolished.[1] We shall afterwards have occasion to advert to the discipline under which offenders were brought.

The compilers of the First Book of Discipline paid particular attention to the state of education. They required that a school should be erected in every parish, for the instruction of youth in the principles of religion, grammar, and the Latin tongue. They proposed that a college should be erected in every "notable town," in which logic and rhetoric should be taught, along with the learned languages. They seemed to have had it in their eye to revive the system adopted by some of the ancient republics, in which the youth were considered as the property of the public rather than of their parents, by obliging the nobility and gentry to educate their children, and by providing, at the public expense, for the education of the children of the poor who discovered talents for learning. Their regulations for the three national universities discover an enlightened regard to the interests of literature, and may suggest hints which deserve attention in the present age.[2] If these were not reduced to practice, the blame cannot be imputed to the reformed ministers, but to the nobility and gentry, whose avarice defeated the execution of their plans.

To carry these important measures into effect, permanent funds were requisite; and for these it was natural to look to the patrimony of the Church. The hierarchy had been abolished, and the popish clergy excluded from all religious services, by the alterations which the parliament had introduced; and, whatever provision it was proper to allot for the dismissed incumbents during life, it was unreasonable that they should continue to enjoy those emoluments which were attached to offices for which they had been found totally unfit. No successors could be appointed to them; and there was not any individual, or class of men in the nation, who could justly claim a title to the rents of their benefices. The compilers of the Book of Discipline, therefore, proposed that the patrimony of the Church should be appropriated, in the first instance, to the support of the new ecclesiastical establishment. Under

[1] For an illustration of some of these facts, see Note NN.

[2] First Book of Discipline, chap. vii. Dunlop, ii. 547—561.

this head they included the ministry, the schools, and the poor. For the ministers they required that such "honest provision" should be made, as would give "neither occasion of solicitude, neither yet of insolencie and wantonnesse." In ordinary cases, they thought that forty bolls of meal and twenty-six bolls of malt, with a reasonable sum of money to purchase other necessary articles of provision for his family, was an adequate stipend for a minister. To enable superintendents to defray the extraordinary expenses of travelling in the discharge of their duty, six chalders of bear, nine chalders of meal, three chalders of oats, and six hundred merks in money, were thought necessary as an annual stipend. The salaries of professors were fixed from one to two hundred pounds; and the mode of supporting the poor was left undetermined, until means should be used to suppress "stubborne and idle beggars," and to ascertain the number of the really necessitous in each parish. The stipends of ministers were to be collected by the deacons from the tithes; but all illegal exactions were to be previously abolished, and measures taken to relieve the labourers of the ground from the oppressive manner in which the tithes had been gathered by the clergy, or by those to whom they had farmed them. The revenues of bishopries, and of cathedral and collegiate churches, with the rents arising from the endowments of monasteries and other religious foundations, were to be divided, and appropriated to the support of the universities, or of the churches within their bounds.

Nothing could be more unpalatable than doctrine of this kind to a considerable number of the Protestant nobility and gentry. They had for some time fixed a covetous eye on the rich revenues of the popish clergy. Some of them had seized upon church-lands, or retained the tithes in their own hands. Others had taken long leases of them from the clergy for small sums of money, and were anxious to have these private bargains legalised. Hence their aversion to have the Book of Discipline ratified;[1] hence the poverty and the complaints of the ministers, and the languishing state of the universities. The Swiss Reformer, by his eloquence and his firmness, enabled his countrymen to gain a conquest over their avarice, which was more honourable to them than any of their other victories, when he prevailed on them to appropriate the whole revenues of the popish establishment to the support of the Protestant Church and seminaries of literature.[2] But it was not so easy a matter to manage the turbulent and powerful barons of Scotland as it was to sway the minds of the burgomasters of Zurich. When we

[1] Knox mentions Lord Erskine (afterwards Earl of Mar) as one of the chief noblemen who refused to subscribe the Discipline, and assigns two reasons for his refusal: first, "he hes a very Jesabell to his wife;" and second, "if the pure, the scullis, and the ministry of the kirk, had thair awin, his kitcheing wald want twa partes and mair of that quhilk he now injustly possesses." Historie, p. 256. My Lady Mar's passion for money was well known at that time, and is referred to in Lord Thirlstane's "Admonitioun to my Lord of Mar Regent," published in Ancient Scottish Poems from Maitland MS. p. 164. Lond. 1786:—

"Nor, to content thy marrow's covatice,
Put not thyself in perrell for to pereis."

[2] Hess, Life of Zuingle, 201—207. Gerdes i. 309.

consider, however, the extent of the establishments proposed by our reformers, including the support of the ministry, of parochial schools, of city colleges, and of national universities, we cannot regard the demand which they made on the funds devoted to the Church as extravagant or unreasonable. They showed themselves disinterested by the moderate share which they asked for themselves; and the worst that we can say of their plan is, that it was worthy of a more enlightened and liberal age, in which it might have met with rulers more capable of appreciating its utility, and better disposed to carry it into execution.[1]

It is peculiarly pleasing to observe the restoration of religion and of letters going hand in hand, in our native country. Everywhere, indeed, the Reformation had the most powerful influence, direct and remote, on the general promotion of literature. It aroused the human mind from the lethargy in which it had slumbered for ages, released it from the fetters of implicit faith and blind obedience to human authority, and stimulated it to the exertion of its powers in the search of truth. It induced the learned to study with care the original languages in which the sacred books were written; and it diffused knowledge among the illiterate, by laying open the Scriptures, and calling upon all to examine them for themselves. The unintelligible jargon which had long infested the schools began to be discarded. Controversies were now decided by appeals to Scripture and to common sense; and the disputes which were eagerly maintained led to the improvement of the art of reasoning, and a more rational method of communicating knowledge. Superstition and credulity being undermined, the spirit of inquiry was soon directed to the discovery of the true laws of nature, as well as the genuine doctrines of revelation.

In the south of Europe the revival of letters preceded the reformation of religion, and materially facilitated its progress. In the north this order was reversed; and Scotland, in particular, must date the origin of her literary acquirements from the first introduction of the Protestant opinions. As the one gained ground, the other was brought forward. We have already seen that the Greek language began to be studied almost as soon as the light of Reformation dawned upon this country; and I have now to state, that the first school for teaching the Hebrew language in Scotland was opened immediately after the establishment of the Protestant Church. Hebrew was one of the branches of education appointed by the Book of Discipline to be taught in the reformed seminaries, and Providence had furnished a person who was well qualified for that task, which those who filled the chairs in our universities were totally unfit to undertake.

The person to whom I refer was John Row. After finishing his education at St Andrews, and practising for some time as an advocate before the consistorial court there, he left the country about the year 1550, with the view of prosecuting his studies to greater advantage on

[1] See Note OO.

the Continent. Within a short time he received the degree of Doctor of Laws from two Italian universities. He did not, however, confine himself to one branch of study; but, improving the opportunity which he enjoyed, made himself master of the Greek and Hebrew languages. His reputation as a lawyer being high, the Scottish clergy employed him as agent to manage some of their causes before the court of Rome. This introduced him to the friendship of Guido Ascanio Sforza, Cardinal of Sancta Flora, and to the acquaintance of two sovereign pontiffs, Julius III. and Paul IV. Had he remained in Italy, it is highly probable that he would soon have attained to honourable preferment in the Church; but having lost his health, he determined in 1558 to return to his native country. The reigning pope had heard with deep concern of the progress which the new opinions were making in Scotland, and, as he had great confidence in Row's talents, appointed him his nuncio, with instructions to use his utmost exertions to oppose them. When he came home, he endeavoured for some time to discharge his commission; but despairing of success, and forseeing the confusions in which the country was about to be involved, he resolved on returning to Italy. From this resolution he was diverted by the Prior of St Andrews, who admired his learning, and conceived good hopes of his conversion, from the candour which he displayed in the management of religious controversy. His constancy was soon after shaken by the discovery of the imposture which the clergy attempted to practise at Musselburgh;[1] and, having held several conferences with Knox, he became a complete convert to the Protestant faith. Upon the establishment of the Reformation, he was admitted minister of Perth, and, at the recommendation of his brethren, began to give lessons in the Hebrew language to young men who were placed under his tuition.[2]

The interests of literature in Scotland were not a little promoted at this time by the return of Buchanan to his native country. That accomplished scholar, since his flight in 1538, had visited the most celebrated seminaries on the Continent, greatly improved his stock of learning, and given ample proof of those talents which, in the opinion of posterity as well as of his contemporaries, have placed him indisputably at the head of modern Latin poets. The reception which he obtained from his countrymen evinced that they were not incapable of estimating his merits; and the satisfaction with which he spent the remainder of his life among them, after he had enjoyed the society of the most learned men in Europe, is a sufficient proof that they had already made no inconsiderable advances in the acquisition of polite literature.[3]

We are apt to form false and exaggerated notions of the rudeness of our ancestors. Scotland was, indeed, at that period, as she is still at

[1] See above, p. 159.
[2] Row's MS. Historie, *ut supra*, pp. 308, 356, 372. See also Note PP.
[3] See Note QQ.

the present day, behind many of the southern countries in the cultivation of some of the fine arts, and she was a stranger to that refinement of manners which has oftener been a concealment to vice than an ornament to virtue. But that her inhabitants were "men unacquainted with the pleasures of conversation, ignorant of arts and civility, and corrupted beyond their usual rusticity by a dismal fanaticism, which rendered them incapable of all humanity or improvement,"[1] is an assertion which argues either inexcusable ignorance or deplorable prejudice. Will this character apply to such men as Buchanan, Knox, Row, Willock, Balnaves, Erskine, Maitland, Glencairn, and James Stuart, not to name many others; men who excelled in their respective ranks and professions, who had received a liberal education, travelled into foreign countries, conversed with the best company, and, in addition to their acquaintance with ancient learning, could speak the most polite languages of modern Europe? Perhaps some of our literati, who entertain such a diminutive idea of the taste and learning of those times, might have been taken by surprise had they been set down at the table of one of our Scottish reformers, surrounded by a circle of his children and pupils, where the conversation was all carried on in French, and the chapter of the Bible, at family worship, was read by the boys in French, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. Perhaps they might have blushed, if the book had been put into their hands, and they had been required to perform a part of the exercises. Such, however, was the common practice in the house of John Row.[2] Nor was the improvement of our native tongue neglected at that time. David Ferguson, minister of Dunfermline, was celebrated for his attention to this branch of composition. He had not enjoyed the advantage of a university education, but, possessing a good taste and lively fancy, was very successful in refining and enriching the Scottish language, by his discourses and writings.[3]

The first meeting of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland was held at Edinburgh on the 20th of December 1560. It consisted of forty members, only six of whom were ministers.[4] Knox was one of these; and he continued to sit in most of the meetings of that judicatory until the time of his death. Its deliberations were conducted at first with great simplicity and unanimity. It is a singular circumstance that there were seven different meetings of Assembly without a moderator, or president. But as the number of members increased, and business became more complicated, a moderator was appointed to be chosen at every meeting; and he was invested with authority to maintain order. The first person who occupied that place was John Willock, superintendent of Glasgow and the West. Regulations were also enacted concerning the constituent members of the court, the causes which ought to come before them, and the mode of procedure.[5]

[1] Hume, History of England, vol. v. chap. 38. p. 51. Lond. 1807.
[2] Row's MS. p. 372.
[3] See Note RR.
[4] Buik of the Universall Kirk, p. 2. MS. Adv. Lib. Keith, 498.
[5] See Note SS.

In the close of this year, our Reformer suffered a heavy domestic loss, by the death of his valuable wife, who, after sharing the hardships of exile along with her husband, was removed from him just when he had obtained a comfortable settlement for his family.[1] He was left with the charge of two young children in addition to his other cares. His mother-in-law was still with him; but though he took pleasure in her religious conversation, the dejection of mind to which she was subject, and which all his efforts could never completely cure, rather increased than lightened his burden.[2] His acute feelings were severely wounded by this stroke; but he endeavoured to moderate his grief by the consolations which he administered to others, and by application to public duty. He had the satisfaction of receiving, on this occasion, a letter from his much respected friend Calvin, in which expressions of great esteem for his deceased partner were mingled with condolence for his loss.[3]

I may take this opportunity of mentioning, that Knox, with the consent of his brethren, consulted the Genevan reformer upon several difficult questions which occurred respecting the settlement of the Scottish Reformation, and that a number of letters passed between them on this subject.[4]

Anxieties on a public account were felt by Knox along with domestic distress. The Reformation had hitherto advanced with a success equal to his most sanguine expectations; and, at this time, no opposition was publicly made to the new establishment. But matters were still in a very critical state. There was a party in the nation, by no means inconsiderable in number and power, who remained addicted to Popery; and, though they had given way to the torrent, they anxiously waited for an opportunity to embroil the country in another civil war, for the restoration of the ancient religion. Queen Mary and her husband, the King of France, had refused to ratify the late treaty, and dismissed the deputy sent by the parliament, with marks of the highest displeasure at the innovations which they had presumed to introduce. A new army was preparing in France for the invasion of Scotland against the spring; emissaries were sent, in the mean time, to encourage and unite the Roman Catholics; and it was doubtful if the Queen of England would subject herself to new expense and odium, by protecting them from a second attack.[5]

The danger was not unperceived by our Reformer, who laboured to impress the minds of his countrymen with its magnitude, and to excite

[1] Knox, Historie, p. 260.

[2] Preface to a Letter, added to An Answer to a Letter of a Jesuit, named Tyrie, be Johne Knox.—Sanctandrois—Anno Do. 1572.

[3] Calvini Epistolæ, p. 150. Oper. tom. ix. "Viduitas tua mihi, ut debet, tristis et acerba est. Uxorem nactus eras cui non reperiuntur passim similes," &c. In a letter to Christopher Goodman, written at the same time, Calvin says, "Fratrem nostrum Knoxum, etsi non parum doleo suavissima uxore fuisse privatum, quadeo tamen ejus morte non ita fuisse afflictum, quin strenue operam suam Christo et ecclesiæ impendat." Ibid. Calvin had lost his own wife in 1549. Epistolæ et Responsa, p. 212—13, 225. Hanov. 1597.

[4] See Note TT.

[5] Knox, 257, 258. Buchanan, i. 326, 327. Spotswood, 150, 151. Keith, 154, 157.

them speedily to complete the settlement of religion throughout the kingdom, which, he was persuaded, would prove the principal bulwark against the assaults of their adversaries. His admonitions were now listened to with attention by many who had formerly treated them with indifference.[1] The threatened storm, however, blew over in consequence of the death of the French king; but this necessarily led to a measure which involved the Scottish Protestants in a new struggle, and exposed the Reformed Church to dangers less obvious and striking, but, on that account, not less to be dreaded, than open violence and hostility. This was the invitation given by the Protestant nobility to their young queen, who, on the 19th of August 1561, arrived in Scotland, and assumed the reins of government into her own hands.

The education which Mary had received in France, whatever embellishments it added to her beauty, was the very worst that can be conceived for fitting her to rule her native country in the present juncture. Of a temper naturally violent, the devotion which she had been accustomed to see paid to her personal charms rendered her extremely impatient of contradiction.[2] Habituated to the splendour and gallantry of the most luxurious and dissolute court in Europe, she could not submit to those restraints which the severer manners of her subjects imposed; and while they took offence at the freedom of her behaviour, she could not conceal the antipathy and disgust which she felt at theirs.[3] Full of high notions of royal prerogative, she regarded the late proceedings in Scotland as a course of rebellion against her legitimate authority. Nursed from her infancy in a blind attachment to the Roman Catholic faith, every means had been employed, before she left France, to strengthen this prejudice, and to inspire her with aversion to the religion which had been embraced by her people. She was taught that it would be the great glory of her reign to reduce her kingdom to the obedience of the Roman See, and to co-operate with the popish princes on the Continent in extirpating heresy. If she forsook the religion in which she had been educated, she would forfeit their powerful friendship; if she persevered in it, she might depend upon their assistance to enable her to chastise her rebellious subjects, and to prosecute her claims to the English crown against a heretical usurper.

With these fixed prepossessions Mary came into Scotland; and she adhered to them with singular pertinacity to the end of her life. To examine the subjects of controversy between the Papists and Protestants, with the view of ascertaining on which side the truth lay—to hear the reformed preachers, or permit them to lay before her the grounds of their faith, even in the presence of the clergy whom she

[1] Knox, 260.

[2] Mr Hume's letter, printed in the Life of Dr Robertson; History of Scotland, vol. i. p. 25. Lond. 1809. Anderson's Collections, vol. iv. part i. pp. 71, 72, 74, 79.

[3] "How sone that ever her French fillokes, fidlars, and utheris of that band, gat the hous alone, thair mycht be sene skipping not veray eomelie for honest women. Her comune talk was in seerete, that sche saw nothing in Scotland but gravity, quhilk repugned altogidder to her nature, for sche was broeht up in joyeusetie." Knox, Historie, p. 294.

had brought along with her—to do anything, in short, which might lead to a doubt in her mind respecting the religion in which she had been brought up—were compliances against which she had formed an unalterable determination. As the Protestants were in possession of power, it was necessary for her to temporise ; but she resolved to withhold her ratification of the late proceedings, and to embrace the first favourable opportunity to overturn them, and re-establish the ancient system.[1]

The reception which she met with on landing in Scotland was flattering ; but an occurrence that took place soon after damped the joy which had been expressed, and prognosticated future jealousies and confusion. The deputies sent to France with the invitation from the nobles could not promise her more than the private exercise of her religion ; but her uncles, by whom she was accompanied, wishing to take advantage of the spirit of loyalty which had been displayed since their arrival, insisted that she should cause the Roman Catholic rites to be performed with all publicity. Influenced by their opinion, and willing to give her subjects an early proof of her firm determination to adhere to the ancient faith, Mary directed preparations to be made for the celebration of a solemn mass in the chapel of Holyrood House, on the first Sabbath after her arrival. This service had not been performed in Scotland since the conclusion of the civil war, and was prohibited by an act of the late parliament. So great was the horror with which the Protestants viewed its restoration, and the alarm which they felt at finding it countenanced by their queen, that the first rumour of the design excited expressions of strong discontent, which would have burst into an open tumult, had not some of the leading men among the Protestants interfered, and exerted their authority in repressing the zeal of the multitude. From regard to public tranquillity, and reluctance to offend the queen at her first return to her native kingdom, Knox used his influence in private conversation to allay the fervour of the more zealous reformers, who were ready to prevent the service by force. But he was not less alarmed at the precedent than his brethren were ; and, having exposed the evils of idolatry on the following Sabbath, he concluded his sermon by saying, that "one mass was more fearfull unto him, than if ten thousand armed enemies wer landed in ony parte of the realme, of purpose to suppress the whole religioun."[2]

At this day we are apt to be struck with surprise at the conduct of our ancestors, to treat their fears as visionary, or at least as highly exaggerated, and summarily to pronounce them guilty of the same intolerance of which they complained in their adversaries. Persecution for conscience' sake is so odious, and the least approach to it so dangerous, that we deem it impossible to express too great detestation of any measure which tends to countenance or seems to encourage it. But let us be just as well as liberal. A little reflection upon the circumstances

[1] See Note UU.

[2] Knox, Historie, p. 284—287.

in which our reforming fathers were placed may serve to abate our astonishment, and to qualify our censures. They were actuated by a strong abhorrence of popish idolatry, a feeling which is fully justified by the spirit and precepts of Christianity; and the prospect of the land being again defiled by the revival of its impure rites produced on their minds a sensation, with which, from our ignorance and lukewarmness as much as our ideas of religious liberty, we are incapable of sympathising. But they were also influenced by a proper regard to their own preservation; and the fears which they entertained were not fanciful, nor the precautions which they adopted unnecessary.

The warmest friends of toleration and liberty of conscience (some of whom will not readily be charged with Protestant prejudices) have granted, that persecution of the most sanguinary kind was inseparable from the system and spirit of Popery which was at that time dominant in Europe; and they cannot deny the inference, that the profession and propagation of it were on this account justly subjected to penal restraints, as far, at least, as was requisite to prevent it from obtaining the ascendancy, and from reacting the bloody scenes which it had already exhibited.[1] The Protestants of Scotland had these scenes before their eyes, and fresh in their recollection; and infatuated and criminal indeed would they have been, if, listening to the siren song of toleration, by which their adversaries, with no less impudence than artifice, now attempted to lull them asleep, they had suffered themselves to be thrown off their guard, and neglected to provide against the most distant approaches of the danger by which they were threatened. Could they be ignorant of the perfidious, barbarous, and unrelenting cruelty with which Protestants were treated in every Roman Catholic kingdom?—in France, where so many of their brethren had been put to death, under the influence of the house of Guise; in the Netherlands, where such multitudes had been tortured, beheaded, hanged, drowned, or buried alive; in England, where the flames of persecution were but lately extinguished; and in Spain and Italy, where they still continued to blaze? Could they have forgotten what had taken place in their own country, or the perils from which they had themselves so recently and so narrowly escaped? "God forbid!" exclaimed the lords of the privy council, in the presence of Queen Mary, at a time when they were not disposed to offend her,—"God forbid! that the lives of the faithful stood in the power of the Papists; for just-experience has taught us what cruelty is in their hearts."[2]

Nor was this an event so incredible, or so unlikely to happen, as many seem to imagine. The rage for conquest, on the Continent, was now converted into a rage for proselytism; and steps had already been taken towards forming that league among the popish princes, which had for its object the universal extermination of Protestants. The Scottish queen was passionately addicted to the intoxicating cup

[1] See Note XX.

[2] Knox, Historie, p. 341.

of which so many of "the kings of the earth had drunk." There were numbers in the nation who were similarly disposed. The liberty taken by the queen would soon be demanded for all who declared themselves Catholics. Many of those who had hitherto ranged under the Protestant standard were lukewarm in the cause; the zeal of others had already suffered a sensible abatement since the arrival of their sovereign:[1] and it was to be feared, that the favours of the court, and the blandishments of an artful and accomplished princess, would make proselytes of some, and lull others into security, while designs were carried on pregnant with ruin to the religion and liberties of the nation. In one word, the public toleration of the popish worship was only a step to its re-establishment, and this would be the signal for kindling afresh the fires of persecution. It was in this manner that some of the wisest men in the kingdom reasoned at that time;[2] and had it not been for the uncommon spirit which then existed among the reformers, there is every reason to think that their predictions would have been realised.

To those who accuse the Scottish Protestants of displaying the same spirit of intolerance by which the Roman Catholics were distinguished, I would recommend the following statement of a French author, who had formed a more just notion of these transactions than many of our own writers. "Mary," says he, "was brought up in France, accustomed to see Protestants burnt to death, and instructed in the maxims of her uncles, the Guises, who maintained that it was necessary to exterminate, without mercy, the pretended reformed. With these dispositions she arrived in Scotland, which was wholly reformed, with the exception of a few lords. The kingdom received her, acknowledged her as their queen, and obeyed her in all things according to the laws of the country. I maintain, that, in the state of men's spirits at that time, if a Huguenot queen had come to take possession of a Roman Catholic kingdom, with the slender retinue with which Mary went to Scotland, the first thing they would have done would have been to arrest her; and if she had persevered in her religion, they would have procured her degradation by the pope, thrown her into the Inquisition, and burnt her as a heretic. There is not an honest man who can deny this."[3]

After all, it is surely unnecessary to apologise for the restrictions which our ancestors were desirous of imposing on Queen Mary, to those

[1] Knox, Historie, pp. 282, 283, 285, 287.

[2] Several of the above considerations, along with others, are forcibly stated in a letter of Maitland to Cecil, written a short time before Queen Mary's arrival in Scotland. Keith, App. 92—95. That sagacious, but supple politician, was among the first to verify some of his own predictions. That such fears were very general in the nation appears also from a letter of Randolph. Robertson, App. No. 5.

[3] Histoire du Calvinisme et celle du Papisme mises en Parellele; ou Apologie pour les Reformateurs, pour la Reformation, et pour les Reformez, tome i. p. 334. A Rotterdam, 1683, 4to. The affirmation of this writer is completely supported by the well-known history of Henry IV. of France (not to mention other instances), whose recantation of Calvinism, although it smoothed his way to the throne, could not efface the indelible stigma of his former heresy, secure the affections of his Roman Catholic subjects, or avert from his breast the consecrated poniard of the assassin.

who approve of the present constitution of Britain, according to which every Papist is excluded from succeeding to the throne, and the reigning monarch, by setting up mass in his chapel, would virtually forfeit his crown. Is Popery more dangerous now than it was two hundred and fifty years ago?

Besides his fears for the common cause, Knox had, at this time, grounds of apprehension as to his personal safety. The queen was peculiarly incensed against him on account of the active part which he had taken in the late revolution; the popish clergy who left the kingdom had represented him as the ringleader of her factious subjects; and she had publicly declared, before she left France, that she was determined he should be punished. His book against female government was most probably the ostensible charge on which he was to be prosecuted; and, accordingly, we find him making application, through the English resident at Edinburgh, to secure the favour of Elizabeth; reasonably suspecting that she might be induced to abet the proceedings against him on this ground.[1] But whatever perils he apprehended from the personal presence of the queen, either to the public or to himself, he used not the smallest influence to prevent her being invited home. On the contrary, he concurred with his brethren in this measure, and also in using means to defeat a scheme which the Duke of Châtelherault, under the direction of the Archbishop of St Andrews, had formed to exclude her from the government.[2] But when the Prior of St Andrews was sent to France with the invitation, he urged that her desisting from the celebration of mass should be one of the conditions of her return; and when he found him and the rest of the council disposed to grant her this liberty within her own chapel, he predicted that "her liberty would be their thraldom."[3]

In the beginning of September,[4] only a few days after her arrival in Scotland, the queen sent for Knox to the palace, and held a long conversation with him, in the presence of her brother, the Prior of St Andrews. Whether she did this of her own accord, or at the suggestion of some of her counsellors, is uncertain; but she seems to have expected to awe him into submission by her authority, if not to confound him by her arguments. The bold freedom with which he replied to all her charges, and vindicated his own conduct, convinced her that the

[1] Randolph to Cecil, 9th Aug. 1561, apud Robertson's Scotland, Appendix, No. 5, and Keith, p. 190. A letter of Maitland to Cecil, of the same date with the above, seems to refer to the same design; and I shall take the opportunity of correcting (what appears to me) an error in the transcription of this letter. "I wish to God," says Maitland, "the first warre may be planely intended *against them by Knox*, for so shuld it be manifest that the suppressing of religion was ment; but I fear more she will proceed tharunto by indirect means. And nothing for us so dangerouse as temporising." Haynes, p. 367. This seems altogether unintelligible; but if the words which I have printed in italics be transposed, and read thus, "by them against Knox," they will make sense, and correspond with the strain of the letter, and with the fact mentioned by Randolph, in his letter to Cecil written on the same day. Maitland expresses his fears that Mary would have recourse to crafty measures for undermining their cause, instead of persevering in the design which she had avowed of prosecuting Knox.

[2] Knox, Historie, 269.

[3] Ibid., 262.

[4] Keith, 188.

one expectation was not more vain than the other; and the impression which she wished to make on him was left on her own mind.

She accused him of raising her subjects against her mother and herself; of writing a book against her just authority, which, she said, she would cause the most learned in Europe to refute; of being the cause of sedition and bloodshed, when he was in England; and of accomplishing his purposes by magical arts.

To these heavy charges Knox replied, that, if to teach the truth of God in sincerity, to rebuke idolatry, and exhort a people to worship God according to his word, were to excite subjects to rise against their princes, then he stood convicted of that crime; for it had pleased God to employ him, among many others, to disclose unto that realm the vanity of the papistical religion, with the deceit, pride, and tyranny of the Roman antichrist. But if the true knowledge of God and his right worship were the most powerful inducements to subjects cordially to obey their princes, (as they certainly were), then was he innocent. Her grace, he was persuaded, had at present as unfeigned obedience from the Protestants of Scotland, as ever her father, or any of her ancestors, had from those called bishops. With respect to what had been reported to her majesty concerning the fruits of his preaching in England, he was glad that his enemies laid nothing to his charge but what the world knew to be false. If they could prove, that, in any of the places where he had resided, there was either sedition or mutiny, he would confess himself to be a malefactor. But so far from this being the case, he was not ashamed to say, that in Berwick, where bloodshed had formerly been common among the military, God so blessed his weak labours, that there was as great quietness, during the time he resided in that town, as there was at present in Edinburgh. The slander of practising magic, (an art which he had always condemned), he could more easily bear, when he recollected that his master, Jesus Christ, had been defamed as one in league with Beelzebub. As to the book which seemed to have offended her majesty so highly, he owned that he wrote it, and he was willing that all the learned should judge of it. He understood that an Englishman had written against it, but he had not read his work. If that author had sufficiently confuted his arguments, and established the contrary opinion, he would confess his error; but to that hour he continued to think himself able to maintain the propositions affirmed in that book against any ten in Europe.

"You think, then, I have no just authority?" said the queen.—"Please your majesty," replied he, "learned men in all ages have had their judgments free, and most commonly disagreeing from the common judgment of the world; such also have they published both with pen and tongue; notwithstanding, they themselves have lived in the common society with others, and have borne patiently with the errors and imperfections which they could not amend. Plato, the philosopher, wrote his book on the commonwealth, in which he condemned many things

that then were maintained in the world, and required many things to have been reformed; and yet, notwithstanding, he lived under such policies as then were universally received, without farther troubling of any state. Even so, madam, am I content to do, in uprightness of heart, and with a testimony of a good conscience." He added, that his sentiments on that subject should be confined to his own breast; and that, if she refrained from persecution, her authority would not be hurt, either by him or his book, "which was written most especially against that wicked Jesabell of England."

"But ye speak of women in general," said the queen.—"Most true it is, madam: yet it appeareth to me, that wisdom should persuade your grace never to raise trouble for that which to this day has not troubled your majesty, neither in person nor in authority: for of late years many things which before were held stable have been called in doubt; yea, they have been plainly impugned. But yet, madam, I am assured that neither Protestant nor Papist shall be able to prove that any such question was at any time moved either in public or in secret. Now, madam, if I had intended to have troubled your estate, because ye are a woman, I would have chosen a time more convenient for that purpose than I can do now, when your presence is within the realm."

Changing the subject, she charged him with having taught the people to receive a religion different from that which was allowed by their princes; and she asked if this was not contrary to the divine command, that subjects should obey their rulers. He replied, that true religion derived its origin and authority, not from princes, but from God; that princes were often most ignorant on this point; and that subjects were not bound to frame their religious sentiments and practice according to the arbitrary will of their rulers, else the Hebrews ought to have conformed to the religion of Pharaoh, Daniel and his associates to that of Nebuchadnezzar and Darius, and the primitive Christians to that of the Roman emperors. "Yea," replied the queen, qualifying her assertion; "but none of these men raised the sword against their princes."—"Yet, you cannot deny," said he, "that they resisted; for those who obey not the commandment given them do in some sort resist." "But they resisted not with the sword," rejoined the queen, pressing home the argument.—"God, madam, had not given unto them the power and the means." "Think you," said the queen, "that subjects, having the power, may resist their princes?"—"If princes exceed their bounds, madam, no doubt they may be resisted, even by power. For no greater honour, or greater obedience, is to be given to kings and princes, than God has commanded to be given to father and mother. But the father may be struck with a frenzy, in which he would slay his children. Now, madam, if the children arise, join together, apprehend the father, take the sword from him, bind his hands, and keep him in prison, till the frenzy be over, think you, madam, that the children do any wrong? Even so, madam, is it with princes that would murder the children of

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God that are subject unto them. Their blind zeal is nothing but a mad frenzy; therefore, to take the sword from them, to bind their hands, and to cast them into prison, till they be brought to a more sober mind, is no disobedience against princes, but just obedience, because it agreeth with the will of God."

Mary, who had hitherto maintained her courage in reasoning, was completely overpowered by this bold answer; her countenance changed, and she remained in a silent stupor. Her brother spoke to her, and inquired the cause of her uneasiness; but she made no reply. Recovering herself at length, she said, "Well, then, I perceive that my subjects shall obey you and not me, and will do what they please, and not what I command; and so must I be subject to them, and not they to me."—"God forbid!" replied the Reformer, "that ever I take upon me to command any to obey me, or to set subjects at liberty to do whatever pleases them. But my travel is, that both princes and subjects may obey God. And think not, madam, that wrong is done you when you are required to be subject unto God; for it is he who subjects people under princes, and causes obedience to be given unto them. He craves of kings that they be as foster-fathers to his Church, and commands queens to be nurses to his people. And this subjection, madam, unto God and his Church, is the greatest dignity that flesh can get upon the face of the earth; for it shall raise them to everlasting glory."

"But you are not the Church that I will nourish," said the queen; "I will defend the Church of Rome; for it is, I think, the true Church of God."—"Your *will*, madam, is no reason, neither doth your *thought* make the Roman harlot to be the true and immaculate spouse of Jesus Christ. Wonder not, madam, that I call Rome an harlot, for that Church is altogether polluted with all kinds of spiritual fornication, both in doctrine and manners." He added, that he was ready to prove that the Roman Church had declined farther from the purity of religion taught by the apostles, than the Jewish Church had degenerated from the ordinances which God gave them by Moses and Aaron, at the time when they denied and crucified the Son of God. "My conscience is not so," said the queen.—"Conscience, madam, requires knowledge; and I fear that right knowledge you have none." "But I have both heard and read."—"So, madam, did the Jews who crucified Christ Jesus read the law and the prophets, and heard the same interpreted after their manner. Have you heard any teach but such as the pope and cardinals have allowed? and you may be assured that such will speak nothing to offend their own estate."

"You interpret the Scriptures in one way," said the queen evasively, "and they in another; whom shall I believe, and who shall be judge?"—"You shall believe God, who plainly speaketh in his word," replied the Reformer; "and farther than the word teacheth you, you shall believe neither the one nor the other. The word of God is plain in itself; and if there appear any obscurity in one place, the Holy Ghost,

who is never contrary to himself, explains the same more clearly in other places, so that there can remain no doubt, but unto such as are obstinately ignorant." As an example, he selected one of the articles in controversy between the Church of Rome and the Protestants, and was proceeding to show that the popish doctrine of the sacrifice of the mass was destitute of all foundation in Scripture; but the queen, who was determined to avoid all discussion of the articles of her creed, interrupted him, by saying that she was unable to contend with him in argument, but if she had those present whom she had heard, they would answer him. "Madam," replied the Reformer, fervently, "would to God that the learnedest Papist in Europe, and he whom you would best believe, were present with your grace to sustain the argument, and that you would wait patiently to hear the matter reasoned to the end! For then, I doubt not, madam, but you would hear the vanity of the papistical religion, and how little ground it hath in the word of God." "Well," said she, "you may perchance get that sooner than you believe."—"Assuredly, if ever I get that in my life, I get it sooner than I believe; for the ignorant Papist cannot patiently reason, and the learned and crafty Papist will never come, in your audience, madam, to have the ground of their religion searched out. When you shall let me see the contrary, I shall grant myself to have been deceived in that point."

The hour of dinner afforded an occasion for breaking off this singular conversation. At taking leave of her majesty, the Reformer said, "I pray God, madam, that you may be as blessed within the commonwealth of Scotland, as ever Deborah was in the commonwealth of Israel."[1]

I have been the more minute in the narrative of this curious conference, because it affords the most satisfactory refutation of the charge that Knox treated Mary with rudeness and disrespect. For the same reason I shall lay before the reader a circumstantial account of the subsequent interviews between them, from which we shall perceive that, though the Reformer addressed her with a plainness to which crowned heads are seldom accustomed, he never lost sight of that respect which was due to the person of his sovereign, nor of that decorum which became his own character.

The interview between the queen and the Reformer excited great speculation, and different conjectures were formed as to its probable consequences. The Catholics, whose hopes now depended solely on the queen, were alarmed lest Knox's rhetoric should have shaken her constancy. The Protestants cherished the expectation that she would be induced to attend the Protestant sermons, and that her religious prejudices would gradually abate.[2] Knox indulged no such flattering expectations. He had made it his study, during the late conference, to discover the real character of the queen; and when some of his confidential friends asked his opinion of her, he told them that he was very

[1] Knox, Historie, p. 287—292. [2] Ibid., p 292.

much mistaken if she was not proud, crafty, obstinately wedded to the Popish Church, and averse to all means of instruction.[1] Writing to Cecil, he says, "The queen neyther is, neyther shal be of our opinion; and, in very dead, her whole proceedings do declair that the cardinalle's lessons ar so deaplie printed in her heart, that the substance and the qualitie are like to perishe together. I wold be glad to be deceaved, but I fear I shal not. In communication with her, I espyed such craft as I have not found in such aige. Since, hath the court been dead to me and I to it."[2]

He resolved, therefore, vigilantly to watch her proceedings, and to give timely warning of any danger which might result from them to the reformed interest; and the more that he perceived the zeal of the Protestant nobles to cool, and their jealousy to be laid asleep by the winning arts of the queen, the more frequently and loudly did he sound the alarm. Vehement and harsh as his expressions often were,—violent, seditious, and insufferable as his sermons and prayers have been pronounced to be,—I have no hesitation in saying, that, as the public peace was never disturbed by them, so they were useful to the public safety, and a principal means of warding off for a time those confusions in which the country was afterwards involved, and which brought on the ultimate ruin of the infatuated queen. His uncourtly and rough manner was not, indeed, calculated to gain upon her mind, (nor is there any reason to think that an opposite manner would have had this effect), and his admonitions often irritated her; but they obliged her to act with greater reserve and moderation; and they operated, to an indescribable degree, in arousing and keeping awake the zeal and the fears of the nation, which at that period were the two great safeguards of the Protestant religion in Scotland. We may form an idea of the effect produced by his pulpit orations, from the account of the English ambassador, who was one of his constant hearers. "Where your honour," says he, in a letter to Cecil, "exhorteth us to stoutness, I assure you the voice of one man is able in an hour to put more life in us than six hundred trumpets continually blustering in our ears."[3]

The Reformer was not ignorant that some of his friends thought him too severe in his language, nor was he always disposed to vindicate the expressions which he employed. Still, however, he was persuaded that the times required the utmost plainness; and he was afraid that snares lurked under the smoothness which was recommended and practised by courtiers. Cecil having given him an advice on this head in one of his letters, Knox replied,—"Men deliting to swym betwix two waters have

[1] Knox, Historie, p. 292. Keith, 197.

[2] Letter, Knox to Cecil, 7th October 1561. Haynes, State Papers, p. 372.

[3] Randolph's Letter, in Keith, 188. In this letter, the ambassador states some circumstances as to the first interview between the queen and the Reformer, which are not mentioned in Knox's History. He "knocked so hastily upon her heart that he made her to weep, as well you know there be some of that sex that will do that as well for anger as for grief; though in this the Lord James will disagree with me. He concluded so in the end with her, that he hath liberty to speak his conscience, [and] to give unto her such reverence as becometh the ministers of God unto the superior powers."

often compleaned upon my severitie. I do fear that that which men terme lenitie and dulcenes, do bring upon themselves and others more fearful destruction than yit hath ensewed the vehemency of any preacher within this realme." [1]

That abatement of zeal which he had dreaded from "the holy water of the court" soon began to appear among the Protestant leaders. The general assemblies of the Church were a great eyesore to the queen, who was very desirous to have them put down. At the first General Assembly held after her arrival, the courtiers through her influence absented themselves, and when challenged for this, began to dispute the propriety of such conventions without her majesty's pleasure. On this point there was sharp reasoning between Knox and Maitland, who was now made secretary of state. "Take from us the liberty of assemblies, and take from us the gospel," said the Reformer. "If the liberty of the Church must depend upon her allowance or disallowance, we shall want not only assemblies, but also the preaching of the gospel." It was proposed that the Book of Discipline should be ratified by the queen; but this was keenly opposed by the secretary. "How many of those that subscribed that book will be subject to it?" said he, scoffingly. "All the godly," it was answered. "Will the duke?" said he. "If he will not," replied Lord Ochiltree, "I wish that his name were scraped, not only out of that book, but also out of our number and company; for to what end shall men subscribe, and never mean to keep word of that which they promise?" Maitland said, that many subscribed it *in fide parentum* (implicitly). Knox replied, that the scoff was as untrue as it was unbecoming; for the book was publicly read, and its different heads discussed for a number of days, and no man was required to subscribe what he did not understand. "Stand content," said one of the courtiers; "that book will not be obtained."—"And let God require the injury which the commonwealth shall sustain at the hands of those who hinder it," replied the Reformer.[2]

He was still more indignant at their management in settling the provision for the ministers of the Church. Hitherto they had lived chiefly on the benevolence of their hearers, and many of them had scarcely the means of subsistence; but repeated complaints having obliged the privy council to take up the affair, they came at last to a determination, that the ecclesiastical revenues should be divided into three parts; that two of these should be given to the ejected popish clergy; and that the third part should be divided between the court and the Protestant ministry![3] The persons appointed to "modify the stipends"[4] were disposed to gratify the queen, and her demands were readily answered,

[1] Haynes, 372. An epistolary correspondence was at this time maintained between secretary Cecil and our Reformer. Keith, 191, 192, 194. Robertson, Append. No. 5.

[2] Knox, Historie, p. 295—296.

[3] Keith, App. 175—179. Knox, 296—300.

[4] The privy council appointed certain persons to fix the sums which were to be appropriated to the court and to the ministry, and also the particular salaries which were to be allotted to individual ministers, according to the circumstances in which they were placed. The officers appointed for this purpose composed a board or court, under the privy council, and was called the court of modification.

while the sums allotted to the ministers were as ill paid as they were paltry and inadequate. "Weall!" exclaimed Knox, when he heard of this disgraceful arrangement, "if the end of this ordour, pretendit to be takin for sustentatioun of the ministers, be happie, my judgment failes me. I sie twa pairtis freely gevin to the devill, and the third mon be devyded betwix God and the devill. Who wald have thocht, that when Joseph reulled in Egypt, his brethren sould have travellit for victualles, and have returned with emptie sackes unto thair families? O happie servands of the devill, and miserabill servants of Jesus Christ, if efter this lyf thair wer not hell and heavin!"[1] At a conference held on this subject, Maitland complained of the ingratitude of the ministers, who did not acknowledge the queen's liberality to them. "Assuredly," replied Knox, with a derisive smile, "such as receive anything of the queen are unthankfull, if they acknowledge it not; but whether the ministers be of that rank or not, I greatly doubt. Has the queen better title to that which she usurps, be it in giving to others, or in taking to herself, than such as crucified Christ had to divide his garments among them? Let the Papists who have the two parts, some that have their thirds free, and some that have gotten abbacies and feu-lands, thank the queen; the poor preachers will not yet flatter for feeding their bellies. To your dumb dogs, formerly ten thousand was not enough; but to the servants of Christ, that painfully preach his evangell, a thousand pound! how can that be sustained?"—"These words," he himself tells us, "were judged proud and intolerable, and engendered no small displeasure to the speaker."[2]

Knox gave vent to his feelings on this subject the more freely, as his complaints could not be imputed to personal motives; for his own stipend, though moderate, was liberal when compared with those of the most of his brethren. From the time of his last return to Scotland until the conclusion of the war, he had been indebted to the liberality of individuals for the support of his family. After that period he lodged in the house of David Forrest, a burgess of Edinburgh, from which he removed to the lodging which had belonged to Durie, abbot of Dunfermline. As soon as he began to preach statedly in the city the town council assigned him an annual stipend of two hundred pounds, which he was entitled to receive quarterly; and they also paid his house-rent and his board during the time that he had resided with Forrest. Subsequent to the settlement made by the privy council, it would seem that he received, at least, a part of his income from the common fund

[1] "So busie," says he, "and circumspect wer the modificators (because it was a new office, the terme must also be new), that the ministers should not be over-wantoun, that an hundred merks was sufficient to an single man, being a commone minister: thre hundreth merks was the hiest apoynted to any, except the superintendents and a few utheris." Historie, 301. "Mr Knox is not at all here diminishing the sum," says Keith; "for the original books of assignation to the ministers, which now ly before me, ascertain the truth of what he says," p. 508. Wishart of Pittarow, who was comptroller of the modification, pinched the ministers so much that it became a proverb,—'The gude laird of Petarro was an ernest professour of Christ, bot the mekill devill receave the comptroller." Sir John Wishart of Pittarow, was appointed comptroller on the 1st of March 1561. Reg. Sigil. Secr. lib. xxi. 5.

[2] Knox, Historie, p. 201—202.

allotted to the ministers of the Church; but the good town had still an opportunity of testifying their generosity, by supplying the deficiencies of the legal allowance. Indeed, the uniform attention of the town council to his external support and accommodation was honourable to them, and deserves to be recorded to their commendation.[1]

In the beginning of the year 1562 he went to Angus, to preside in the election and admission of John Erskine of Dun as superintendent of Angus and Mearns. That respectable baron was one of those whom the first General Assembly declared "apt and able to minister;"[2] and having already contributed in different ways to the advancement of the Reformation, he now devoted himself to the service of the Church, in a laborious employment, at a time when she stood eminently in need of the assistance of all the learned and pious. Knox had formerly presided at the installation of John Spotswood as superintendent of Lothian.[3]

The influence of our Reformer appears from his being employed on different occasions to act as umpire and mediator in disputes of a civil nature among the Protestants. He was frequently requested to intercede with the town council in behalf of such of the inhabitants as had subjected themselves to punishment by their disorderly conduct.[4] Soon after his return to Scotland he had composed a domestic variance between the Earl and Countess of Argyll.[5] In the year 1561 he had been employed as arbitrator in a difference between Archibald, Earl of Angus, and his brothers.[6] And he was now urged by the Earl of Bothwell to assist in removing a deadly feud which subsisted between him and the Earl of Arran. He was averse to interfere in this business, which had already baffled the authority of the privy council;[7] but at the desire of friends he yielded, and, after considerable pains, had the satisfaction of bringing the parties to an amicable interview, at which they mutually promised to bury their former differences. But all the fair hopes which he had formed from this reconciliation were speedily blasted. For, in the course of a few days, Arran came to him in great agitation, with the information that Bothwell had endeavoured to engage him in a conspiracy, to seize upon the person of the queen, and to kill the Prior of St Andrews, Maitland, and the rest of her counsellors. Knox does not seem to have given much credit to this information; he even endeavoured to prevent Arran from making it public: in this, however, he did not succeed, and both noblemen were imprisoned. It soon after became evident that Arran was lunatic, but the fears of the courtiers show that they did not altogether disbelieve his accusation, and that they suspected that Bothwell had formed a design of which his future conduct proved him not incapable.[8]

[1] See Extracts from the Records of the Town Council in Note YY.

[2] Keith, p. 498.

[3] The form observed on that occasion, which was followed in the admission or ordination of all the superintendents and other ministers, is inserted at length in Knox's Historie, p. 263—266; and in Dunlop's Confessions, ii. 627—636.

[4] Knox, Historie, 270.

[5] Ibid., 328—9.

[6] See Note ZZ.

[7] Keith, 215.

[8] Knox, Historie, 305—308, and letter to Locke, 6th May 1562, in Cald. MS. i. 755, 756. Spotswood, 184.

In the month of May, Knox had another interview with the queen on the following occasion. The family of Guise were making the most vigorous efforts to regain that ascendancy in the French councils of which they had been deprived since the death of Francis II.; and, as zeal for the Catholic religion was the cloak under which they concealed their ambitious designs, they began by stirring up persecution against the Protestants. The massacre of Vassy, in the beginning of March, was a prelude to this, in which the Duke of Guise and Cardinal of Lorraine attacked, with an armed force, a congregation peaceably assembled for worship, killed a number of them, and wounded and mutilated others, not excepting women and children.[1] Intelligence of the success which attended the measures of her uncles was brought to Queen Mary, who immediately after gave a splendid ball to her foreign servants, at which the dancing was prolonged to a late hour.

Knox was advertised of the festivities in the palace, and had no doubt that they were occasioned by the accounts which the queen had received from France. He always felt a lively interest in the concerns of the French Protestants, with many of whom he was intimately acquainted; and he entertained a very bad opinion of the princes of Lorraine. In his sermon on the following Sabbath, after discoursing of the dignity of magistrates, and the obedience which was due to them, he proceeded to lament the abuse which the greater part of rulers made of their power, and introduced some severe strictures upon the vices to which they were commonly addicted, their oppression, ignorance, hatred of virtue, attachment to bad company, and fondness for foolish pleasures. Glancing at the amusements which were common in the palace, he said that princes were more exercised in dancing and music than in reading or hearing the word of God, and delighted more in fiddlers and flatterers than in the company of wise and grave men, who were capable of giving them wholesome counsel. As to dancing, he said that, although he did not find it praised in Scripture, and profane writers had termed it a gesture more becoming mad than sober men, yet he would not utterly condemn it, provided those who practised it did not neglect the duties of their station, and did not dance, like the Philistines, from joy at the misfortunes of God's people. If they were guilty of such conduct, their mirth would soon be converted into sorrow. Information of this discourse was quickly conveyed to the queen, with many exaggerations; and the preacher was next day ordered to attend at the palace. Being conveyed into the royal chamber, where the queen sat with her maids of honour and principal counsellors, he was accused of having spoken of her majesty irreverently, and in a manner calculated to bring her under the contempt and hatred of her subjects.

After the queen had made a long speech on that theme, he was allowed to state his defence. He told her majesty that she had been treated as persons usually were who refused to attend the preaching of the

[1] Histoire des Martyrs, fol. 558, 559. Anno 1597.

word of God; she had been deceived by the false reports of flatterers. For, if she had heard the calumniated discourse, he did not believe she could have been offended with anything that he had said. She would now, therefore, be pleased to hear him repeat, as exactly as he could, what he had preached yesterday. Mary was obliged for once to listen to a Protestant sermon. Having finished the recapitulation of his discourse, he said, "If any man, madam, will say that I spake more, let him presently accuse me; for I think I have not only touched the sum, but the very words as I spake them." Several of the company, who had heard the sermon, attested that he had given a fair and accurate account of it. After turning round to the informers, who were dumb, the queen told him, that his words, though sharp enough as related by himself, had been reported to her in a different way. She added, that she knew that her uncles and he were of a different religion, and therefore did not blame him for having no good opinion of them; but if he heard anything about her conduct which displeased him, he ought to come to herself privately, and she would willingly listen to his admonitions. Knox easily saw through this proposal; and, from what he already knew of Mary's character, was convinced that she had no inclination to receive his private instructions, but wished merely to induce him to refrain in his sermons from everything that might be displeasing to the court. He replied, that he was willing to do anything for her majesty's contentment which was consistent with his office; if her grace chose to attend the public sermons, she would have an opportunity of knowing what pleased or displeased him in her and in others; or if she chose to appoint a time when she would hear the substance of the doctrine which he preached in public, he would most gladly wait upon her grace's pleasure, time, and place; but to come and wait at her chamber-door, and then to have liberty only to whisper in her ear what people thought and said of her, that would neither his conscience nor his office permit him to do. "For," added he, in a strain which he sometimes used even on serious occasions, "albeit, at your grace's commandment, I am heir now, yit can I not tell what uther men shall judge of me, that, at this time of day, am absent from my buke, and waitting upon the court."—"Ye will not alwayes be at your buke," said the queen, pettishly, and turned her back. As he left the room "with a reasonable merry countenance," he overheard one of the popish attendants saying, "He is not afraid!"—"Why should the plesing face of a *gentilwoman* afray me?" said he, regarding them with a sarcastic scowl; "I have luiked in the faces of mony angry *men*, and yit have not bene affrayed above measour."[1]

There was at that time but one place of worship in the city of Edinburgh.[2] The number of inhabitants was indeed small, when compared with its present population; but they still must have formed a very

[1] Knox, Historie, 308—311.

[2] St Cuthbert's, or the West Church, was at that time (as it is at present) a distinct parish, of which William Harlow was minister. There was also a minister in Canongate or Holyrood House.

large congregation. St Giles's Church, the place then used for worship, was capacious; for we learn that, on some occasions, three thousand persons assembled in it to hear sermon.[1] In this church Knox had, since 1560, performed all the parts of ministerial duty, without any other assistant than John Cairns, who acted as reader.[2] He preached twice every Sabbath, and thrice on other days of the week.[3] He met regularly once every week with his kirk-session for discipline,[4] and with the assembly of the neighbourhood for the exercise on the Scriptures. He attended, besides, the meetings of the provincial Synod and General Assembly; and at almost every meeting of the latter, he received an appointment to visit and preach in some distant part of the country. These labours must have been oppressive to a constitution which was already much impaired—especially as he did not indulge in extemporaneous effusions, but devoted a part of every day to study. His parish was sensible of this, and in April 1562 the town council came to a unanimous resolution to solicit the minister of Canongate to undertake the half of the charge. The ensuing General Assembly approved of the council's proposal, and appointed the translation to take place.[5] It was not, however, accomplished before June 1563, owing, as it would seem, to the difficulty of obtaining an additional stipend.[6]

The person who was appointed colleague to our Reformer was John Craig. A short account of this distinguished minister cannot be altogether foreign to the history of one with whom he was so strictly associated, and it will present incidents which are curious in themselves, and illustrative of the singular manner in which many of the promoters of the Reformation were fitted by Providence for engaging in that great undertaking. He was born in 1512, and soon after lost his father in the battle of Flodden, which proved fatal to so many families in Scotland. After finishing his education at the university of St Andrews, he went to England, and became tutor to the family of Lord Dacres; but war having broken out between England and Scotland, he returned to his native country, and entered into the order of Dominican friars. The Scottish clergy were at that time eager in making inquisition for Lutherans; and, owing to the circumstance of his having been in England, or to his having dropped some expressions respecting religion which were deemed too free, Craig fell under the suspicion of heresy, and was thrown into prison. The accusation was found to be groundless, and he was set at liberty. But although still attached to the Roman Catholic religion, the ignorance and bigotry of the clergy gave him such a disgust at his native country that he left it in 1537, and, after remaining a short time in England, went to France, and from that to Italy. At the recommendation of the celebrated Cardinal Pole, he was admitted among the Dominicans in the city of Bologna, and was soon raised to an honour-

[1] Cald. MS. ii. 157.
[2] Records of Town Council, 26th October 1561.
[3] Ibid., 10th April 1562.
[4] The number of elders in the session of Edinburgh was twelve, and of deacons sixteen. Dunlop's Confessions, ii. 638.
[5] Calderwood, apud Keith, 514.
[6] See Note AAA.

able employment in that body. In the library of the Inquisition, which was attached to the monastery, he found a copy of Calvin's Institutions. Being fond of books, he determined to read that work; and the consequence was, that he became a thorough convert to the reformed opinions. In the warmth of his first impressions, he could not refrain from imparting his change of sentiments to his associates, and must soon have fallen a sacrifice to the vigilant guardians of the faith, had not the friendship of a father in the monastery saved him. The old man, who was a native of Scotland, represented the danger to which he exposed himself by avowing such tenets in that place, and advised him, if he was fixed in his views, to retire immediately to some Protestant country. With this prudent advice he complied so far as to procure his discharge from the monastery.

At an early period of the Christian era there were converts to the gospel "in Cæsar's household;" and in the sixteenth century the light of reformation penetrated into Italy, and even into the territories of the Roman pontiff. On leaving the monastery of Bologna, Craig entered as tutor into the family of a neighbouring nobleman, who had embraced Protestant principles; but he had not resided long in it, when, along with his host, he was delated for heresy, seized by the familiars of the Inquisition, and carried to Rome. After being confined nine months in a noisome dungeon, he was brought to trial, and condemned to be burnt, along with some others, on the 20th of August 1559. On the evening previous to the day appointed for their execution, the reigning pontiff, Paul IV., died; and, according to an accustomed practice on such occasions, the prisons in Rome were all thrown open. While those who were confined for debt and other civil offences were liberated, heretics, after being allowed to go without the walls of their prison, were conveyed back to their cells. A tumult, however, having been raised that night in the city, Craig and his companions effected their escape, and took refuge in a house at a small distance from Rome. They had not been long there when they were followed by a company of soldiers sent to apprehend them. On entering the house the captain looked Craig eagerly in the face, and taking him aside, asked, if he recollected of once relieving a poor wounded soldier in the vicinity of Bologna. Craig was in too great confusion to remember the circumstance. "But I remember it," replied the captain, "and I am the man whom you relieved, and Providence has now put it in my power to return the kindness which you showed to a distressed stranger. You are at liberty; your companions I must take along with me, but, for your sake, shall show them every favour in my power." He then gave him what money he had upon him, with directions how to make his escape.

We are not yet done with the wonderful incidents in the life of Craig. "Another accident," says Archbishop Spotswood, "befell him, which I should scarcely relate, so incredible it seemeth, if to many of good place

he himself had not often repeated it as a singular testimony of God's care of him." In the course of his journey through Italy, while he avoided the public roads, and took a circuitous route to escape from pursuit, the money which he had received from the grateful soldier failed him. Having laid himself down by the side of a wood to ruminate on his condition, he perceived a dog approaching him with a purse in its teeth. It occurred to him that it had been sent by some evil-disposed person who was concealed in the wood, and wished to pick a quarrel with him. He therefore endeavoured to drive it away, but the animal continuing to fawn upon him, he at last took the purse, and found in it a sum of money which enabled him to prosecute his journey. Having reached Vienna, and announced himself as a Dominican, he was employed to preach before the Archduke of Austria, who afterwards wore the imperial crown, under the title of Maximilian II. That discerning prince, who was not unfriendly to a religious reform, was so much pleased with the sermon that he was desirous of retaining Craig; but the new pope, Pius IV., having heard of his reception at the Austrian capital, applied to have him sent back to Rome as a condemned heretic; upon which the archduke dismissed him with a safe-conduct. When he arrived in England in 1560, and was informed of the establishment of the reformed religion in his native country, he immediately repaired to Scotland, and was admitted to the ministry. Having in a great measure forgotten his native language during an absence of twenty-four years, he preached for a short time in Latin to some of the learned in Magdalene Chapel. He was afterwards appointed minister of the parish of Canongate, where he had not officiated long till he was elected colleague to Knox.[1]

The queen still persevered in the line of policy which she had adopted at her first arrival in Scotland, and employed none but Protestant counsellors. She intrusted the chief direction of public affairs to the Prior of St Andrews, who, in 1562, was created Earl of Moray,[2] and married a daughter of the Earl Marischal. The marriage ceremony was performed by Knox publicly before the congregation, according to the custom at that time; and on that occasion the Reformer reminded the earl of the benefit which the Church had hitherto received from his services, and exhorted him to persevere in the same course, lest, if an unfavourable change was perceived, the blame should be imputed to his wife.[3] The fact, however, was, that Knox was more afraid that Moray would be corrupted by his connection with the court, than by his matrimonial alliance.

[1] Row, MS. Historie of the Kirk, p. 47. Spotswood, p. 463—464. I have chiefly followed Row's narrative. By comparing it with Spotswood's, the reader will perceive that they differ in a few unimportant circumstances. Row mentions that he had his information from several persons who had heard Craig himself relate the story, and particularly from his widow, "dame Craig," who survived her husband, and lived in Edinburgh until 1630. Mr John Craig, minister, his wife, Marion Small, and his eldest son, Mr William, are mentioned, under the date 16th August 1594, in Burgh Sas. ix. 60.

[2] Keith, p. 226. [3] Knox, Hist., p. 302.

Although the Protestants filled the cabinet, it was well known that they did not possess the affection and confidence of her majesty, and in consequence of this, various plots were laid to displace and ruin them. During the autumn of 1562 the Roman Catholics in Scotland entertained great hopes of a change in their favour. After several unsuccessful attempts to cut off the principal courtiers,[1] the Earl of Huntly openly took arms in the north to rescue the queen from their hands; while the Archbishop of St Andrews endeavoured to unite and rouse the Papists of the south. On this occasion our Reformer acted with his usual zeal and foresight. Being appointed by the General Assembly as commissioner to visit the churches of the West, he persuaded the gentlemen of that quarter to enter into a new bond of defence. Hastening into Nithsdale and Galloway, he, by his sermons and conversation, confirmed the Protestants in these places. He employed the Master of Maxwell to write to the Earl of Bothwell, who had escaped from confinement, and meant, it was feared, to join Huntly. He himself wrote to the Duke of Châtelherault, warning him not to listen to the solicitations of his brother, the archbishop, nor accede to a conspiracy which would infallibly prove the ruin of his house. By these means the southern parts of the kingdom were preserved in a state of peace, while the vigorous measures of Moray crushed the rebellion in the north.[2] The queen expressed little satisfaction at the victory gained over Huntly, and there is every reason to think that, if not privy to his rising, she expected to turn it to the advancement of her projects.[3] According to Archbishop Spotswood, she scrupled not to say at this time that she "hoped, before a year was expired, to have the mass and Catholic profession restored through the whole kingdom."[4]

While these hopes were indulged, the popish clergy thought it necessary to gain credit to their cause by appearing more openly in defence of their tenets than they had lately done. They began to preach publicly in different parts of the country, and boasted that they were ready to dispute with the Protestant ministers.[5]

The person who stept forward as their champion was Quintin Kennedy, uncle to the Earl of Cassilis, and Abbot of Crossraguel. Though his talents were not of a superior order, the abbot was certainly one of the most respectable of the popish clergy in Scotland, not only in birth, but also in regularity and decorum of conduct. He seems to have spent the greater part of his life in the same neglect of professional duty which characterised his brethren; but he was roused from his inactivity by the zeal and success of the Protestant preachers, who, in the years 1556 and 1557, attacked the popish faith, and inveighed against the

[1] Keith, 230. Knox, 321.

[2] Knox, 316—318.

[3] The historian of the family of Gordon expressly says, that "her majesty thought, by the Earl of Huntlie his power in the north, to get herselff fred from the hands of her bastard brother, James, Earle of Morray;" and that "the Earle of Huntlie (at the quein's own desyre) did gather some forces, to get her out of the Earle of Murraye's power." Genealogical History of the Earldom of Sutherland, by Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun, pp. 140, 141.

[4] Spotswood, 185. [5] Knox, Hist., 316, 318.

idleness and corruption of the clergy.[1] At an age when others retire from the field he began to rub up his long-neglected armour, and descended into the theological arena.

His first appearance as a polemical writer was in 1558, when he published a short system of Catholic tactics, under the title of *Ane Compendius Tractive*, showing "the nerrest and onlie way to establish the conscience of a Christian man," in all matters which were in debate concerning faith and religion. This way was no other than implicit faith in the decisions of the church or clergy. When any point of religion was controverted, the Scripture might be cited as a witness, but the Church was the judge, whose determinations, in general councils canonically assembled, were to be humbly received and submitted to by all the faithful.[2] It was but "a barbour saying," which the Protestants had commonly in their mouths, that every man ought to examine the Scriptures for himself. It was sufficient for those who did not occupy the place of teachers, that they had a general knowledge of the creed, the ten commandments, and the Lord's prayer, according to the sense in which these were explained by the Church. And "as to the sacramentis, and all other secretis of the Scripture," every Christian man ought to "stand to the judgment of his pastor, who did bear his burden in all matters doubtsome above his knowledge."[3]

This was doubtless a very near way to stability of mind, and a most compendious mode of deciding every controversy which might arise, without having recourse to examination, reasoning, or debate. But as the wilful and stubborn reformers would not submit to this easy and short mode of decision, the abbot was reluctantly obliged to enter the lists of argument with them. Accordingly, in the beginning of 1559, he challenged Willock, who was preaching in his neighbourhood, to a dispute on the sacrifice of the mass. The challenge was accepted, the time and place of meeting were fixed; but the dispute did not take place, as Kennedy refused to appear, unless his antagonist would previously engage to submit to the interpretations of Scripture which had been given by the ancient doctors of the Church.[4] From this time he seems to have made the mass the great subject of his study, and in 1561 wrote a book in its defence, which was answered by George Hay.[5]

On the 30th of August 1562 the abbot read, in his chapel of Kirkoswald, a number of articles respecting the mass, purgatory, praying

[1] The Reasoning betwixt Jo. Knox and the Abbote of Crossraguell, fol. 4. Edinburgh, 1563.

[2] Kennedy, Compendius Tractive, A, iiij.

[3] Ibid., D, vii.

[4] Keith, App. 195—199. Kennedy, in a letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow, says, "Willock, and the rest of his counsell, labourit earnestlie to sie gif I wald admitt the Scripture onlye juge, and, be that meines, to haif maid me contrarry to my awin buke; bot thair labouris wes in waist. I held me evir fast at ane grounde." And he triumphs, that he "draif the lymmar—to refuse the interpretation of the doctoris allegeit be him and all utheris, bot so far as he thocht they war agreable with the worde of God, quhilk was as rycht nocht." Ibid., 193, 194.

[5] See Note BBB.

to saints, the use of images, and other points, which he said he would defend against any who should impugn them, and he promised to declare his mind more fully on the following Sabbath. Knox, who was in the vicinity, came to Kirkoswald on that day, with the design of hearing the abbot, and granting him the disputation which he had courted. In the morning he sent some gentlemen who accompanied him to acquaint Kennedy with the reason of his coming, and to desire him either to preach according to his promise, or to attend Knox's sermon, and afterwards to state his objections to the doctrine which might be delivered. The abbot did not think it proper to appear, and Knox preached in the chapel. When he came down from the pulpit, a letter from Kennedy was put into his hand, which led to an epistolary correspondence between them, fully as curious as the dispute which followed.

The abbot wrote to Knox, that he was informed he had come to that quarter of the country "to seik disputation," which he was so far from refusing, that he "earnestlie and effectuouslie covated the samin," and with that view should meet him next Sunday in any house in Maybole that he choosed, provided not more than twenty persons on each side were allowed to be present. The Reformer replied, that he had come to that quarter for the purpose of preaching the gospel, and not of disputing; that he was under a previous engagement to be in Dumfries on the day mentioned by the abbot, but that he would return with all convenient speed, and fix a time for meeting him. To this letter the abbot sent an answer, to which Knox merely returned a verbal message at the time; but when he afterwards published the correspondence, affixed short notes to it by way of reply. The abbot proposed that they should have "familear, formall, and gentill ressoning."—"With my whole hart I accept the condition," replies the Reformer; "for assuredlie, my lord, (so I stile you by reason of blood, and not of office), chiding and brawling I utterlie abhor." To Knox's declaration that he had come to "preach Jesus Christ crucified to be the only Saviour of the world," the abbot answers, "Praise be to God, that was na newings in this countrie, or ye war borne."—"I greatlie dout," replies the Reformer, "if ever Christ Jesus was truelie preached by a papistical prelat or monk." As an excuse for his not preaching at Kirkoswald on the day he had promised, the abbot says that Knox had come to the place convoyed by five or six score strangers. "I lay the night before," says Knox, "in Mayboil, accompanied with fewer than twentie." The abbot boasted that Willock, at a former period, and Hay, more lately, had refused to dispute with him, until they consulted the council and their brethren. "Maister George Hay offered unto you disputation, but ye fled the barrass." Knox wished the dispute to be conducted publicly in St John's Church, Ayr; for, says he, "I wonder with what conscience ye can require privat conference of those artikles that ye have publicklie proponed. Ye have infected the ears of the simple, ye have

wounded the hartes of the godlie, and ye have spoken blasphemie in oppen audience. Let your owne conscience now be judge, if we be bound to answer you in the audience of twenty or forty, of whom the one half are alreadie persuaded in the treuth, and the other perchance so addicted to your error, that they will not be content that light be called light, and darknes, darknes." "Ye said ane lytill afore," answers the abbot, "ye did abhor all chiding and railing, bot nature passis nurtor with yow."—"I will neither interchange nature nor nurtor with yow, for all the proffets of Crosraguell." "Gif the victorie consist in clamour or crying out," says the abbot, objecting to a public meeting, "I will quite you the cause but farder pley;[1] and yet, praise be to God, I may whisper in sic manner as I will be hard sufficientlie in the largest house in all Carrick."—"The larger the house, the better for the auditor and me," replied the Reformer.

The Earl of Cassilis wrote to Knox, expressing his disapprobation of the proposed dispute, as unlikely to do any good, and calculated to endanger the public peace; to which the Reformer replied by signifying that his relation had given the challenge, which he was resolved not to decline, and that his lordship ought to encourage him to keep the appointment, from which no bad effects were to be dreaded. Upon this the abbot wrote a letter to Knox, charging him with having procured Cassilis's letter to bring him into disgrace, and to advance his own honour; and saying that he would have "rancountered" him the last time he was in that country, had it not been for the interposition of his nephew. "Ye sal be assured," adds he, "I sal keip day and place in Mayboill, according to my writing, an I haif my life, an my feit louse;" and in another letter to Knox and the bailies of Ayr, he says, "Keip your promes, and pretex na joukrie, by my lorde of Cassilis writing." "To nether of these," says Knox, "did I answer otherwise than by appointing the day, and promising to keap the same. For I can pacientlie suffer wantone men to speak wantonlie, considering that I had sufficiently answered my lord of Cassilis in that behalf."

The conditions of the combat were now speedily settled. They agreed to meet on the 28th of September, at eight o'clock in the morning, in the house of the provost of Maybole. Forty persons on each side were to be admitted as witnesses of the dispute, with "as many mo as the house might goodly hold, at the sight of my lord of Cassilis." And notaries, or scribes, were chosen on each side to record the papers which might be given in by the parties, and the arguments which they advanced in the course of reasoning, to prevent unnecessary repetition, or a false report of the proceedings. These conditions were formally drawn out, and subscribed by the Abbot and the Reformer, on the day preceding the meeting.

When they met, "Johne Knox addressed him to make publict prayer, whereat the abbot wes soir offended at the first, but whil the said John

[1] Without farther plea.

wold in nowise be stayed, he and his gave audience; which being ended, the abbote said, 'Be my faith, it is weill said.'" The reasoning commenced by reading a paper presented by the abbot, in which, after rehearsing the occasion of his present appearance, and protesting that his entering into dispute was not to be understood as implying that the points in question were disputable or dubious, being already determined by lawful general councils, he declared his readiness to defend the articles which he had exhibited, beginning with that concerning the sacrifice of the mass. To this paper Knox gave in a written answer in the course of the disputation; and, in the mean time, after stating his opinion respecting general councils, he proceeded to the article in dispute. It was requisite, he said, to state clearly and distinctly the subject in controversy, and he thought the mass contained the four following things: the name, the form and action, the opinion entertained of it, and the actor, with the authority which he had to do what he pretended to do; all of which, he was prepared to show, were destitute of any foundation in Scripture. The abbot was aware of the difficulty of managing the point on such broad ground, and he had taken up ground of his own, which he thought he could maintain against his antagonist. "As to the masse that he will impung," said he, "or any mannes masse, yea, an it war the paipes awin masse, I will mantein na thing but Jesus Christes masse, conforme to my article, as it is written, and diffinition contened in my buik, whilk he hes tane on hand to impung."

Knox expressed his delight at hearing the abbot say that he would defend nothing but the mass of Christ, for if he adhered to this, they were "on the verray point of an Christiane agrement," as he was ready to allow whatever could be shown to have been instituted by Christ. As to his lordship's book, he confessed he had not read it, and (without excusing his negligence) requested the definition to be read to him from it. The abbot qualified his assertion by saying that he meant to defend no other mass, except that which in its "substance, institution, and effect," was appointed by Christ; and he defined the mass, in its substance and effect, to be the sacrifice and oblation of the Lord's body and blood, given and offered by him in the last supper; and for the first confirmation of this he rested upon the oblation of bread and wine by Melchizedec. His argument was, that the Scripture declared Christ to be a priest after the order of Melchizedec. Melchizedec offered bread and wine to God; therefore Christ offered or made oblation of his body and blood in the last supper, which was the only instance in which the priesthood of Christ and Melchizedec could agree.

Knox said, that the ceremonies of the mass, and the opinion entertained of it (as procuring remission of sins to the quick and the dead), were viewed as important parts of it, and, having a strong hold of the consciences of the people, ought to be taken into the argument; but as

the abbot declared himself willing to defend these afterwards, he would proceed to the substance, and proposed, in the first place, to fix the sense in which the word sacrifice or oblation was used in this question. There were sacrifices *propitiatoriæ*, for expiation, and *eucharisticæ*, for thanksgiving; in which last sense the mortification of the body, prayer, and almsgiving were called sacrifices in Scripture. He wished, therefore, to know whether the abbot understood the word in the first or second of these senses in this dispute. The abbot said, that he would not at present inquire what his opponent meant by a sacrifice *propitiatorium;* but he held the sacrifice on the cross to be the only sacrifice of redemption, and that of the mass to be the sacrifice of commemoration of the death and passion of Christ. Knox replied, that the chief head which he intended to impugn seemed to be yielded by the abbot; and he, for his part, cheerfully granted that there was a commemoration of Christ's death in the right use of the ordinance of the supper.

The abbot insisted, that Knox should proceed to impugn the warrant which he had taken from Scripture for his article. "Protesting," said the Reformer, "that this mekle is win, that the sacrifice of the messe being denied by me to be a sacrifice propitiatorie for the sins of the quick and the dead (according to the opinion thereof before conceaved), hath no patron at the present, I am content to procede."—"I protest he hes win nothing of me as yit, and referres it to black and white contened in our writing." "I have openlie denied the masse to be an sacrifice propitiatorie for the quick, &c., and the defence thereof is denied. And, therefore, I referre me unto the same judges that my lord hath clamed." —"Ye may denie what ye pleis; for all that ye denie I tak not presentlie to impung; but whair I began, there will I end, that is, to defend the messe conform to my artickle." "Your lordship's ground," said Knox, after some altercation, "is, that Melchizedec is the figure of Christ in that he did offer unto God bread and wine, and that it behoved Jesus Christ to offer, in his latter supper, his body and blude under the forms of bread and wine. I answer to your ground yet againe, that Melchizedec offered neither bread nor wine unto God; and, therefore, it that ye would thereupon conclude hath no assurance of your ground." "Preve that," said the abbot. Knox replied, that, according to the rules of just reasoning, he could not be bound to prove a negative; that it was incumbent on his opponent to bring forward some proof for his affirmation, concerning which the text was altogether silent; and that, until the abbot did this, it was sufficient for him simply to deny. But the abbot said he "stuck to his text," and insisted that his antagonist should show for what purpose Melchizedec brought out the bread and the wine, if it was not to offer them to God. After protesting that the abbot's position remained destitute of support, and that he was not bound, in point of argument, to show what became of the bread and wine, or what use was made of them, Knox consented to state his opinion, that they were intended by Melchizedec to refresh

Abraham and his company. The abbot had now gained what he wished; and he had a number of objections ready to start against this view of the words, by which he was able at least to protract and involve the dispute. And thus ended the first day's contest.

When the company convened on the following day, the abbot proceeded to impugn the view which his opponent had given of the text. He urged, first, that Abraham and his company had a sufficiency of provision in the spoils which they had taken from the enemy in their late victory, and did not need Melchizedec's bread and wine; and, secondly, that the text said that Melchizedec brought them forth, and it was improbable that one man, and he a king, should carry as much as would refresh three hundred and eighteen men. To these objections Knox made such replies as will occur to any person who thinks on the subject. And in this manner did the second day pass.

When they met on the third day, the abbot presented a paper, in which he stated another objection to Knox's view of the text. After some more altercation on this subject, Knox desired his opponent to proceed, according to his promise, to establish the argument upon which he had rested his cause. But the abbot, being indisposed, rose up, and put into Knox's hand a book to which he referred him for the proof. By this time the noblemen and gentlemen present were completely wearied out. For, besides the tedious and uninteresting mode in which the disputation had been managed, they could find entertainment neither for themselves nor for their retinue in Maybole; so that if any person had brought in bread and wine among them, it is presumable that they would not have debated long upon the purpose for which it was brought. Knox proposed that they should adjourn to Ayr and finish the dispute, which was refused by the abbot, who said he would come to Edinburgh for that purpose, provided he could obtain the queen's permission. Upon this the company dismissed.

The dispute was never resumed, though Knox says that he applied to the privy council for liberty to the abbot to come to Edinburgh for this purpose. Kennedy died in August 1564. It has been said that he was canonised as a saint after his death,[1] and Dempster makes him both a saint and a martyr.[2] I have not seen his name in the Romish calendar, but I find (what is of as great consequence) that the grand argument upon which he insisted in his disputation with the Reformer has been canonised; for in the Calendar, at "March 25," it is written, "Melchezedec sacrifeit breid and wyne in figure of ye bodie and bloud of our Lord, whilk is offerit in ye messe."[3] Doubtless those who knew the very month and day on which this happened, must have been

[1] See Crawford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 75.

[2] "Augustus 22 — Monasterio Crucis regalis obitus Beati Quintini Kennedii abbatis, Comitis Cassilii fratris, qui admiranda constantia sex annis totis, cum hæresi nascente, et jam confirmata conflixit, ad extremum lento veneno consumptus, corruptoque sanguine excessit." Dempsteri Menologium Scotorum, p. 20. Bononiæ, 1622.

[3] See Calendar, by "M. Adam King, profeseur of Philosophie and Mathimatikis at Paris," prefixed to a Scottish translation of Canisius's Catechism, printed in 1587.

better acquainted with the design of Melchizedec than either Moses or Paul.

The abbot and his friends, having circulated the report that he had the advantage in the disputation, Knox, in 1563, published the account of it from the records of the notaries, to which he added a prologue and short marginal notes. The prologue and his answer to the abbot's first paper, especially the latter, are pieces of good writing. I have been the more minute in the narrative of this dispute than its merits deserve, because no account of it has hitherto appeared, the tract itself being so exceedingly rare as to have been seen by few for a long period.[1]

Another priest who defended the Roman Catholic cause at this time was Ninian Winget. He had been schoolmaster of Linlithgow, from which situation he was removed by Spotswood, superintendent of Lothian, on account of his devoted attachment to popery. In the month of February 1562 he sent to Knox a writing, consisting of eighty-three questions upon the principal topics of dispute between the Papists and Protestants, which he had drawn up in the name of the inferior clergy and laity of the Catholic persuasion in Scotland. To some of these, particularly the questions which related to the call of the Protestant ministers, the Reformer returned an answer from the pulpit, and Winget addressed several letters to him, complaining that his answers were not satisfactory. These letters, with addresses to the queen, nobility, bishops, and magistrates of Edinburgh, Winget committed to the press, but the impression being seized in the printer's house, (according to Bishop Lesley), the author made his escape, and went to the Continent.[2] Knox intended to publish an answer to Winget's questions, and to defend the validity of the Protestant ministry; but it does not appear that he carried his design into execution.[3]

In the beginning of 1563 Knox went to Jedburgh, by appointment of the General Assembly, to investigate a scandal which had broken out

[1] Knox gives merely a general notice of this dispute in his Historie, p. 318. Keith, who was very industrious in collecting whatever referred to the ecclesiastical history of that period, could not obtain a copy of the printed disputation, and had heard of but one imperfect copy. History, App. 255. The only copy known to exist at present is in the library of Alexander Boswell, Esq. of Auchinleck. Since the publication of the first edition of this Life, Mr Boswell has printed a small impression of this unique, being an exact *fac simile* of the original edition, for the gratification of the curious.

[2] Lesley, apud Keith, p. 501. App. 223. Lesley speaks of a dispute between Knox and Winget, but that historian is often incorrect in his details. The dispute between the doctors of Aberdeen and the ministers, which took place in the beginning of 1561, is mentioned by Knox, Historie, pp. 261, 262. It would seem from a letter of Randolph, that there was a dispute in the end of 1561, between some of the ministers and a Parisian divine, who had accompanied the queen. Keith, 208. Winget published at Antwerp, his "Buke of Fourscoir Three Questionis," in 1563. Keith has reprinted this, along with his "Tractatis," originally printed at Edinburgh. He calls them "very rare and much noted pieces." History, App. 203. In point of argument or sentiment, they are certainly not noted; but they contain a strong proof of the extreme corruption which prevailed among the superior popish clergy, against which Winget inveighs as keenly as any reformer. His second book concludes with this exclamation, "Och, for mair paper or pennyis!" Winget translated several works of the Fathers into the Scottish language, some of which are mentioned by him in his Tractatis. Keith, App. 226, 227. He was made abbot of a Scottish monastery at Ratisbon. Mackenzie's Lives, vol. iii. p. 149.

[3] See Note CCC.

against Paul Methven, the minister of that place, who was suspected of adultery. Methven was found guilty, and excommunicated.[1] Having fled to England, he sent a letter to the General Assembly, professing his willingness to submit to the discipline of the Church, but requesting that the account of his process should be deleted from the records of the Church. The Assembly declared that he might return with safety to his native country, and that he should be admitted to public repentance, but refused to erase the process from their minutes.[2] He afterwards returned to Scotland; and a severe and humiliating penance was prescribed to him. He was enjoined to appear at the church-door of Edinburgh, when the second bell rang for public worship, clad in sackcloth, bareheaded and barefooted; to stand there until the prayer and psalms were finished, when he was to be brought into the church to hear sermon, during which he was to be "placeit in the public spectakell above the peiple." This appearance he was to make on three several preaching-days, and on the last of them, being a Sabbath, he was, at the close of the sermon, to profess his sorrow before the congregation, and to request their forgiveness; upon which he was again to be "clad in his awin apparell," and received into the communion of the Church. He was to repeat this course at Dundee and at Jedburgh, where he had officiated as minister.[3] Methven went through a part of this humbling scene, with professions of deep sorrow; but being overwhelmed with shame, and despairing to regain his lost reputation, he stopped in the midst of it, and again retired to England.[4] Prudential considerations were not wanting to induce the reformed Church of Scotland to stifle this affair, and to screen from public ignominy a man who had acted a distinguished part in the late reformation of religion. But they refused to listen to these; and by instituting a strict scrutiny into the fact, and inflicting an exemplary punishment upon the criminal, they "approved themselves to be clear in this matter," and effectually shut the mouths of their popish adversaries.

The mode of public repentance enjoined on this occasion was appointed to be afterwards used in all cases of aggravated immorality.[5] There was nothing in which the Scottish reformers approached nearer to the primitive Church than in the rigorous and impartial exercise of ecclesiastical discipline, the relaxation of which, under the Papacy, they justly regarded as one great cause of the universal corruption of religion. While they rejected many of the ceremonies which were introduced into the worship of the Christian Church during the three first centuries, they, from detestation of vice, and a desire to restrain it, did not scruple to conform to a number of their penitential regulations. In some instances they might carry their rigour against offenders to an extreme; but it was a virtuous extreme, compared with the dangerous laxity, or

[1] Knox, Historie, pp. 323, 324. Keith, p. 522. [2] Keith, p. 538.
[3] Buik of the Universall Kirk, p. 23. Keith, pp. 559, 560.
[4] Knox, Historie, p. 398. [5] See Note DDD.

rather total disuse of discipline, which has gradually crept into almost all the Churches which retain the name of reformed; even as the scrupulous delicacy with which our forefathers shunned the society of those who had transgressed the rules of morality, is to be preferred to modern manners, by which the vicious obtain easy admission into the company of the virtuous.

'Twas hard, perhaps, on here and there a waif,
Desirous to return, and not received:
But was a wholesome rigour in the main,
And taught the unblemish'd to preserve with care
That purity, whose loss was loss of all.
————But now—yes, now,
We are become so candid and so fair,
So liberal in construction, and so rich
In Christian charity, (good-natured age!)
That they are safe, sinners of either sex,
Transgress what laws they may.

In the month of May the queen sent for Knox to Lochleven. The popish priests, presuming upon her avowed partiality to them, and her secret promises of protection, had of late become more bold; and, during the late Easter, masses had been openly celebrated in different parts of the kingdom. Repeated proclamations had been issued against this practice by the queen in council, but none of them were carried into execution. The gentlemen of the west country, who were the most zealous Protestants, perceiving that the laws were eluded, came to the resolution of executing them, without making any application to the court, and apprehended some of the offenders by way of example. These decided proceedings, which were calculated to defeat the scheme of policy which she had formed, gave great offence to her majesty; but finding that the signification of her displeasure had not the effect of stopping them, she wished to avail herself of the Reformer's influence for accomplishing her purpose.

She dealt with him very earnestly, for two hours before supper, to persuade the western gentlemen to desist from all interruption of the Catholic worship. He told her majesty, that if she would exert her authority in executing the laws of the land, he could promise for the peaceable behaviour of the Protestants; but if she thought to elude them, he feared there were some who would let the Papists understand that they should not offend with impunity. "Will ye allow, that they shall take *my* sword in their hands?" said the queen.—"The sword of justice is *God's*," replied the Reformer with equal firmness, "and is given to princes and rulers for one end, which, if they transgress, sparing the wicked and oppressing the innocent, they who, in the fear of God, execute judgment where God has commanded, offend not God, although kings do it not." Having produced some examples from Scripture to show that criminals might be punished by persons who did not occupy the place of supreme rulers, he added, that the gentlemen of the West were acting strictly according to law; for the act of parliament gave power to all judges within their bounds, to search for and punish

those who should transgress its enactments. He concluded with inculcating a doctrine which has seldom been very pleasing to princes: "It shall be profitable to your majesty to consider what is the thing your grace's subjects look to receive of your majesty, and what it is that ye ought to do unto them by mutual contract. They are bound to obey you, and that not but in God: ye are bound to keep laws to them. Ye crave of them service: they crave of you protection and defence against wicked doers. Now, madam, if you shall deny your duty unto them, (which especially craves that ye punish malefactors), think ye to receive full obedience of them? I fear, madam, ye shall not." The queen broke off the conversation with evident marks of displeasure.

Having imparted the substance of what had passed between them to the Earl of Moray, Knox meant to return to Edinburgh next day, without waiting for any farther communications with the queen. But a message was delivered to him at an early hour in the morning, desiring him not to depart until he had again spoken with her majesty. He accordingly met her at a place in the neighbourhood of Kinross, where she took the amusement of hawking. This interview was very different from that of the preceding evening. Waiving entirely the subject on which they had differed, she conversed with him upon a variety of topics, with the greatest familiarity and apparent confidence. Lord Ruthven (she said) had offered her a ring; but she could not love that nobleman. She knew that he used enchantment;[1] yet he had been made a member of her privy council; and she blamed Secretary Lethington for procuring his admission into that body. Knox excused himself from saying anything of the secretary in his absence. "I understand," said she, introducing another subject of discourse, "that ye are appointed to go to Dumfries, for the election of a superintendent to be established in these countries." He answered in the affirmative. "But I understand the Bishop of Athens[2] would be superintendent."—"He is one, madam, that is put in election." "If you knew him as well as I do you would not promote him to that office, nor yet to any other within your kirk." Knox said that the bishop deceived many, if he did not fear God. "Well, do as you will; but that man is a dangerous man."

Knox wished to take his leave of her majesty, but she pressed him to stay. "I have one of the greatest matters that have touched me, since I came into this realm, to open to you, and I must have your help in it," said she, with an air of condescension and confidence as enchanting as

[1] Compare Knox, Historie, p. 327, with Keith, Appendix, p. 125.

[2] In Knox's Historie, it is printed *Cathenis*, by mistake, instead of *Athenis*. The person referred to is Alexander Gordon, brother to George, Earl of Huntly, who was slain at Corrichie in 1562. Scarcely any Scottish prelate ever occupied so many different sees, or occupied them for so short a time. He was Bishop of Caithness, Archbishop of Glasgow, Bishop of the Isles, and Bishop of Galloway. When he was deprived of the see of Glasgow, the pope, as a recompense, created him *titular* Archbishop of Athens. Gordon's Genealogical History of the Earldom of Sutherland, pp. 111—112, 137, 290. Keith's Scottish Bishops, pp. 128, 153, 166, 175.

if she had put a ring on his finger. She then entered into a long discourse with him concerning a domestic difference between the Earl and Countess of Argyll. Her ladyship had not, she said, been so circumspect in everything as could have been wished, but still she was of opinion that his lordship had not treated her in an honest and godly manner. Knox said that he was not unacquainted with the disagreeable variance which had subsisted between that honourable couple, and, before her majesty's arrival in this country, had effected a reconciliation between them. On that occasion, the countess had promised not to complain to any creature before acquainting him; and having never heard from her on that subject, he had concluded that there was nothing but concord between her and his lordship. "Well," said the queen, "it is worse than ye believe. But do this much *for my sake*, as once again to put them at unity, and if she behave not herself as she ought to do, she shall find no favour of me; but in any wise let not my lord know that I have requested you in this matter." Then introducing the subject of their reasoning on the preceding evening, she said, "I promise to do as ye required: I shall cause summon all offenders; and ye shall know that I shall minister justice."—"I am assured, then," said he, "that ye shall please God, and enjoy rest and tranquillity within your realm, which to your majesty is more profitable than all the pope's power can be." Upon this he took his leave of the queen.[1]

This interview exhibits one part of Mary's character in a very striking light. It shows how far she was capable of dissembling, what artifice she could employ, and what condescensions she could make, when she was bent on accomplishing a favourite object. She had formerly attacked the Reformer on another quarter without success, and was convinced that it was vain to think of working on his fears; she now resolved to try if she could soothe his stern temper by flattering his vanity, and disarm his jealousy by strong marks of confidence. There is reason to think that she partly succeeded in her design. For, though he was not very susceptible of flattery, and must have been struck with the sudden change in the queen's views and behaviour, there are few minds that can altogether resist the impression made by the condescending familiarity of persons of superior rank; and our feelings, on such occasions, chide as uncharitable the cold suspicions suggested by our judgment. In obedience to her majesty's request, he wrote a letter to the Earl of Argyll, which was not very pleasing to that nobleman. From deference to the opinion which she had expressed, he inquired more narrowly into the conduct of the Bishop of Galloway, and finding some grounds of suspicion, postponed the election. And the report which he gave of the queen's gracious answer operated in her favour on the public mind.[2]

But if his zeal suffered a temporary intermission, it soon kindled with fresh ardour. On the 19th of May, the Archbishop of St Andrews and

[1] Knox, Historie, p. 326—328. [2] Ibid., p. 327—329.

a number of the principal Papists were arraigned, by the queen's orders, before the Lord-Justice General, for transgressing the laws; and, having come in her majesty's will, were committed to ward. But this was merely a stroke of policy, to enable her the more easily to carry her measures in the parliament, which met on the following day; and accordingly the prisoners were set at liberty as soon as it was dissolved.[1]

This was the first parliament which had been held since the queen's arrival in Scotland; and it was natural to expect that their first business would be to ratify the treaty of peace made in July 1560, and the establishment of the Protestant religion. If the acts of the former parliament were invalid, as the queen had repeatedly declared, the Protestants had no law on their side; they held their religion at the mercy of their sovereign, and might be required, at her pleasure, to submit to Popery, as the religion which still possessed the legal establishment. But so well had she laid her plans, such was the effect of her insinuating address, and, above all, so powerful was the temptation of self-interest on the minds of the Protestant leaders, that, by general consent, they passed from this demand, and lost the only favourable opportunity which presented itself, during the reign of Mary, for giving a legal security to the reformed religion, and thereby removing one principal source of national fears and jealousies. An act of oblivion, securing indemnity to those who had been engaged in the late civil war, was indeed passed; but the mode of its enactment virtually implied the invalidity of the treaty in which it had been originally embodied; and the Protestants, on their bended knees,[2] supplicated as a boon from their sovereign what they had formerly won with their swords, and repeatedly demanded as their right. The other acts, made to please the more zealous reformers, were expressed with such studied and glaring ambiguity as to offer an insult to their understandings.[3]

Our Reformer was thunderstruck when first informed of the measures which were in agitation, and could scarcely believe that it was seriously intended to carry them into execution. He immediately procured an interview with some of the leading members of parliament, to whom he represented the danger of allowing that meeting to dissolve without obtaining the ratification of the acts of the preceding parliament, or at least those acts which established the Reformation. They alleged, that the queen would never have agreed to call them together, if they had persisted in these demands; but that there was a prospect of her being soon married, and on that occasion they would obtain all their wishes. In vain he reminded them that poets and painters had represented *Occasion* with a bald hind-head; in vain he urged, that the event to which they looked forward would be accompanied with difficulties of its

[1] Knox, Historie, p. 330—334.

[2] Spotswood, p. 188. "We are very much obliged to the information of Archbishop Spotswood" for this, says honest Keith. History, p. 240.

[3] Act. Parl. Scot. vol. ii. p. 536—8. Knox, p. 331. Keith, p. 240.

own, which would require all their skill and circumspection. Their determination was fixed. He now perceived the full extent of the queen's dissimulation; and the selfishness and servility of the Protestant leaders affected him deeply.

So hot was the altercation between him and the Earl of Moray on this subject that an open rupture ensued. Knox had long looked upon that nobleman as one of the most sincere and steady adherents of the reformed cause, and therefore felt the greater disappointment at his conduct. Under his first irritation he wrote a letter to Moray, in which, after reminding him of his condition when they first became acquainted in London,[1] and the honours to which he had been raised by Providence, he solemnly renounced friendship with him, as one who preferred his own interest and the pleasure of his sister to the advancement of religion, left him to the guidance of the new counsellors whom he had chosen, and exonerated him from all future concern in his affairs. This variance, which continued nearly two years, was very gratifying to the queen, and to others who disliked their former familiarity, and who failed not (as Knox informs us) to "cast oil into the flame, until God did quench it by the water of affliction."[2]

Before the dissolution of the parliament, the Reformer embraced an opportunity of disburdening his mind in the presence of the greater part of the members assembled in his church. After discoursing of the great mercy of God shown to Scotland, in marvellously delivering them from bondage of soul and body, and of the deep ingratitude which he perceived in all ranks of persons, he addressed himself particularly to the nobility. He praised God that he had an opportunity of pouring out the sorrows of his heart in the presence of those who could attest the truth of all that he said. He appealed to their consciences, if he had not, in their greatest extremities, exhorted them to depend upon God, and assured them of preservation and victory, provided they preferred the divine glory to their own lives and secular interests. "I have been with you in your most desperate temptations, (continued he, in a strain of impassioned eloquence); in your most extreme dangers I have been with you. St Johnston, Cupar Moor, and the Craggs of Edinburgh,[3] are yet recent in my heart; yea, that dark and dolorous

[1] I have not been able to ascertain the time at which the acquaintance between the Earl of Moray and the Reformer commenced. It was probably soon after Knox came into England, in the reign of Edward VI. A popish writer has mentioned their meeting, and grafted upon it the calumny, current among the party, that the earl had formed the ambitious project of wresting the crown from his sister, and placing it on his own head. "Johann Knnox deceavit him," says he, "in S. Paules kirk in Londone, bringand him in consait that God had chosen him extraordinarilie as ane Josias, to be king of Scotland, to rute out idolatrie, and to plant the licht of the new evangel: quhair they convenit in this manner, That the Prior of St Androis, Erl of Murray, sould mentene the new Elias againis the priestes of Baal, (for sua blasphemouslie he namit the priestes of Christ Jesus). And the neu Elias sould fortifie the new Josias, be procuring the favour of the people againis Iesabel, blaspheming maist impudentlie the quenis M." Nicol Burne's Disputation, p. 156. Knox was at least better acquainted with Scripture history than to make Josias contemporary with Elias and Jesabel.

[2] Knox, Historie, p. 331.

[3] Referring to the critical circumstances in which the lords of the Congregation had been situated at these places, when the queen-regent threatened to attack them with superior forces. See above, pp. 128, 132, 136.

night wherein all ye, my lords, with shame and fear, left this town, is yet in my mind ;[1] and God forbid that ever I forget it ! What was, I say, my exhortation to you, and what has fallen in vain of all that ever God promised unto you by my mouth, ye yourselves yet live to testify. There is not one of you, against whom was death and destruction threatened, perished : and how many of your enemies has God plagued before your eyes ! Shall this be the thankfulness that ye shall render unto your God ? To betray his cause when you have it in your hands to establish it as you please ?" He saw nothing (he said) but a cowardly desertion of Christ's standard. Some had even the effrontery to say that they had neither law nor parliament for their religion ; they had the authority of God for their religion, and its truth was independent of human laws ; but it was also accepted within this realm in public parliament, and that parliament he would maintain to have been as lawful and as free as any parliament that had ever been held within the kingdom of Scotland.

In the conclusion of his discourse he adverted to the reports of her majesty's marriage, and of the princes who courted her hand ; and (desiring the audience to mark his words) he predicted the consequences which would ensue, if ever the nobility consented that their sovereign should marry a papist.

Protestants as well as papists were offended with the freedom of this sermon, and some who had been most familiar with the preacher now shunned his company. Flatterers were not wanting to run to the queen, and inform her that John Knox had preached against her marriage. After surmounting all opposition to her measures, and managing so successfully the haughty and independent barons of her kingdom, Mary was incensed to think that there should yet be one man, of obscure condition, who ventured to condemn her proceedings ; and as she could not tame his stubbornness, she determined to punish his temerity. He was ordered instantly to appear before her. Lord Ochiltree, with several gentlemen, accompanied him to the palace ; but the superintendent of Angus, Erskine of Dun, was the only person allowed to go with him into the royal presence.

Her majesty received him in a very different manner from what she had done at Lochleven. Never had prince been handled (she passionately exclaimed) as she was : she had borne with him in all his rigorous speeches against herself and her uncles—she had sought his favour by all means—she had offered unto him audience whenever he pleased to admonish her ; " and yet," said she, " I cannot be quit of you. I vow to God I shall be once revenged !" On pronouncing these words with great violence, she burst into a flood of tears, which interrupted her speech. When the queen had composed herself, Knox proceeded calmly to make his defence. Her grace and he had (he said) at different times been engaged in controversy, and he never before had perceived

[1] See above, p. 153.

her offended with him. When it should please God to deliver her from the bondage of error in which she had been trained up, through want of instruction in the truth, he trusted that her majesty would not find the liberty of his tongue offensive. Out of the pulpit, he believed, few had occasion to complain of him; but there he was not his own master, but was bound to obey Him who commanded him to speak plainly, and to flatter no flesh on the face of the earth.

"But what have you to do with my marriage?" demanded the queen. He was proceeding to state the extent of his commission as a preacher, and the reasons which led him to touch on that delicate subject; but she interrupted him by repeating her question, "What have ye to do with my marriage? Or what are you in this commonwealth?"—"A subject born within the same, madam," replied the Reformer, piqued by the last question, and by the contemptuous tone in which it was proposed. "And albeit I be neither earl, lord, nor baron in it, yet has God made me (how abject that ever I be in your eyes) a profitable member within the same. Yea, madam, to me it appertains no less to forewarn of such things as may hurt it, if I foresee them, than it doth to any of the nobility; for both my vocation and conscience require plainness of me. And therefore, madam, to yourself I say that which I spake in public place. Whensoever the nobility of this realm shall consent that ye be subject to an unfaithful husband, they do as much as in them lieth to renounce Christ, to banish his truth from them, to betray the freedom of this realm, and perchance shall in the end do small comfort to yourself." At these words, Mary began again to sob and weep with great bitterness. The superintendent, who was a man of mild and gentle spirit, tried to mitigate her grief and resentment; he praised her beauty and her accomplishments, and told her that there was not a prince in Europe who would not reckon himself happy in gaining her hand. During this scene, the severe and inflexible mind of the Reformer displayed itself. He continued silent, and with unaltered countenance, until the queen had given vent to her feelings. He then protested, that he never took delight in the distress of any creature; it was with great difficulty that he could see his own boys weep when he corrected them for their faults, and far less could he rejoice in her majesty's tears; but seeing he had given her no just reason of offence, and had only discharged his duty, he was constrained, though unwillingly, to sustain her tears, rather than hurt his conscience, and betray the commonwealth by his silence.

This apology inflamed the queen still more: she ordered him instantly to leave her presence, and to wait the signification of her pleasure in the adjoining room. There he stood as "one whom men had never seen;" all his friends, Lord Ochiltree excepted, being afraid to show him the smallest countenance. In this situation he addressed himself to the court ladies, who sat in their richest dress in the chamber: "O fair ladies, how plesing war this lyfe of yours, if it sould ever abyde,

and then, in the end, that we might pas to hevin with all this gay gear! But fye upon that knave Death, that will come whidder we will or not!" Having engaged them in conversation, by a mixture of seriousness and raillery, he passed the time, till the superintendent came, and informed him that he was allowed to go home until her majesty had taken farther advice. The queen insisted to have the judgment of the Lords of Articles, whether the words he had used in the pulpit were not actionable; but she was persuaded by her counsellors to abandon the idea of a prosecution. "And so that storme quietit in appearance, bot nevir in the hart."[1]

No expressions are sufficiently strong to describe the horror which many feel at the monstrous inhumanity of Knox, in remaining unmoved, while "youth, beauty, and royal dignity,"[2] were dissolved in tears before him. Enchanting, surely, must the charms of the Queen of Scots have been, and iron-hearted the Reformer, who could resist the impression of them, when they continue to this day to exercise such a sway over the hearts of men, that even grave and serious authors, not addicted to the language of gallantry and romance, protest, that they cannot read of the tears which she shed on this occasion, without feeling an irresistible inclination to weep along with her. There may be some, however, who, knowing how much real misery there is in the world, are not disposed to waste their feelings unnecessarily, and who are of opinion that there was not much to commiserate in the condition of the queen, nor to reprobate in the conduct of the Reformer. Considering that she had been so fortunate in her measures, and had found the nobility so ready to gratify all her wishes, the passion by which she suffered herself to be transported was extravagant, and her tears must have been those of anger, more than of grief. On the other hand, when we consider that Knox was at this time deserted by his friends, and stood almost alone in resisting the will of a princess who accomplished her measures chiefly by caresses and tears, we may be disposed to form a more favourable idea of his conduct and motives. We behold not, indeed, the enthusiastic lover, mingling his tears with those of his mistress, and vowing to revenge her wrongs; nor the man of nice sensibility, who loses every other consideration in the gratification of his feelings; but we behold, what is more rare, the stern patriot—the rigid reformer—who, in the discharge of his duty, and in a public cause, can withstand the tide of tenderness as well as the storm of passion. There have been times when such conduct was regarded as the proof of a superior mind; and the man who, from such motives, "hearkened not to the wife of his bosom, nor knew his own children," has been the object, not of censure, but of admiration, in pagan as well as sacred story:—

[1] Knox, Historie, p. 332—334.

[2] These are the words of Mr Hume, who holds a distinguished place among the writers that have excited prejudices against our Reformer on the score of cruelty to Mary. The reader will find some remarks on the statements of that able but artful historian in Note EEE.

Fertur pudicæ conjugis osculum,
Parvosque natos, ut capitis minor,
Ab se removisse, et virilem
Torvus humi posuisse vultum.

While Knox lay under the displeasure of the court, and had lost the confidence of his principal friends, his enemies judged it a favourable opportunity for attacking him in (what had been universally allowed to be irreproachable) his moral conduct. At the very time that he was engaged in scrutinising the scandal against Methven, and inflicting upon him the highest censure of the Church, it was alleged that he was himself guilty of the same crime. Euphemia Dundas, an inhabitant of Edinburgh, inveighing one day, in the presence of a circle of her acquaintance, against the Protestant doctrine and ministers, said among other things, that John Knox had been a common whoremonger all his life, and that, within a few days past, he "was apprehendit and tane furth of ane killogie with ane common hure." This might have been passed over by Knox and the Church, as an effusion of popish spleen or female scandal; but the recent occurrence at Jedburgh, the situation in which the Reformer at present stood with the court, the public manner in which the charge had been brought, and the specification of a particular instance, seemed to them to justify and call for a legal investigation. Accordingly, the clerk of the General Assembly, on the 18th of June, gave in a formal representation and petition to the town council, praying, that the woman might be brought before them, and the matter examined; that, if the accusation was found true, the accused might be punished with every degree of merited rigour; and that, if false, the accuser might be dealt with according to the demerit of her offence. She was called, and, appearing before the council, flatly denied that she had ever used any such words; although Knox's procurator afterwards produced respectable witnesses to prove that she had spoken them.[1]

This convicted calumny, which never gained the smallest credit at the time, would not have deserved notice, had it not been revived, after the Reformer's death, by the popish writers, who, having caught hold of the report, and dressed it out in all the horrid colours which malice or credulity could suggest, circulated it industriously, by their publications, through the Continent. Though I had not been able to trace their slanders to this source, the atrocity of the imputed crimes, the unspotted reputation which Knox uniformly maintained among all his contemporaries, the glaring self-contradictions of the accusers, and, above all, the notorious spirit of slander and defamation of which they have long stood convicted in the learned world, would have been grounds sufficient for rejecting such charges with detestation. Those who are acquainted with the writings of that period will not think that I speak too strongly; such as are ignorant of them may be satisfied by looking into the notes.[2]

[1] See Note FFF. [2] See Note GGG.

The queen flattered herself that she had at last caught the Reformer in an offence, which would infallibly subject him to punishment. During her residence at Stirling, in the month of August, the domestics whom she left behind her in Holyrood House, celebrated the popish worship with greater publicity than had been usual when she was present; and, at the time when the sacrament of the supper was dispensed in Edinburgh, they revived certain superstitious practices which had been laid aside by the Roman Catholics, since the establishment of the Reformation. This boldness offended the Protestants, and some of them went down to the palace to mark the inhabitants who repaired to the service. Perceiving numbers entering, they burst into the chapel, and presenting themselves at the altar, which was prepared for mass, asked the priest how he "durst be so malapert" as to proceed in that manner, when the queen was absent. Alarmed at this intrusion, the mistress of the household despatched a messenger to the comptroller, who was attending sermon in St Giles's Church, desiring him to come instantly to save her life and the palace. Having hurried down, accompanied with the magistrates and a guard, the comptroller found everything quiet, and no appearance of tumult, except what was occasioned by the retinue which he brought along with him.[1] When the report of this affair was conveyed to the queen, she declared her determination not to return to Edinburgh until this riot was punished, and indicted two of the Protestants, who had entered the chapel, to stand trial "for forethought felony, hamesucken, and invasion of the palace." Fearing an intention to proceed to extremities against these men, and that their condemnation would be a preparative to some hostile attempt against their religion, the Protestants in Edinburgh resolved that Knox, agreeably to a commission which he had received from the Church, should write a circular letter to the principal gentlemen of their persuasion, informing them of the circumstances, and requesting their presence on the day of trial. He wrote the letter according to their request.[2] A copy of it having come into the hands of Sinclair, Bishop of Ross, and President of the Court of Session, who was a great personal enemy to Knox, he conveyed it immediately to the queen at Stirling. She communicated it to the privy council, who, to her great satisfaction, pronounced it treasonable; but, to give the greater solemnity to the proceedings, it was resolved that an extraordinary meeting of the counsellors, assisted by other noblemen, should be held at Edinburgh, in the

[1] Spotswood gives a different account of this affair, which has been adopted by several writers. He not only says that the Protestants "forced the gates, but that some [of the Papists] were taken and carried to prison, many escaped the backway with the priest himself." History, p. 188. But he could not have the opportunity of being so well acquainted with the circumstances as Knox, whose account is totally irreconcilable with the archbishop's. Knox expressly says, that besides entering the chapel, and addressing the priest as above mentioned, "no farther was done or said." Historie, pp. 335, 336. Had some of the Papists been carried to prison, he never could have given such an account as he has done, not only in his History, but also in his circular letter, which was produced at his trial, without any allegation that it contained an unfair or partial statement of facts.

[2] Knox, Historie, pp. 336, 337.

end of December, to try the cause; and the Reformer was summoned to appear before this convention.[1]

Previously to the day of trial, great influence was used in private to persuade him to acknowledge a fault, and to throw himself on the queen's mercy. This he peremptorily refused to do. The Master of Maxwell, (afterwards Lord Herries), with whom he had long been intimate, threatened him with the loss of his friendship, and told him that he would repent, if he did not submit to the queen, for men would not bear with him as they had hitherto done. He replied, that he did not understand such language. He had never opposed her majesty except in the article of religion, and surely it was not meant that he should bow to her in that matter; if God stood by him, (which he would do as long as he confided in him, and preferred his glory to his own life), he regarded little how men should behave towards him; nor did he know wherein they had borne with him, unless in hearing the word of God from his mouth, which, if they should reject, he would lament it, but the injury would be their own.

The Earl of Moray, and Secretary Maitland, sent for him to the Clerk Register's house, and had a long conversation with him to the same purpose. They represented the pains which they had taken to mitigate the queen's resentment, and intimated that nothing could save him but a timely submission. His reply was similar to that which he had given to Maxwell, that he never would confess a fault when he was conscious of none, and had not learned to "cry treason at everything which the multitude called treason, nor to fear what they feared." The wily secretary, finding him determined to abide the consequences of a trial, endeavoured to bring on a dispute on the subject, with the view of ascertaining the grounds on which he meant to defend himself; but Knox, aware of his craft, declined the conversation, and told him it would be foolish to intrust with his defence one who had already prejudged his cause, and pronounced him guilty.

On the day appointed for the trial, the public anxiety was raised to a high pitch, and the palace-yard and avenues were crowded with people, who waited to learn the result. The Reformer was conducted to the chamber in which the lords were already assembled, and engaged in consultation. When the queen had taken her seat, and perceived Knox standing uncovered at the foot of the table, she burst into a loud fit of laughter. "That, man," said she, "made me weep, and shed never a tear himself; I will now see if I can make him weep." The secretary

[1] It has been doubted whether this meeting acted as a court of judicature in trying Knox, or was called to determine whether he should be brought to a judicial trial. Dalyell's Cursory Remarks, prefixed to Scottish Poems, vol. i. p. 72. The justice-general, the lord-advocate, and the other law lords, were present; but they had seats in the privy council. Upon the whole, I am inclined to think that this was an extraordinary meeting of the privy council, to which other noblemen, besides the counsellors, were called, to give the proceedings greater weight with the public. The object of the queen was, in the first place, to procure the imprisonment of Knox, after which she might proceed against him as she thought most prudent. Knox, Historie, pp. 339, 340. Spotswood, p. 188.

opened the proceedings with greater gravity, by stating, in a speech addressed to the Reformer, the reasons why the queen had convened him before her nobility. "Let him acknowledge his own handwriting,' said the queen, "and then we shall judge of the contents of the letter." A copy of the circular letter being handed to him, he looked at the subscription, and owned that it was his; adding, that though he had subscribed a number of blanks, he had such confidence in the fidelity of the scribe, that he was ready to acknowledge the contents as well as the subscription. "You have done more than I would have done," said Maitland.—"Charity is not suspicious," replied the Reformer. "Well, well," said the queen, "read your own letter, and then answer to such things as shall be demanded of you."—"I will do the best I can," said he; and having read the letter with an audible voice, returned it to the queen's advocate, who was commanded to accuse him.

"Heard you ever, my lords, a more despiteful and treasonable letter?" said the queen, looking round the table. "Mr Knox, are you not sorry from your heart, and do you not repent that such a letter has passed your pen, and from you has come to the knowledge of others?" said Maitland.—"My lord secretary, before I repent, I must be taught my offence." "Offence! if there were no more but the convocation of the queen's lieges, the offence cannot be denied."—"Remember yourself, my lord; there is a difference between a lawful convocation and an unlawful. If I have been guilty in this, I offended oft since I came last into Scotland; for what convocation of the brethren has ever been to this hour, unto which my pen served not?" Then was then, and now is now," said the secretary; "we have no need of such convocations as sometimes we have had."—"The time that has been is even now before my eyes," rejoined the Reformer; "for I see the poor flock in no less danger than it has been at any time before, except that the devil has got a vizor upon his face. Before, he came in with his own face, discovered by open tyranny, seeking the destruction of all that refused idolatry; and then, I think, you will confess the brethren lawfully assembled themselves for defence of their lives; and now the devil comes under the cloak of justice, to do that which God would not suffer him to do by strength"——

"What is this?" interrupted her majesty, who was offended that he should be allowed such liberty of speech, and thought that she could bring him more closely to the question than any of her counsellors. "What is this? Methinks you trifle with him. Who gave him authority to make convocation of my lieges? Is not that treason?"—"No, madam," replied Lord Ruthven, displeased at the keenness which the queen showed in the cause; "for he makes convocation of the people to hear prayers and sermon almost daily; and whatever your grace or others will think thereof, we think it no treason." "Hold your peace," said the queen, "and let him make answer for himself."—"I began, madam," resumed Knox, "to reason with the secretary

(whom I take to be a better dialectician than your grace) that all convocations are not unlawful; and now my Lord Ruthven has given the instance." "I will say nothing against your religion, nor against your convening to your sermons; but what authority have you to convocate my subjects when you will, without my commandment?" He answered, that at his own will he had never convened four persons in Scotland, but at the orders of his brethren he had given many advertisements, and great multitudes had assembled in consequence of them; and if her grace complained that this had been done without her command, he begged leave to answer, that the same objection might be made to all that had been done respecting the reformation of religion in this kingdom. He had never (he said) loved to stir up tumults — never been a preacher of rebellion; on the contrary, he had always taught the people to obey princes and magistrates in all their lawful commands. If he had been more active than the rest of his brethren in calling extraordinary assemblies of the Protestants, it was owing to a charge which he had received from the Church to do so, as often as he saw a necessity for such meetings, and especially when religion was exposed to danger; and he had repeatedly requested to be exonerated from this irksome and invidious charge, but could not obtain his wish. He must, therefore, be convicted by a just law, before he would profess sorrow for what he had done: he thought he had done no wrong.

"You shall not escape so," said the queen. "Is it not treason, my lords, to accuse a prince of cruelty? I think there be acts of parliament against such whisperers." Several of their lordships said that there were such laws. "But wherein can I be accused of this?" asked Knox. —"Read this part of your own bill," said the queen, who showed herself an acute prosecutor. She then ordered the following sentence to be read from his letter: "This fearful summons is directed against them [the two persons who were indicted], to make, no doubt, a preparative on a few, that a door may be opened to execute cruelty upon a greater multitude." "Lo!" exclaimed the queen exultingly; "what say you to that?" The eyes of the assembly were fixed on the Reformer, and all were anxious to know what answer he would make to this charge.

"Is it lawful for me, madam, to answer for myself? or shall I be condemned unheard?"—"Say what you can; for I think you have enough to do," said the queen. "I will first then desire of your grace, madam, and of this most honourable audience, whether your grace knows not that the obstinate Papists are deadly enemies to all such as profess the gospel of Jesus Christ, and that they most earnestly desire the extermination of them, and of the true doctrine that is taught within this realm?" Mary was silent; but the lords with one voice exclaimed, "God forbid that ever the lives of the faithful, or yet the staying of the doctrine, stood in the power of the Papists! for just experience has taught us what cruelty lies in their hearts."—"I must proceed, then," said the Reformer. "Seeing that I perceive that all will grant, that it

was a barbarous thing to destroy such a multitude as professed the gospel of Christ within this realm, which oftener than once or twice they have attempted to do by force—they, by God and by his providence being disappointed, have invented more crafty and dangerous practices, to wit, to make the prince a party under colour of law; and so what they could not do by open force, they shall perform by crafty deceit. For who thinks, my lords, that the insatiable cruelty of the Papists (within this realm I mean) shall end in the murdering of these two brethren, now unjustly summoned, and more unjustly to be accused? And therefore, madam, cast up, when you list, the acts of your parliament, I have offended nothing against them; for I accuse not, in my letter, your grace, nor yet your nature, of cruelty. But I affirm yet again, that the pestilent Papists, who have inflamed your grace against those poor men at this present, are the sons of the devil, and therefore must obey the desires of their father, who has been a liar and manslayer from the beginning." "You forget yourself! you are not now in the pulpit," said the chancellor.—"I am in a place where I am demanded of conscience to speak the truth; and therefore the truth I speak, impugn it whoso list." He added, again addressing the queen, that persons who appeared to be of honest, gentle, and meek natures, had often been corrupted by wicked counsel; and that the Papists, who had her ear, were dangerous counsellors, and such her mother had found them to be.

Mary, perceiving that nothing was to be gained by reasoning, began now to upbraid him with his harsh behaviour to her at their last interview. He spake "fair enough" at present before the lords, she said; but on that occasion he caused her to shed many salt tears, and said "he set not by her weeping." This drew from him a vindication of his conduct, in the course of which he gave a narrative of that conference. After this, the secretary, having spoken with the queen, told Knox that he was at liberty to return home for that night. "I thank God and the queen's majesty," said he, and retired.

When Knox had withdrawn, the judgment of the nobility was taken respecting his conduct. All of them, with the exception of the immediate dependents of the court, gave it as their opinion, that he had not been guilty of any breach of the laws. The secretary, who had assured the queen of his condemnation, was enraged at this decision. He brought her majesty, who had retired, again into the room, and proceeded to call the votes a second time. This attempt to overawe them incensed the nobility. "What!" said they, "shall the laird of Lethington have power to control us? or shall the presence of a woman cause us to offend God, and to condemn an innocent man, against our consciences?" They then repeated the vote which they had already given, absolving him from all offence, and, at the same time, praising his modest appearance, and the judicious manner in which he had conducted his defence.

Mary was unable to conceal the mortification and displeasure which she felt at this unexpected acquittal. When the Bishop of Ross, who had been the informer, gave his vote on the same side with the rest, she taunted him openly in the presence of the court. "Trouble not the child!" said she; "I pray you trouble him not! for he is newly wakened out of his sleep. Why should not the old fool follow the footsteps of those that have passed before him?" The bishop replied coldly, that her majesty might easily know that his vote was not influenced by partiality to the person accused. "That nicht was nyther dancing nor fiddeling in the court; for madam was disappoynted of hir purpose, whilk was to have had Johne Knox in hir will, by vote of her nobility."[1]

[1] Knox, Historie, 238—343. Spotswood, 188. The account of the trial given by Calderwood in his MS. has been compared with that of Knox, and exactly agrees with it.

PERIOD VIII.

FROM DECEMBER 1563, WHEN HE WAS ACQUITTED FROM A CHARGE OF TREASON, TO THE YEAR 1570, WHEN HE WAS STRUCK WITH APOPLEXY.

THE indignation of the queen at the Reformer's escape from punishment did not soon abate ;[1] and the effects of it fell upon the courtiers who had voted for his exculpation, and upon those who had been unsuccessful in opposing it. The Earl of Moray was among the former,[2] Maitland among the latter. In order to appease her wrath, they again attempted to persuade Knox to soothe her by some voluntary submission ; and they engaged that, if he would only agree to go within the walls of the castle, he should be allowed to return immediately to his own house. To this he refused to yield, being convinced that, by such a compliance, he would throw discredit on the judgment of the nobility who had acquitted him, and confess himself to have been a mover of sedition. Disappointed in their object, they endeavoured to injure him by whispers and detraction ; circulating that he had no authority from his brethren for what he had done, and that he arrogated a papal power over the Scottish Church, by issuing his letters at pleasure, and exacting an implicit obedience to them. These charges were very groundless and unjust ; for there never was, perhaps, an individual who possessed as much influence, and at the same time was so careful to avoid all appearance of assuming superiority over his brethren, or of acting by his own private authority, in matters of public and common concern.

At the meeting of the General Assembly, held in the close of this year, he declined taking any share in the deliberations ; but after the public business had been disposed of, he requested liberty to speak on an affair which concerned himself. He stated what he had done in writing the late circular letter, the proceedings to which it had given rise, and the surmises which were still circulating to his prejudice ; and he insisted that the Church should now examine his conduct in that matter, and particularly that they should declare whether or not they had given him a commission to advertise the brethren, when he foresaw any danger threatening their religion, or any difficult case which required their

[1] Keith, 248, 251.

[2] Sir Thomas Randolph, in a letter dated 27th February 1564, mentions "some unkindness between Murray and the Queen, about Knox, whose parte he taketh." Keith, 249.

advice. The courtiers strenuously opposed the discussion of this question; but it was taken up, and the Assembly, by a great majority, found that he had been charged with such a commission, and that, in the advertisement which he had lately given, he had not exceeded his powers.[1]

Knox had remained a widower upwards of three years. But in March 1564 he contracted a second marriage with Margaret Stewart, daughter of Lord Ochiltree, a nobleman of amiable dispositions, who had been long familiar with our Reformer, and had steadily adhered to him when he was deserted by his other friends.[2] She continued to discharge the duties of a wife to him with the most pious and affectionate assiduity until the time of his death. The popish writers, who envied the honours of the Scottish Reformer, have represented this marriage as a proof of his great ambition, and, in the excess of their spleen, have ridiculously imputed to him the project of aiming to raise his progeny to the throne of Scotland, because the family of Ochiltree was of the blood-royal! They are quite clear, too, that he gained the heart of the young lady by means of sorcery and the assistance of the devil. But it seems that, powerfully as he was seconded, he could not succeed in another attempt which he had previously made; for the same writers inform us, that he paid his addresses to Lady Barbara Hamilton, eldest daughter of the Duke of Châtelherault, and widow of Lord Fleming, by whom he was repulsed. The account of the appearance that he made at the time of his marriage, which shall be inserted in the notes, the reader will receive according to the degree of its probability, and the credit he may think due to the authorities upon which it rests.[3]

The country continued in a state of quietness during the year 1564; but the same jealousies still subsisted between the Court and the Church.[4] Her majesty's prejudices against the reformed religion were unabated, and she maintained a correspondence with its sworn enemies on the Continent, which could not altogether escape the vigilance of her Protestant subjects.[5] The preachers, on their side, did not relax in

[1] Keith, 527, 528. Knox, 344, 345.

[2] Randolph, in a letter to Cecil, 18th March 156¾, says :—"Knox askt in church to be marryed to Margrett Steward, the daughter of the Lord Ochiltree;" referring to the proclamation of banns. Keith, 251. Lord Ochiltree was descended from Robert, duke of Albany, second son of King Robert II. His father exchanged the lands and title of Evandale for those of Ochiltree. Douglas's Peerage, 522. Crawfurd's Renfrew and Royal House of Stewart, by Semple, part i. p. 92—94. The second son of Lord Ochiltree, and brother-in-law of the Reformer, was Sir James Stewart of Bothwellmuir, afterwards the infamous favourite of James VI., who created him Earl of Arran. Crawfurd, in his Officers of State (p. 488), has published a protestation which Arran made of his lineage and title of priority to the Duke of Lennox, his rival in James's favour. The Reformer's father-in-law was usually called *the good* Lord Ochiltree; and was "a man rather borne to mak peace than to brag upon the calsey." Knox, Historie, p. 304.

[3] See Note HHH.

[4] Robertson's History of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 108. Lond., 1809.

[5] In a letter to the Council of Trent, dated 18th March 156¾, Mary laments "that the situation of her affairs—hujus temporis tanta injuria," did not permit her to send some of her prelates to that council; and assures them of her great and unalterable devotion to the Apostolic See—"nostra perpetua mente ac voluntate, in ejusdem sedis observantia et submissione." In a letter written Jan. 3d of the same year, she entreats the Cardinal of Lorraine to assure the pope of her resolution to live and die a Catholic. And on the last

their zealous warnings against popery, and as to the dangers which they apprehended; while they complained of the beggary to which the greater part of their own number was reduced, and of the growing lukewarmness of the Protestant courtiers. The latter felt uneasy under these reproaches, and, in concert with the queen, were anxious to restrain the licence of the pulpit. They began by addressing themselves privately to the more moderate and complying of the ministers, whom they gained over, by their persuasions, to a partial approbation of their measures; and having so far succeeded, they ventured to propose the matter in public, and to request the sanction of the leading members of the General Assembly.

Without intending to vindicate the latitude which was taken by particular preachers at that time, it may be said, in general, that a systematic attempt to restrain the liberty of speech in the pulpit, farther than the correction of occasional excesses might require, would have been a measure fraught with danger to the Protestant interest. The reformed preachers were the most vigilant and incorrupt guardians of national liberty,—an honourable distinction, which their successors maintained during the remainder of that century. It is better to be awaked with rudeness, or even by a false alarm, than to be allowed to sleep on in the midst of dangers. Who would muzzle the mouth of the wakeful animal which guards the house against thieves, because the inmates are sometimes disturbed by his nocturnal vociferation? or substitute in his place a "dumb dog, that cannot bark, sleeping, lying down, loving to slumber?"

Knox, the freedom and sharpness of whose censures the courtiers felt most deeply, was the person whom they chiefly wished to restrain; but it was no easy matter either to overawe him by authority, or by reasoning to procure his acquiescence in their proposals. In the month of June a conference was held between the principal statesmen and ministers of the Church, when this subject was discussed; and in an elaborate debate with Maitland, Knox defended the leading points of his doctrine which had given offence to the court. This debate "admirably displays the talents and character of both the disputants; the acuteness of the former, embellished with learning, but prone to subtlety; the vigorous understanding of the latter, delighting in bold sentiments, and superior to all fear."[1]

Maitland opened the conference with a plausible speech. He set forth the benefits which they had enjoyed under her majesty's government, and dwelt on the liberty which she had granted them in religious matters; he urged the great importance of the ministers of the Church cultivating her friendship by every good office in their power, and

day of the same month she writes to his holiness himself, lamenting the damnable errors—"damnabili errori," in which she found her subjects plunged, and informing him that her intention, from the time she left France, had uniformly been to re-establish the ancient religion. MS. Letters, extracted from the Barberini Library, in Adv. Lib. A. 2. 11.

[1] Robertson, History of Scotland, ii. 109.

endeavouring to inspire the people with a favourable opinion of her person and administration; and pointed out the hurtful effects of their being observed to disagree in their form of prayer for her, and in their doctrine concerning the duty of subjects. Addressing himself particularly to Knox, he told him, with much politeness and address, that it was the earnest wish of the council that he should study greater caution when he had occasion to speak of her majesty from the pulpit: not that they were afraid of his saying anything very improper, but because the liberty which he used would be taken by persons less modest and prudent.—Knox replied to the secretary's speech. He drew a very different picture of the state of affairs since the queen came to the country; stated the grievances under which the Church laboured, and which were daily increasing, instead of being redressed; and added, that in these circumstances the courtiers ought not to be surprised at the complaints of the ministers, and the liberties which they took in rebuking sins which were openly committed and persisted in notwithstanding all due admonition. At the same time, he professed his readiness to account for any part of his own conduct which had given offence, and to listen to the objections which might be urged against it.

Maitland specified the mode in which the Reformer usually prayed for her majesty, as one thing which gave offence to him and his colleagues. Prayers and tears, it has often been alleged, are the only arms which Christians ought to employ against injuries. But those who have deprived them of other weapons have usually envied them the use of these also; and if their prayers have not been smoothed down to the temper of their adversaries, so as to become mere compliments to princes under colour of an address to the Almighty, they have often been pronounced to be seditious and treasonable.[1] Knox repeated his common form of prayer for the queen, and requested to be informed in what respects it was deserving of reprehension. "Ye pray for the queen's majesty with a condition," replied Maitland, "saying, 'Illuminate her heart, if thy good pleasure be.' Where have ye example of such prayer?" —"Wherever the examples are," rejoined Knox, "I am assured of the rule, 'If we shall ask anything according to his will, he will hear us;' and Christ commanded us to pray, 'Thy will be done.'" "But in so doing ye put a doubt in the people's head of her conversion," said Maitland.—"Not I, my lord; but her own obstinate rebellion causes more than me to doubt of her conversion." "Wherein rebels she against God?"—"In all the actions of her life, but in these two heads especially: that she will not hear the preaching of the blessed evangel of Jesus Christ, and that she maintains that idol the mass." "She thinks not that rebellion, but good religion."—"So thought they who offered their

[1] During the reign of Mary of England, the manner in which the Protestants prayed for her in their conventicles was declared high treason. Acta Parliamentorum 1 and 2, Philip and Mary cap. 9. Nor did the psalms and prayers of the primitive Christians escape punishment under the "tolerant" Emperor Julian. Works of the Reverend Samuel Johnston, p. 20—22. London, 1713.

children to Moloch, and yet the Spirit of God affirms that they offered them unto devils, and not unto God." "But yet ye can produce the example of none that has so prayed before you," said the secretary, pressing his former objection.—"Well, then," said Knox, "Peter said these words to Simon Magus, 'Repent of this thy wickedness, and pray to God, that, if it be possible, the thought of thine heart may be forgiven thee.' And think ye not, my lord secretary, that the same doubt may touch my heart as touching the queen's conversion, that then touched the heart of the apostle?" "I would never hear you or any other call that in doubt," replied Maitland.—"But your will is no assurance to my conscience." "Why say ye that she refuses admonitions?" said Maitland; "she will gladly hear any man."—"But what obedience ensues? or when shall she be seen to give her presence to the public preaching?" "I think never, so long as she is thus entreated," replied the secretary.—"And so long," rejoined the Reformer, "ye and all others must be content that I pray so as I may be assured to be heard of my God, either in making her comfortable to his Church, or, if he has appointed her to be a scourge to the same, that we may have patience, and she may be bridled."

"Well, then," said the secretary, "let us come to the second head. Where find ye that the Scripture calls any 'the bond slaves of Satan?' or, that the prophets spake so irreverently of kings and princes?"—"If the sharpness of the term offend you," replied the Reformer, "I have not invented that phrase of speaking, but have learned it out of God's Scriptures; for these words I find spoken unto Paul, 'Behold, I send thee unto the Gentiles, to open their eyes, that they may turn from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God.' Mark thir words, my lord, and stur not at the speaking of the Holy Ghost."

The secretary, who, during the greater part of the dispute, had leaned on the Master of Maxwell's breast, said that he was fatigued, and desired some other person to reason with Knox on the point which remained to be discussed, respecting the authority of magistrates and the duty of subjects. Chancellor Morton ordered George Hay to perform this part. Knox was aware that the object of the court was, if possible, to divide the ministers, and that they would improve any appearance of diversity of opinion among them to the prejudice of the common cause. He therefore told Hay, that he had no objections to reason with him, knowing him to be a man of learning and modesty; but he should be sorry to think that they opposed each other, like two scholars of Pythagoras, to show the quickness of their parts by supporting either side of a question; and as he, for his own part, protested that he durst no more support a proposition which he knew to be untrue, than he durst teach false doctrine in the pulpit, so he hoped that his brother would, on the present occasion, advance or maintain nothing but what he was persuaded of in his conscience. This caution had the desired effect, and Hay declared, before the whole assembly,

that his judgment exactly coincided with Knox's on the subject proposed for discussion. "Marry," said the disappointed secretary, "ye are the well worst of the two; for I remember our reasoning when the queen was in Carrick."

Perceiving that none of the company was disposed to enter the lists with the Reformer, Maitland again returned to the charge, and engaged to defend the uncontrollable authority of rulers. "Well," said he, "I am somewhat better provided in this last head than I was in the other two. Mr Knox, yesterday we heard your judgment upon the 13th to the Romans; we heard the mind of the apostle well opened; we heard the causes why God has established powers upon earth; we heard the necessity that mankind has of the same; and we heard the duty of magistrates sufficiently declared. But in two things I was offended, and I think some more of my lords that then were present: the one was, ye made difference betwixt the ordinance of God and the persons that are placed in authority, and ye affirmed that men might resist the persons and yet not offend God's ordinance; the other was, that subjects were not bound to obey their princes if they commanded unlawful things, but that they might resist their princes, and were not ever bound to suffer." Knox said that the secretary had given a correct statement of his sentiments. "How will you prove your division and difference," said Maitland, "and that the person placed in authority may be resisted, and God's ordinance not transgressed, seeing that the apostle says, 'He that resists the power, resists the ordinance of God?'" Knox replied, that the difference was evident from the words of the apostle, and that his affirmative was supported by approved examples. For the apostle asserts, that the powers ordained of God are for the preservation of quiet and peaceable men, and for the punishment of malefactors; whence it is plain, that God's ordinance is wholly intended for the preservation of mankind, the punishment of vice, and the maintenance of virtue; but the persons placed in authority are often corrupt, unjust, and oppressive. Having referred to the conduct of the people of Israel in rescuing Jonathan from the hands of Saul, which is recorded with approbation, and to the conduct of Doeg, in putting to death the priests at the command of that monarch, which is recorded with disapprobation in Scripture, he proceeded thus: "And now, my lord, in answer to the place of the apostle, I say, that 'the power' in that place is not to be understood of the unjust commandment of men, but of the just power wherewith God has armed his magistrates to punish sin and to maintain virtue. As if any man should enterprise to take from the hands of a lawful judge a murderer, an adulterer, or any other malefactor that by God's law deserved the death, this same man resisted God's ordinance, and procured to himself vengeance and damnation, because that he stayeth God's sword to strike. But so it is not, if that men, in the fear of God, oppose themselves to the fury and blind rage of princes; for so they resist not God, but the devil, who abuses

the sword and authority of God." "I understand sufficiently," said Maitland, "what you mean; and unto the one part I will not oppose myself, but I doubt of the other. For if the queen would command me to slay John Knox, because she is offended at him, I would not obey her; but if she would command others to do it, or yet by a colour of justice take his life from him, I cannot tell if I be bound to defend him against the queen, and against her officers."—"Under protestation," replied the Reformer, "that the auditory think not that I speak in favour of myself, I say, my lord, that if ye be persuaded of my innocence, and if God hath given you such power or credit as might deliver me, and yet ye suffer me to perish, that in so doing ye should be criminal, and guilty of my blood." "Prove that, and win the plea," said Maitland.—"Well, my lord," answered Knox, "remember your promise, and I shall be short in my probation." He then produced the example of Jeremiah, who, when accused by the priests and false prophets, said to the princes, "Know ye for certain, that if ye put me to death, ye shall surely bring innocent blood upon yourselves, and upon this city, and upon the inhabitants thereof." "The cases are not like," said Maitland. —"And I would learn," said Knox, "wherein the dissimilitude stands." "First," replied Maitland, "the king had not condemned him to death. And next, the false prophets, the priests, and the people, accused him without a cause, and therefore they could not but be guilty of his blood."—"Neither of these fights with my argument," said Knox; "for, albeit neither the king was present, nor yet had condemned him, yet were the princes and chief counsellors there sitting in judgment, who represented the king's person and authority. And if ye think that they should all have been criminal only because they all accused him, the plain text witnesses the contrary; for the princes defended him, and so, no doubt, did a great part of the people, and yet he boldly affirms that they should be all guilty of his blood, if that he should be put to death." "Then will ye," said the secretary, "make subjects to control their princes and rulers?"—"And what harm," asked the Reformer, "should the commonwealth receive, if the corrupt affections of ignorant rulers were moderated, and so bridled, by the wisdom and discretion of godly subjects, that they should do wrong or violence to no man?"

The secretary, finding himself hard pushed, said that they had wandered from the argument; and he professed that, if the queen should become a persecutor, he would be as ready as any within the realm to adopt the doctrine of the Reformer. "But our question," said he, "is, whether that we may, and ought, suppress the queen's mass; or, whether that her idolatry should be laid to our charge."—"Idolatry ought not only to be suppressed," said Knox, "but the idolater ought to die the death." "I know," answered Maitland, "that the idolater ought to die the death; but by whom?"—"By the people," rejoined the Reformer; "for the commandment was made to Israel, as ye may read, 'Hear, O

Israel, saith the Lord, the statutes and commandments of the Lord thy God.'" "But there is no commandment given to the people to punish their king, if he be an idolater."—"I find no privilege granted unto kings," said Knox, "more than unto the people, to offend God's majesty." "I grant," said the secretary; "but yet the people may not be judge unto their king, to punish him, albeit he be an idolater. The people may not execute God's judgment, but must leave it unto himself, who will either punish it by death, by war, by imprisonment, or by some other kind of plagues."—"I know," replied Knox, "the last part of your reason to be true; but, for the first, I am assured ye have no other warrant except your own imagination, and the opinion of such as more fear to offend princes than God."

"Why say you so?" said Maitland; "I have the judgments of the most famous men within Europe, and of such as ye yourself will confess both godly and learned." Upon which he produced a bundle of papers, and read extracts from the writings of the principal reformed divines against resistance to rulers; adding, that he had bestowed more labour on the collection of these authorities than on the reading of commentaries for seven years. Knox replied, that it was a pity he had given himself so much labour, for none of the extracts which he had read bore upon the question under discussion; some of them being directed against the Anabaptists, who denied that Christians should be subject to magistrates, or that it was lawful for them to hold the office of magistracy; and the rest referring to the case of a small number of Christians scattered through heathen and infidel countries, which was the situation of the primitive church. In this last case, he said, he perfectly agreed with the writers whom Maitland had quoted; but when the majority of a nation were professors of the true religion, the case was very different. While the posterity of Abraham were few in number, and while they sojourned in different countries, they were merely required to avoid all participation in the idolatrous rites of the heathen; but as soon as they "prospered into a kingdom," and obtained possession of Canaan, they were strictly charged to suppress idolatry, and to destroy all its monuments and incentives. The same duty was now incumbent on the professors of the true religion in Scotland, whose release from bondage, temporal and spiritual, was no less wonderful than the redemption of the Israelites from Egypt. Formerly, when not more than ten persons in a country were enlightened, and when these were called to seal their testimony to the truth by giving their bodies to the flames, it would have been foolishness to have demanded of the nobility the suppression of idolatry. But now, when knowledge had increased, and God had given such a signal victory to the truth that it had been publicly embraced by the realm, if they suffered the land to be again defiled, both they and their queen should drink of the cup of divine indignation. She, because, amidst the great light of the Gospel, she

continued obstinately addicted to idolatry; and they, because they tolerated, and even countenanced her in such conduct.

Maitland challenged his opponent to prove that the apostles or prophets ever taught that subjects might suppress the idolatry of their rulers. Knox appealed to the conduct of the prophet Elisha in anointing Jehu, and giving him a charge to punish the idolatry and bloodshed of the royal family of Ahab. "Jehu was a king before he put anything in execution," said the secretary.—"My lord, he was a mere subject, and no king, when the prophet's servant came to him; yea, and albeit that his fellow captains, hearing of the message, blew the trumpet, and said, 'Jehu is king,' yet I doubt not but Jezebel both thought and said he was a traitor, and so did many others in Israel and Samaria." "Besides this," said Maitland, "the fact is extraordinary, and ought not to be imitated."—"It had the ground of God's ordinary judgment, which commands the idolater to die the death," answered Knox. "We are not bound to imitate extraordinary examples," rejoined Maitland, "unless we have like commandment and assurance." Knox granted that this was true when the example was repugnant to the ordinary precept of the law, as in the case of the Israelites borrowing from the Egyptians without repayment. But when the example agreed with the law, he insisted that it was imitable; and of this kind were the instances to which he had appealed. "But," said Maitland, "whatsoever they did, was done at God's commandment."—"That fortifies my argument," retorted the Reformer; "for God, by his commandment, has approved that subjects punish their princes for idolatry and wickedness by them committed." "We have not the like commandment," said the secretary. —"That I deny; for the commandment that the idolater shall die the death is perpetual, as ye yourself have granted; ye doubted only who should be the executioner, and I have sufficiently proven that God has raised up the people, and by his prophet has anointed a king, to take vengeance upon the king and his posterity, which fact God since that time has never retracted." "Ye have produced but one example," said Maitland.—"One sufficeth; but yet, God be praised, we lack not others, for the whole people conspired against Amaziah, king of Judah, after he had turned away from the Lord." "I doubt whether they did well, or not," said Maitland.—"God gave sufficient approbation of their fact, for he blessed them with victory, peace, and prosperity, the space of fifty-two years after." "But prosperity does not always prove that God approves the facts of men."—"Yes, when the facts of men agree with the law of God, and are rewarded according to his promise, I say that the prosperity succeeding the fact is a most infallible assurance that God has approved the fact. And now, my lord, I have but one example to produce, and then I will put an end to my reasoning, because I weary longer to stand." The lords desired him to take a chair; but he declined it, saying, "that melancholic reasons needed some mirth to be intermixed with them." After a short dispute on the resistance of the

priests to Uzziah, the Reformer recapitulated the propositions which he thought had been established in the course of the debate. "Well," said Maitland, "I think ye shall not have many learned men of your opinion." Knox replied, that the truth ceased not to be the truth, because men misunderstood or opposed it, and yet he did not want the suffrages of learned men to his opinions. Upon which he presented a copy of the Apology of Magdeburg, desiring the secretary to look at the names of the ministers who had approved of the defence of that city against the Emperor, and subscribed the proposition, that to resist a tyrant is not to resist the ordinance of God. "Homines obscuri!"[1] said Maitland, slightingly, after perusing the list. "Dei tamen servi!"[2] replied the Reformer.

The secretary now insisted that the questions which they had discussed should be put to the vote, and that the determination of the meeting should fix a rule for uniformity of doctrine among the ministers. Knox protested against this motion, and reminded their lordships that the General Assembly had agreed to the present conference upon the express condition that nothing should be voted or decided at it. At last it was agreed, that the opinions of those who were present should be taken, but that they should not be considered as decisive. Winram, superintendent of Fife, and Douglas, rector of the university of St Andrews, were the principal persons among the ministers who agreed in sentiment with the courtiers. Knox's colleague, in delivering his opinion, took occasion to give an account of a public dispute at which he had been present in Bologna, upon the question, Whether subjects have a right to control and reform their rulers, when they have been guilty of violating their oaths of office. Thomas de Finola, rector of the University, and Vincentius de Placentia, persons celebrated for their learning, maintained the affirmative on this question, and their opinion was adopted after long discussion. "Ye tell us what was done in Bologna," exclaimed one of the courtiers; "we are in a kingdom, and they are but a commonwealth."—"My lord," replied Craig, "my judgment is, that every kingdom is a commonwealth, or at least should be, albeit that every commonwealth is not a kingdom; and therefore I think that in a kingdom no less diligence ought to be taken that laws be not violated than in a commonwealth, because the tyranny of princes who continually reign in a kingdom, is more hurtful to the subjects than the misgovernment of those that from year to year are changed in free commonwealths." He added, that the dispute to which he had referred was conducted on general principles, applicable equally to monarchies and republics; and that one of the conclusions adopted was, that, although laws contrary to the law of God, and to the true principles of government, had been introduced, through the negligence of the people or the tyranny of princes, yet the same people, or their posterity, had a

[1] Men of no note.

[2] Servants of God, however.

right to demand that all things should be reformed according to the original institution of kings and commonwealths.[1]

The speech of Craig alarmed the courtiers as to the issue of the vote; and the Clerk Register took occasion to observe that, at a former conference, it had been agreed that Knox should write to Calvin to obtain his opinion on this question. Knox corrected this statement, by saying that the secretary had undertaken to consult that reformer, but although repeatedly reminded of his promise, had never fulfilled it. Maitland acknowledged this, and said that upon mature deliberation he durst not, considering his station, ask advice respecting any controversy between the queen and her subjects, without her majesty's consent. It was now proposed that Knox should write to Calvin; but he refused to be employed in the business. Before he returned to the kingdom, he said, he had obtained the judgment of the most eminent foreign divines on that question, and he could not renew his application to them, without exposing himself to the charge of forgetfulness or inconsistency. The proper course was for them to write, complaining that he had taught such doctrines as he had now defended, and requesting Calvin to communicate his judgment respecting them. This proposal was thought reasonable, but none would undertake the task; and the conference broke up without any determinate resolution being adopted.[2]

The reader must be struck with the difference between this dispute and that which Knox formerly maintained with the abbot of Crossraguel. Although long, it was kept up by the disputants with great spirit; nor did they take refuge under those ambiguities of speech, or those sophistical forms of argument, of which persons trained to wrangle in the schools were ever ready to avail themselves, to perplex an adversary, or to conceal their own defeat. Few secretaries of state in modern times would, it is presumed, be able to acquit themselves so well as Maitland did, on questions which were decided chiefly by an appeal to the Scriptures. But, learned and acute as he was, Knox was fully a match for him, and, on the greater part of the topics introduced into the debate, evidently had the advantage, according to the principles held, and the concessions made, by his opponent. For both parties maintained that idolatry ought to be punished by death;[3] a sentiment which they were led to adopt in consequence of their holding the untenable opinion, that Christian nations are bound to enact the same penalties

[1] Craig, who was rather facile in his disposition, and apt to be moulded by those who were about him, seems afterwards to have recanted the principle which he maintained on this occasion. For I suppose he is the person who preached the sermon at Linlithgow, mentioned by Hume of Godscroft, in his History of the House of Douglas and Angus, ii. 383, 385. That historian has inserted some very ingenious observations on the subject, by way of strictures on the sermon.

[2] Knox, Historie, p. 348—366.

[3] This was an opinion generally entertained among the Reformers; and it was one ground (though not the only one, as we have seen, p. 175-176), upon which they vindicated the penal statutes against the mass and image worship. At the same time, while they laboured to restrain these evils, they discovered no disposition to proceed to capital punishment, even when it was completely in their power. I never read nor heard of an instance, in the time of our Reformer, of a person being put to death for performing any part of the Roman Catholic worship. If the reason of this disconformity between

against all breaches of the moral law which were enjoined by the judicial laws of Moses. This being taken for granted, the dispute between them resolved itself entirely into a question respecting the prerogatives of princes and the rights and duties of subjects. It may be questioned, too, whether Knox's reasoning from extraordinary examples, qualified as it was by him, is sufficiently guarded and correct; for the instances in which punishment was inflicted in an extraordinary way on criminals, although the punishment itself was merited and agreeable to law, cannot be pleaded as precedents in ordinary cases. But even when we cannot approve of his reasonings, we are compelled to admire the openness with which he avowed, and the boldness with which he defended, sentiments so opposite to those which were generally received in that age.

In the month of August, Knox went, by appointment of the General Assembly, as visiter of the churches, to Aberdeen and other parts of the north, where he remained six or seven weeks.[1] At the subsequent meeting of Assembly, he received a similar appointment to Fife and Perthshire.[2]

Our Reformer's predictions at the last meeting of parliament were now fully realised. Another parliament was held in the end of 1564, but nothing was done for securing the Protestant religion.[3] The queen's marriage had long engaged the anxious attention of her ministers, and had been the subject of much negotiation with England, and at foreign courts; but the various proposals which had been made with a view to it, and the political intrigues to which they gave rise, were all thwarted by the sudden and strong passion which Mary conceived for Henry, Lord Darnley, the son of the Earl of Lennox. As this young nobleman, so far as he had discovered any religious sentiments, was inclined to Popery,[4] the match could not be very agreeable to the great body of the nation, who had already testified the strongest jealousy at the queen's attachment to that religion. It was therefore natural for the nobility, in the prospect of this event, to provide additional securities for the Protestant Church, and to insist that the royal sanction, hitherto withheld, should now be granted to its legal establishment. Upon this condition they promised their consent to the marriage.[5] The queen agreed to summon a parliament to settle this important affair, but she found some pretext for proroguing its meeting;[6] and, having gained a number of the nobility by favours and promises, she proceeded, in July 1565, not

their opinion and their practice be asked, I can only answer,—their aversion to blood. "God," says our Reformer, addressing the popish princes who persecuted the Protestants, "will not use his saintes and chosen children to punish you. For with them is alwaies mercie, yea, even althogh God have pronounced a curse and malediction; as in the history of Josua is plaine. But as ye have pronounced wrong and cruel judgment without mercie, so will he punish you by such as in whom there is no mercie." Answer to the Cavillations of an Anabaptist, p. 449.

[1] The magistrates of Edinburgh, understanding that Mr Christopher Goodman was appointed to preach during the absence of their own ministers, directed a committee of their number to wait upon him, and to "offer him, in their names, all honourabill entertenment, and cause the stewart of Jhonne Knox house to keep table to him upoun the town's expensis." Records of Town Council for 23d Aug. 1564.

[2] Keith, 535, 537, 540. [3] Knox, Hist. 368.

[4] Keith, 278, note (a). [5] Knox, 373.

[6] Keith, 279. Knox, 374, 378.

only to solemnise the nuptials, but to proclaim her husband king, without the consent of the estates of the kingdom.

The dissatisfaction produced by these precipitate and illegal steps was heightened by the conduct of Darnley. Naturally vain, rash, and vindictive, his unexpected prosperity rendered him insolent and overbearing; and it required all the prudence of the queen to preserve him from falling into contempt, even before their marriage.[1] Although he could not have come to Scotland, and his father could not have been restored to his honours and possessions, considering the opposition made by the house of Hamilton, without the concurrence and interest of the Earl of Moray; yet he no sooner found himself seated in the affections of Mary than he exerted his influence to deprive that nobleman of her favour, represented the honours which she had conferred on him as excessive, and leagued with those who were hostile to him and to the reformed religion. Lennox, Atholl, and David Rizzio, a low-bred Italian, who had insinuated himself into the good graces of Mary, now ruled the court, to the exclusion of the most able counsellors.[2] Moray had been urged in private to sign an approbation of the intended marriage, but refused to do it until the nobility were consulted.[3]. His refusal to gratify the queen, by forwarding a match on which she was passionately bent, obliterated the memory of all his past services, and drew upon him the furious resentment of Darnley. Having declined to attend a convention at Perth, from just apprehensions of personal danger, he was summoned to court by the queen. The summons was repeated three days after her marriage, and because he refused to intrust his person, on her safe-conduct, to a court where the influence of his declared enemies prevailed, he was immediately proclaimed an outlaw.[4] In the mean time, the persons who had discovered the greatest hostility to him were openly encouraged. Bothwell was invited to return; Lord George Gordon was set at liberty, and the earldom of Huntly restored to him; and the Earl of Sutherland was recalled from banishment.[5] The lords who were dissatisfied with the late proceedings assembled at Stirling, and, after agreeing to request the protection of Elizabeth, retired to their houses;[6] but the queen taking the field with all the forces which she could collect, they were at last compelled to arm in their own defence.[7] Even after they were driven to this extremity, they neglected no means of conciliation. They professed their steadfast loyalty to the queen. They declared that their sole desire was, that the reformed religion should be secured against the dangers to which it was exposed, and that the administration of public affairs should be put into the hands of those whom the nation could trust; and they offered to submit their own cause to be tried by the

[1] Keith, 329. Robertson, ii. 125.
[2] Knox, 372, 374. Robertson, ii. 114, 120.
[3] Knox, 372.
[4] Ibid., 379. Keith, 309, 310. App. 108—110.
[5] Knox, 368, 379, 386. Keith, 309, 310. Gordon's Genealogical History of the Earldom of Sutherland, 143—144.
[6] Keith, 300, 304, 306.
[7] Robertson, ii. 131. Laing, History of Scotland.

laws of their country.[1] But the queen spurned all their offers of submission, refused to listen to any intercession in their favour, and advancing against them with an army, obliged them to take refuge in England.[2]

While her marriage with Darnley was in dependence, and she laboured to surmount the opposition made to it by the nobility, Mary had condescended to court the Protestant ministers. Having sent for the superintendents of Lothian, Glasgow, and Fife, (for Knox could not now be admitted to her presence), she amused them with fair words. She was not yet persuaded, she said, of the truth of their religion, but was willing to hear conference and reasoning on the subject; she was also content to attend the public sermons of some of them; and, "above all others, she would gladly hear the superintendent of Angus, for he was a mild and sweet-natured man, with true honesty and uprightness, Sir John Erskine of Dun."[3] She even went so far as to be present at a sermon preached by one of the ministers in Callander House, at the baptism of a child of Lord Livingstone.[4] But as soon as her marriage was accomplished, she told the commissioners of the Church, in very plain and determined language, "her majesty neither will nor may leave the religion wherein she has been nourished and brought up."[5] And there was no farther proposal of attending either sermon or conference.

The friendship between the Earl of Moray and the Reformer had been renewed in the beginning of 1565. Knox was placed in a very delicate predicament by the insurrection under Moray and the other lords who opposed the queen's marriage. His father-in-law was one of their number. They professed that the security of the Protestant religion was the principal ground of their taking arms; and they came to Edinburgh to collect men to their standard. But whatever favour he might have for them, he kept himself clear from any engagement.[6] If he had taken part in this unsuccessful revolt, we need not doubt that her majesty would have embraced the opportunity of punishing him for it, when his principal friends had fled the kingdom.

We find, in fact, that she immediately proceeded against him on a different, but far more slender ground. The young king, who could be either Papist or Protestant, as it suited him, went sometimes to mass with the queen, and sometimes attended the reformed sermons.[7] To silence the suspicions of his alienation from the Protestant religion, circulated by the insurgent lords, he, on the 19th of August, made a solemn appearance in St Giles's Church, sitting on a throne which had been prepared for his reception. Knox preached that day, and happened to prolong the service beyond his usual time. In one part of the sermon he quoted these words of Scripture, "I will give children to be their princes, and babes shall rule over them,—children are their oppres-

[1] Knox, Historie, pp. 382, 384, 386.
[2] Ibid., 388.
[3] Ibid., 373, 374.
[4] Ibid., Historie, 377.
[5] Ibid., 376.
[6] Goodall says that Knox was engaged with the Earl of Moray in a plot for seizing Darnley; but he has produced no evidence of his assertion. Life of Queen Mary, i. 207—209.
[7] Keith, 301—302.

sors, and women rule over them;" and in another part of it he mentioned that God punished Ahab, because he did not correct his idolatrous wife Jezebel.[1] Though no particular application was made by the preacher, the king applied these passages to himself and the queen, and, returning to the palace in great wrath, refused to taste dinner. The Papists, who had accompanied him to church, inflamed his resentment and that of the queen by their representations.

That very afternoon Knox was taken from bed,[2] and carried before the privy council. Some respectable inhabitants of the city, understanding his citation, accompanied him to the palace. He was told that he had offended the king, and must desist from preaching as long as their majesties were in Edinburgh. He replied, that "he had spoken nothing but according to his text; and if the Church should command him to speak or abstain, he would obey, so far as the word of God would permit him."[3] Spotswood says, that he not only stood to what he had said in the pulpit, but added, "That as the king, for the queen's pleasure, had gone to mass, and dishonoured the Lord God, so should He in his justice make her the instrument of his overthrow. This speech," continues the archbishop's manuscript, "esteemed too bold at the time, came afterwards to be remembered, and was reckoned among other his prophetical sayings, which certainly were marvellous. The queen, enraged at this answer, burst forth into tears."[4]

The report of the inhibition laid upon the Reformer created great agitation in the city. His colleague, who was appointed to supply his place during his suspension, threatened to desist entirely from preaching. The town council met, and appointed a deputation to wait on their majesties, and request the reversal of the sentence; and at a

[1] Sermon on Isa. xxvi. 13, 14. History of the Reformation, Edin. 1644, 4to. Append. pp. 120, 128. Spotswood says that Knox, in his sermon, (either doubting the king's sincerity, or favouring the faction of the noblemen), "fell upon him with a bitter reproof." History, 191. But the archbishop does not seem to have read the sermon, which contains no reproof of the king, either bitter or mild. Indeed, the preacher appears, on that occasion, to have used less freedom than ordinary in the application. Strype, Annals, i. 527, 23d August 1565.

[2] Preface to the Sermon, *ut supra*.

[3] Ibid. Records of Town Council. Knox, Historie, p. 381. Being called before the privy council, he wrote out the sermon, as exactly according to what he had preached as possible, and sent it to the press, to let the impartial see, "upon how small occasions great offence is now taken." At the end of it is this postscript:—"Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit; for the terrible roaring of gunnes, and the noise of armour, do so pierce my heart that my soul thirsteth to depart." On the margin are these words:—"The castle of Edinburgh was shooting against the exiled for Christ Jesus' sake." Then follows the date at which the writing was finished. "The last day of August 1565, at four of the clock in the afternoon, written indigestly, but yet truly, so farre as memory would serve, of those things that in publike I spake on Sunday, August 19, for the which I was discharged to preach for a time. Be mercifull to thy flock, O Lord, and at thy pleasure put end to my misery. John Knox."

[4] Spotswood, 191, 192. Keith, 546, 547. Keith calls in question the archbishop's narrative; because Knox, in his History, does not say that the queen was present, and does not mention the prediction, although "fond enough to catch at and force such things upon his readers." But Knox did not write this part of the History; the fifth book having been compiled after his death, and not being found in old MSS. See Advertisement, prefixed to the edition of his Historie, Edin. 1732. It must be confessed, however, that Spotswood's account of this affair is inaccurate in a number of particulars. David Buchanan says, that the king had "cast the psalme booke in the fire," which was the cause of Knox's denunciation against him. Life of Knox, prefixed to History of the Reformation.

second meeting held on the same day, they came to a unanimous resolution, that they would "in no manner of way consent or grant that his mouth be closed," but that he should be desired, "at his pleasure, and as God should move his heart, to proceed forward to true doctrine as before, which doctrine they would approve and abide at to their life's end." [1]

It does not appear that he continued any time suspended from preaching. For the king and queen left Edinburgh before next Sabbath,[2] and the prohibition extended only to the time of their residence in the city. Upon their return, it is probable that they judged it advisable not to enforce an order which had already created much discontent, and might alienate the minds of the people still farther from the present administration. Accordingly, we find him exercising his ministry in Edinburgh with the same boldness as formerly. Complaints were made to the council of the manner in which he prayed for the exiled noblemen; but Secretary Maitland, who had formerly found so much fault with his prayers, defended them on the present occasion, saying, that he had heard them, and they were such as nobody could blame.[3]

Christopher Goodman had officiated, with much approbation, as minister of St Andrews since the year 1560; but he was prevailed on, by the solicitations of his friends in England, to return about this time to his native country.[4] The commissioners from St Andrews were instructed to petition the General Assembly, which met in December this year, that Knox should be translated from Edinburgh to their city. They claimed a right to him, as he had commenced his ministry among them; and they might think that the dissensions in which he was involved with the court would induce him to prefer a more retired situation. But their petition was refused.[5]

This Assembly imposed on him several important services. He was commissioned to visit the churches in the south of Scotland, and appointed to write "a comfortable letter," to encourage the ministers, exhorters, and readers, throughout the kingdom, to persevere in the discharge of their functions, which many of them were threatening to abandon, on account of the non-payment of their stipends; and to excite the people among whom they laboured to relieve their necessities.[6] He had formerly received an appointment to draw up the Form of Excommunication and of Public Repentance;[7] and he was now required to compose a Treatise of Fasting. The Assembly, having taken into consideration the troubles of the country, and the dangers which

[1] Records of Town Council, 23d August 1565. Keith, 547.
[2] Knox, Historie, 381.
[3] Ibid., p. 389.
[4] See Note III.
[5] Keith, 562.
[6] Ibid., 538.
[7] This appointment was laid upon him in June 1563. Keith, 525. He does not seem to have executed it till 1567, which is the date subjoined to a prayer at the end of the treatise. Then follows a postscript: "This booke is thought necessary and profitable for the Church, and commanded to be printed by the Generall Assemblie." The order for printing it seems to have been first given by the Assembly in 1568, and renewed in 1571. Psalmes in meeter, &c. (commonly called Knox's Liturgy), printed by Andro Hart, A. 1611, pp. 28, 67. Dunlop's Confessions, ii. 705, 747.

threatened the whole Protestant interest, had appointed a general fast to be kept through the kingdom. The form and order to be observed on that occasion they left to be drawn out by Knox and his colleague; and as nothing had been hitherto published expressly on this subject, they were authorised to explain the duty, as well as to state the reasons which at that period called for this solemn exercise. This treatise does credit to the compilers, both as to matter and form. It is written in a perspicuous and nervous style. In the grounds assigned for fasting, the critical state of all the reformed churches, the late decree of the Council of Trent for the extirpation of the Protestant name, the combination of the popish princes for carrying it into execution, and the persecutions suffered by their brethren in different countries, are all held forth as a warning to the Protestants of Scotland, and urged as calls to repentance and prayer.

The following may serve as a specimen :—"Supposing, we say, that wee had none of these foresaid causes to moove us, yet is there one which, if it moove us not to humiliation, wee show ourselves more than insensible. For now is Satan so enlarged against Jesus Christ, and so odious is the light of his gospel unto the Romaine antichrist, that to suppresse it in one province, realme, or nation, he thinketh it nothing, unlesse that, in all Europe, the godly, and such as abhorre the papisticall impietie, be therewith also utterlie destroyed, and so rased from the face of the earth that no memory of them shal after remaine. If any thinks that suche crueltie cannot fall into the hearts of men, we send them to be resolved of those fathers of the last councel of Trent, who, in one of their sessions, have thus concluded : All Lutherans, Calvinists, and such as are of the new religion, shall utterly be rooted out. The beginning shall be in France, by conducting of the Catholike king, Philip of Spaine, and by some of the nobilitie of Fraunce; which matter (they say) put in execution, the whole power of both, together with the popes armie, and force of the Duke of Savoy and Ferrar, shall assault Geneva, and shall not leave it till that they have put it to sacke, saving in it no living creature. And with the same mercie shall so many of France as have tasted of the new religion be served. From thence expedition shall be made against the Germanes, to reduce them to the obedience of the apostolike seate. And so shall they proceed to other realmes and nations, never ceasing till that all be rooted out that will not make homage to that Romane idoll. How fearefull a beginning this conclusion and determination had, France will remember moe ages than one. For how manie, above a hundreth thousand men, women, babes, virgines, matrones, and aged fathers suffered—some by sworde, some by water, some by fire, and other torments—the verie enemies themselves are compelled to acknowledge. And albeit that God of his mercie in part disappoynted their cruell enterprises, yet let us not thinke that their will is changed, or their malice asswaged. No; let us be assured that they abide but opportunitie to finish the worke that cruellie against

God, against his trueth, and the true professors of the same, they have begunne, the whisperings whereof are not secreete, neither yet the tokens obscure. For the traffike of that dragon now with the princes of the earth, his promises and flattering enticements, tende to none other ende, but to inflame them against Jesus Christ, and against the true professours of his gospel. For who can thinke that the pope, cardinals, and horned bishops, will offer the greatest portion of their rents, for sustaining of a warre, whereof no commoditie should redound (as they suppose) to themselves?" Having quoted that part of the decree of the council which relates to the assessment imposed on the clergy, for carrying on this holy war, the compilers of the treatise add,—"But let us hear their conclusion: France and Germanie (say they) being by these meanes so chastised, abased, and brought to the obedience of the holy Romane Church, the fathers doubt not but time shall provide both counsell and commoditie, that the rest of the realmes about may be reduced to one flocke, and one apostolike governour and pastour.—But some shall say they are yet far from the end of their purpose, and therefore wee neede not be so fearefull nor so troubled. We answere, the danger may be nearer than we beleeve, yea, perchance a part of it hath bene nearer to our neckes than we have considered. But how so ever it be, seeing that God of his mercie hath brought foorth to light their cruell and bloodie counsell, in which we neede not to doubt but still they continue, it becummeth us not to be negligent or slouthful."[1]

Strong as their apprehensions were, the danger was nearer to them than they imagined. The most zealous and powerful of the Protestant nobles being exiled, the queen determined to carry into execution the design of which she had never lost sight, and, while she amused the nation with proclamations against altering the received religion, and tantalised the ministers with offers of more adequate support, was preparing for the speedy restoration of the Roman Catholic worship. No means were left unattempted for gaining over the nobility to the ancient religion. The king openly professed himself a convert to it, and officiated in some of its most superstitious rites. The Earls of Lennox, Cassilis, and Caithness, with Lords Montgomery and Seton, followed his example.[2] The friars were employed to preach at Holyrood House, and, to gain the favour of the people, endeavoured to imitate the popular method of the Protestant preachers.[3] In the beginning of February 1566 a messenger arrived from the Cardinal of Lorraine, with a copy of the Catholic league for extirpating the Protestants, and

[1] Treatise of Fasting in Knox's Liturgy, p. 157—160, edit. 1611; and in Dunlop's Confessions, ii. 661—664.

[2] Robertson, Append. No. 14. Keith, Append. 165, 167. Knox, 389—391.

[3] The friars were so little esteemed, that they soon wearied of preaching. They boasted that they would dispute with the Protestant ministers; but when the commissioners of the General Assembly waited on their majesties, and requested that this might be granted in their presence, the queen replied that "sche wald not jeopard her religioun upon sick as were thare present; for sche knew weill enouch that the Protestants wer more learned." Knox, Historie, p. 391.

instructions to obtain the queen's subscription to it, and to urge the propriety of adopting the most rigorous measures against the exiled noblemen. Mary scrupled not to set her hand to the league.[1] Previous to this, it is said that she was inclined to yield to the intercessions made in behalf of the exiles; but if ever she felt such a disposition, it is certain that, from the arrival of this embassy, the door of mercy was shut. Moray and his associates were immediately summoned to appear before the parliament, which was to meet on the twelfth of March. The Lords of the Articles were chosen according to the queen's pleasure; the popish ecclesiastics were restored to their place in parliament; and the altars to be erected in St Giles's Church, for the celebration of the Roman Catholic worship, were already prepared.[2]

But these measures, when ripe for execution, were blasted, in consequence of a secret engagement which the king had entered into with some of the Protestant nobles. The first effect produced by this engagement was the well-known assassination of Rizzio, the unworthy favourite of the queen, who was the principal instigator of the measures against the Protestant religion and the banished lords, and had now incurred the jealousy of the king, as well as the contempt of the nobility and the hatred of the people. To have removed this minion from her majesty's counsels and presence by legitimate means would have been meritorious; but the manner in which it was accomplished was equally inconsistent with law and humanity, and fixes a deep stigma on the characters of those who perpetrated the deed.[3]

A complete change on the state of the court succeeded this event. The popish counsellors fled from the palace; the exiled lords returned out of England; and the parliament was prorogued, without accomplishing any of the objects for which it had been assembled. But Mary soon persuaded the weak and uxorious king to desert the noblemen whom he had made the instruments of his revenge, to retire with her to Dunbar, and to issue a proclamation, disowning his consent to the late attempt; by which he exposed himself to the contempt of the nation, without regaining her affection. Having collected an army, she returned to Edinburgh, threatening to inflict the most exemplary vengeance on all who had been accessory to the murder of her secre-

[1] Keith, p. 326; Appendix, 167. Melvil's Memoires, pp. 63, 64. Robertson, Appendix, No. 14.

[2] Knox, 392, 394. Keith, Append. 126. The queen's letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow, apud Keith, 331. Goodall and Blackwood, apud Robertson, ii. 145. Lond. 1809.

[3] The noblemen wished to bring Rizzio to a public trial; but the king would not wait for this, and determined that he should be seized in the queen's presence, although she was big with child, that he might upbraid her for the wrongs which he had suffered. Keith, Appendix, pp. 121, 122. Robertson, vol. iii. p. 318. Appendix, No. 15. Douglas of Lochleven, who was engaged in the combination against Rizzio, says that it was their purpose to have "punist him be order of justice; bot men proponit and God disponit udir wais, be sic extraordinar means, quhilk truly my aune hart aborit quhan I saw him; for I never consentit that he suld haiff been usit by [beside] justice, nather was it in ony nobellman his mind." Speaking of Rizzio's influence, Douglas says, "I causit offer to him, gif he wald stay the Erle of Murray's forfaltour, he suld haiff v thowsand pundis Scottis; his answer was xx thowsand and that wer all alik; it wald not be." MS. papers of the Laird of Lochleven.

tary, and the indignity shown to her person. She found herself, however, unable to resume her former plans; and, while the conspirators against Rizzio were forced to flee to England, the Earl of Moray, and the other lords who had opposed her marriage, were allowed to remain in the country, and soon after pardoned.

When the queen returned to Edinburgh, Knox left it, and retired to Kyle. There is no reason to think that he was privy to the conspiracy which proved fatal to Rizzio. But it is probable that he had expressed his satisfaction at an event which contributed to the safety of religion and the commonwealth, if not also his approbation of the object of the conspiracy.[1] At any rate, he was sufficiently obnoxious to the queen on other grounds; and as her resentment, on the present occasion, was exceedingly inflamed, it was deemed prudent for him to withdraw.[2]

Having at last "got quit" of one who had so long been troublesome to her, Mary was determined to prevent his return to the capital. The town council and inhabitants, who had formerly refused to acquiesce in his suspension from preaching for a short time, exerted themselves to obtain his restoration; and powerful intercession was made in his behalf by many of the nobility and gentry. But the queen was deaf to all entreaties; she was even unwilling that he should find a refuge within the kingdom, and wrote to a nobleman in the west country, with whom he resided, to banish him from his house.[3] It does not appear that he returned to Edinburgh, or, at least, that he resumed his ministry in it, until the queen was deprived of the government.

Being banished from his flock, he judged this a favourable opportunity for paying a visit to England. Parental affection increased the desire which he had long felt to accomplish this journey. His two sons had been lately sent by him into that kingdom, to reside with some of their mother's relations, and to obtain their education in the English seminaries. Having procured the safe-conduct of Elizabeth, he applied to the General Assembly, which met in December 1566, for their permission to remove. This was readily granted by them, upon condition of his returning against the time of their next meeting in June. The Assembly likewise gave him a most ample and honourable testimonial, in which they describe him as "a true and faithfull min-

[1] King James VI. having found great fault with Knox for approving of the assassination of Rizzio, one of the ministers said, that "the slaughter of David [Rizzio], so far as it was the work of God, was allowed by Mr Knox, and not otherwise." Cald. MS. ad ann. 1591. Knox himself does not, however, state this qualification, when he mentions the subject incidentally. Historie, 86. Robertson, ii. 161—162. [On the ridiculous charge brought against Knox in connection with the assassination of Rizzio, by Mr Patrick F. Tytler, in his History of Scotland, the reader may find some remarks in the Editorial Notes.—*Ed.*]

[2] Knox, Historie, 395. Answer to Tyrie, A. iiij.

[3] Letter from Archbishop Grindal to Bullinger, 17th August 1566: Strype's Grindal, Append. 20. Letter from Bishop Parkhurst, written in December 1566: Burnet's Hist. of Reform. iii. Append. No. 91. In the Assembly which met in June this year, Craig desired, that "John Carues, who had read prayers and exhorted four years and more in Edinburgh, and had weill profited, might be joyned with him as colleague in the kirk of Edinburgh, in respect he was alone." Keith, 560.

ister, in doctrine pure and sincere, in life and conversation in our sight inculpable," and one who "has so fruitfully used that talent granted to him by the Eternal, to the advancement of the glory of his godly name, to the propagation of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and edifying of them who heard his preaching, that of duty we must heartily praise His godly name, for that so great a benefit granted unto him for our utility and profit."[1]

Knox was charged with a letter from the General Assembly to the bishops and ministers of England, interceding for lenity to such of their brethren as scrupled to use the sacerdotal dress enjoined by the laws. The controversy on that subject was at this time carried on with great heat among the English clergy. It is not improbable that the Assembly interfered in this business at the desire of Knox, to whom the composition of the letter was committed.[2] He could not have forgotten the trouble which he had himself suffered on a similar ground, and he had a high regard for many of the scruplers. This interposition did not procure them any relief. Though the superior clergy had been more zealous to obtain it than they were, Elizabeth was inflexible, and would listen neither to the supplications of her bishops nor to the advice of her counsellors. Knox's good opinion of the English queen does not seem to have been improved by this visit.[3]

He performed one important piece of public service before undertaking this journey to England. On the 23d of December the queen granted a commission, under the privy seal, to the Archbishop of St Andrews, restoring him to his ancient jurisdiction, which had been abolished in 1560 by act of parliament.[4] This step was taken partly to prepare for the restoration of the popish religion, and partly to facilitate another dark design which was soon after disclosed. The Protestants could not fail to be both alarmed and enraged at this daring measure. Moved by his own zeal no less than by the advice of his brethren, the Reformer addressed a circular letter to the principal Protestants in the kingdom, requesting their immediate advice on the measures most proper to be adopted on this occasion, and enclosing a copy of a proposed supplication to the queen. This letter discovers all the ardour of the writer's spirit, called forth by such an alarming occurrence. After mentioning the late acts for the provision of the ministry,[5] by which the queen attempted to blind them, he says, "How

[1] Keith, p. 56.

[2] Ibid., 565, 566. Knox, 402, 403. Spotswood, 198, 199. The letter was subscribed by "John Davidson, for James Nicoldson, writer and clarke of the church of Edinborough." Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker, Append. p. 88.

[3] Speaking of England, he says, "And yet is sche that now rigneth over thame nether gude Protestant, nor yet resolute Papist; let the world juge quhilk is the third." Historie, p. 277. By comparing this with p. 269, it appears that it was written by him in 1567, and consequently after his return from England.

[4] Reg. Secr. Sig. lib. xxxv. f. 99. Laing's History of Scotland, vol. i. 75, 76, 2d edit. This historian has refuted the charges of forgery which Whitaker had brought against Knox and Calderwood on this head. Ibid., pp. 78, 79.

[5] Keith, pp. 561, 562. The occurrence which had taken place helps to explain the coldness with which the Assembly received the information of these acts in their favour. Ibid, p. 563.

that any such assignation, or any promise made thereof, can stand in any stable assurance, when that Roman antichrist, by just laws once banished from this realm, shall be intrusted above us, we can no ways understand. Yea, farther, we cannot see what assurance can any within this realm, that hath professed the Lord Jesus, have of life, or inheritance, if the head of that odious beast be cured among us. As from the beginning we have neither spared substance nor life, so mind we not to faint unto the end, to maintain the same, so long as we can find the concurrence of brethren; of whom (as God forbid) if we be destitute, yet we are determined never to be subject to the Roman antichrist, neither yet to his usurped tyranny; but when we can do no farther to suppress that odious beast, we mind to seal it with our blood to our posterity, that the bright knowledge of Jesus Christ hath banished that Man of Sin, and his venomous doctrine, from our hearts and consciences. Let this our letter and request bear witness before God, before his church, before the world, and before your own consciences."[1] The supplication of the General Assembly to the lords of the privy council, on the same subject, also bears marks of the Reformer's pen.[2]

During the time that Knox was in England, that tragedy, so well known in Scottish history, was acted, which led to a complete revolution in the government of the kingdom, and, contrary to the designs of the principal actors, threw the power wholly into the hands of the Protestants. Mary's affection for her husband, which had cooled soon after their marriage, was, from the time of Rizzio's assassination, converted into a fixed hatred, which she was at little pains to conceal. The birth of an heir to the crown produced no reconciliation between the royal parents: the king was not allowed to be present at the baptism of his own son, and was treated with such marked disrespect, even by the servants, that he abandoned the court, and shut himself up in his father's house. In proportion as the queen's mind was alienated from her husband, the unprincipled Earl of Bothwell grew in her favour. He engrossed the whole management of public affairs, was loaded with honours, and treated by her majesty with every mark of personal regard and affection. In these circumstances, the neglected, unhappy king was decoyed to Edinburgh, lodged in a solitary dwelling at the extremity of the city, and murdered on the morning of the 10th of February 1567; the house in which he lay being blown up with gunpowder.

It would be unsuitable to the nature of the present work to enter into the controversy respecting the authors of this murder, which has been agitated with uncommon keenness from that day to the present time. The accusation of the Earl of Moray as a party to the deed is destitute of all proof, and utterly incredible. It was at first circulated with the evident design of turning away the public mind from the real perpetra-

[1] Cald. MS. apud Keith, 566—567. [2] Ibid., 567—568.

tors; it was insinuated, and afterwards directly brought forward, in the conferences at York and Westminster, as a retaliation upon him for the charge which he exhibited against the queen; and it is now kept up only by the most blind and bigoted of her partisans. That Bothwell was the prime contriver and agent in the murder cannot admit of a doubt, with any impartial and judicious inquirer. And that Mary was privy to the design, and accessory to its execution, by permission and approbation, there is, I think, all the evidence, moral and legal, which could reasonably be expected in a case of this kind. The whole of her behaviour towards the king, from the time that she brought him from Glasgow till she left him on the fatal night; the remissness which she discovered in inquiring into the murder; the shameful manner in which she suffered the farce of Bothwell's trial to be conducted; the glaring act (which struck the whole of Europe, and even her own friends, with horror) of taking to her bed, with indecent haste, the man who was stigmatised as the murderer of her husband; and the manner in which she refused to defend herself, and broke off the conference to which she had agreed, as soon as the charge of accession to the murder was brought against her,—afford the strongest presumptions of her guilt; and, when taken in connection with the direct evidence arising from letters and depositions, would have been sufficient long ago to shut the mouths of any but the defenders of Mary Queen of Scots.[1]

Knox was absent from Edinburgh at the time of the queen's marriage with Bothwell; but his colleague ably supported the honour of his place and order on that occasion, when the whole nobility of Scotland preserved a passive and disgraceful silence. Being required by both the parties to publish the banns, Craig reluctantly complied after taking the advice of his session; but, at the same time, he protested from the pulpit, on three several days, and took heaven and earth to witness, that he abhorred and detested the intended marriage as unlawful and scandalous, and solemnly charged the nobility to use their influence to prevent the queen from taking a step which would inevitably cover her with infamy, and involve her in ruin. Being called before the council, and accused of having exceeded the bounds of his commission, he boldly replied, that the bounds of his commission were the word of God, good laws, and natural reason, to all of which the proposed marriage was contrary. And Bothwell being present, he charged him with the crime of adultery, the precipitancy with which the process of divorce had been carried through, and the suspicions entertained of collusion

[1] Those who wish to see the proof of these assertions, may consult Mr Hume's History of the period, with the Notes; Dr Robertson's, with his Dissertation; and especially Mr Laing's Dissertation on the subject. This last writer has examined the point with great calmness, accuracy, and acuteness, has established the genuineness of the letters to Bothwell, and cleared the whole evidence from the objections and cavils of the fantastical Whitaker, a late author, who has equalled any of his predecessors in prejudice, and exceeded all of them in the illiberal and virulent abuse with which he has treated the most respectable of his opponents. The principal writers who in modern times have undertaken the defence of Mary, are Goodall, Tytler, Stuart, and Whitaker.

between him and his wife, of his having murdered the king, and ravished the queen, all of which would be confirmed if they carried their purpose into execution.[1]

The events which followed in rapid succession upon this infamous marriage—the confederation of the nobility for revenging the king's death, and preserving the person of the infant prince; the flight of Bothwell; the surrender and imprisonment of Mary; her resignation of the government; the coronation of her son; and the appointment of the Earl of Moray as regent during his minority, are all well known to the readers of Scottish history.

Knox seems to have returned to his charge at the time that the queen fled with Bothwell to Dunbar. He was present in the General Assembly which met at Edinburgh on the 25th of June, and was delegated by them to go to the west country, and endeavour to persuade the Hamiltons, and others who stood aloof from the confederated lords, to join with them in settling the distracted affairs of the country, and to attend a general convention of the delegates of the churches, to be held on the 20th of July following.[2] In this negotiation he was unsuccessful. But the convention was held, and the nobles, barons, and commissioners of burghs, who were present, subscribed a number of important articles, with reference to religion and the state of the nation.[3]

On the 29th of July 1567, the Reformer preached the sermon at the coronation of James VI. in the parish church of Stirling.[4] He objected to the ceremony of unction, as a Jewish rite abused under the Papacy; but it was deemed inexpedient, on the present occasion, to depart from the accustomed ceremonial. It was therefore performed by the Bishop of Orkney; the superintendents of Lothian and Angus assisting him to place the crown on the king's head.[5] After the coronation, Knox, along with some others, took instruments, and craved extracts of the proceedings.[6]

When the queen was confined by the lords in the castle of Lochleven, they had not resolved in what manner they should dispose of her person for the future. Some proposed that she should be allowed to leave the

[1] Buik of the Universall Kirk, pp. 85, 87, 103. Anderson's Collections, ii. 278—283. Knox, 405, 406. Spotswood, 202, 203. Craig gave in a narrative and defence of his conduct to the General Assembly, 30th Dec. 1567; but it was not until the 6th July 1569 that the Assembly overtook the formal consideration of that affair, when they declared that "he had done the dewtie of a faithfull minister."

[2] Keith, 574, 577. Knox, 410.

[3] Keith, 581—583. Knox, 411. Spotswood, 209, 210.

[4] Knox, 412. Buchanan calls it *luculentam concionem*. Hist. lib. xviii. Oper tom. i. p. 366.

[5] Cald. MS. ii. 67, 68. Anderson's Collections, ii. 249. One author says that Knox was employed in putting the crown on the king's head. "Diadema Joannis Knoxii manibus capiti regio impositum." Archibaldus Simsonus, Annales Eccles. Scotican, p. 9. MS. in the possession of Thomas Thomson, Esq.

[6] Keith, 439. Keith expresses his surprise at Knox's taking instruments in the name of the estates, as he "could properly belong to no estate at all." Hist. p. 440. But the record does not say that he took instruments in the name of the estates. It is evident that he acted in the name of the Church, which was considered as having an interest in the transaction, as by one clause of the coronation oath, the king engaged to maintain the reformed religion, and the privileges of the Protestant Church. Ibid., p. 438.

kingdom; some that she should be imprisoned during life; while others insisted that she ought to be capitally arraigned. Of this last opinion was Knox, with almost all the ministers, and the great body of the people. The chief ground upon which they insisted for this, was not her maladministration in the government, or the mere safety and peace of the commonwealth—which were the reasons upon which the parliament of England, in the following century, proceeded to the execution of her grandson. But they founded their opinion upon the personal crimes with which Mary was charged. Murder and adultery, they reasoned, were crimes to which the punishment of death was allotted by the law of God and of nations. From this penalty persons of no rank could plead exception. The ordinary forms of judicial procedure made no provision for the trial of a supreme magistrate, because the laws did not suppose that such enormous crimes could be committed by him; but extraordinary cases required extraordinary remedies, and new offences gave birth to new laws. There are examples in Scripture of the capital punishment of princes, nor are precedents of it wanting in the history of Scotland.[1]

Upon these grounds, Knox scrupled not publicly to maintain that the estates of the kingdom ought to bring Mary to a trial; and, if she was found guilty of the murder of her husband, and an adulterous connection with Bothwell, that she ought to be put to death. Throkmorton, the English ambassador, held a conference with him, with the view of mitigating the rigour of this judgment; but though he acquiesced in the resolution adopted by the nobility to detain her in prison, he retained his own sentiments, and, after the civil war was kindled by her escape from confinement, repeatedly said, that he considered the nation as suffering for their criminal lenity.[2]

Though the Earl of Moray, after his return from banishment, had been pardoned, and readmitted to his place in the privy council, he did not regain the confidence of her majesty. Perceiving the ruinous tendency of the course on which she was bent, and despairing of being able to prevent it by his advice, he declined taking any active part in the management of public affairs, and appeared very seldom at court. Soon after the king was murdered, he obtained liberty to leave the kingdom, and retired to France, where he remained till recalled by a message from the confederated lords, after Mary had subscribed the instruments by which she resigned the crown, and appointed him regent during the minority of her son. Having arrived in Scotland, he was formally invested with the regency on the 22d of August 1567. No sooner was he confirmed in the government, than he exerted himself with great zeal and prudence to secure the peace of the kingdom, and settle the affairs of the Church. A parliament being summoned to

[1] Keith, p. 421—423. Throkmorton's Letters, 14th and 18th July. Robertson, Append. No. 21. "The women," says the ambassador, "be most furious and impudent against the queen, and yet the men be mad enough."

[2] Cald. MS. ii. 73. Bannatyne's Journal, p. 113.

meet in the middle of December, he, with the advice of the privy council, previously nominated certain barons, and commissioners of burghs, to consult upon and digest such overtures as were proper to be laid before that assembly. With these he joined Knox, and four other ministers, to assist in matters which related to the Church. This committee met in the beginning of December, and sat until the opening of the parliament. The record of their proceedings, both as to civil and ecclesiastical affairs, has been preserved ; and, as many of their propositions were not adopted by the parliament, it is valuable as a declaration of the sentiments of a number of the most able men in the kingdom.[1]

On the 15th of December, Knox preached at the opening of the parliament, and exhorted them to begin with the affairs of religion, in which case they would find better success in their other business. The parliament ratified all the acts which had been passed in 1560 in favour of the Protestant religion and against Popery. New statutes of a similar kind were added. It was provided, that no prince should afterwards be admitted to exercise of authority in the kingdom, without taking an oath to maintain the Protestant religion ; and that none but Protestants should be admitted to any office, with the exception of those that were hereditary or held for life. The ecclesiastical jurisdiction, exercised by the assemblies of the Church, was formally ratified, and commissioners appointed to define more exactly the causes which came within the sphere of their judgment. The thirds of benefices were appointed to be paid at first hand to collectors nominated by the Church, who, after paying the stipends of the ministers, were to account to the exchequer for the surplus. And the funds of provostries, prebendaries, and chaplainries, were appropriated to maintain bursars in colleges.[2]

In the act ratifying the jurisdiction of the Church, Knox was appointed one of the commissioners for drawing out the particular points which pertained to ecclesiastical judgment, to be presented to next meeting of parliament. The General Assembly, which met about the same time, gave him a commission, along with some others, to act for them in this matter, and, in general, to consult with the regent and council on such ecclesiastical questions as might occur after their dissolution. He was also appointed to assist the superintendent of Lothian in his visitation, and afterward to visit the churches in Kyle, Carrick, and Cunningham.[3]

During the regency of Moray there were no jars between the Church and the Court, nor any of those unpleasant complaints which had been made at every meeting of the General Assembly, before that period, and which were renewed under the succeeding regents.[4] All the

[1] See Note KKK.

[2] Act. Parl. Scot. iii. p. 14—25. Cald. MS. ad ann. 1567.

[3] Cald. *ut supra*. Keith, 585, 586.

[4] Dr Robertson says that the regulation respecting the thirds, made by the parliament in December 1567, did not produce any considerable change in the situation of the

grievances of which they complained were not indeed redressed; and the provision made by law was still inadequate for the support of such an ecclesiastical establishment as the nation required, including the seminaries of education. But the regent not only received the addresses of the General Assemblies in a "manner very different from that to which they had been accustomed;" but showed a disposition to grant their petitions whenever it was in his power. It was chiefly through his influence that the favourable arrangement concerning the thirds of benefices was made; and he endeavoured, though unsuccessfully, to obtain the consent of parliament to the dissolution of the prelacies, and the appropriation of their revenues to the common fund of the Church.[1]

Our Reformer had now reached the point from which he could take a calm and deliberate view of the bustling scene through which he had passed, and of the arduous struggle which he had been so long engaged in, and had at length brought to a happy termination. Papal superstition and tyranny were suppressed and abolished by law; the Protestant religion was established; the supreme government of the nation was in the hands of one in whose wisdom and integrity he had the greatest confidence; the Church was freed from many of those grievances under which she had hitherto groaned, and enjoyed the prospect of obtaining the redress of such as still remained. The work on which his heart had been so ardently set for such a long period, and for the success of which he had so often trembled, had prospered beyond his utmost expectation. He now congratulated himself on the prospect of being released from all burden of public affairs, and of spending the remainder of his days in religious meditations, and in preparation for that event of whose near approach he was daily admonished by the increasing infirmities of his body.[2] He even secretly cherished the wish of resigning his charge in Edinburgh, and of retiring to that privacy from which he had been drawn at the commencement of the Scottish Reformation. Speaking of the congregation of which he had been pastor at Geneva, he says, in one of his confidential letters, "God comfort that dispersed little flock, among whom I lived with quietness of conscience and contentment of heart; and amongst whom I would be content to end my days, if so it might stand with God's good pleasure. For, seeing it hath pleased his majesty, above all men's expectations, to

clergy, and speaks of them as still "groaning under extreme poverty, unable to obtain anything but fair words and liberal promises." History of Scotland, ii. 250, 312. London, 1809. But the law which gave power to the collectors appointed by the Church to uplift the thirds, and to pay the stipends, before anything was allowed to the court, was certainly a very considerable benefit. The Church herself viewed it in this light. Calderwood says that "the ministers were now refreshed with the allowance made by last parliament." MS. ad ann. 1567. And the Assembly, in their letter inviting Willock to return from England, expressly says, "Our enemies, praised be God, are dashed; religion established; sufficient provision made for ministers," &c. Keith, 590. The account which I have given in the text is, I think, supported by the register of the five General Assemblies which were held during the regency of Moray.

[1] Letter from the Regent to the General Assembly, ult. June 1569, in Appendix. Buik of Universall Kirk, p. 45—47.

[2] Cald. MS. ii. 108.

prosper the work for the performing whereof I left that company, I would even as gladly return to them, if they stood in need of my labours, as ever I was glad to be delivered from the rage of mine enemies. I can give you no reason that I should so desire, other than that my heart so thirsteth."[1]

But "the way of man is not in himself." Providence had allotted him farther trials of a public nature: he was yet to see the security of the reformed religion endangered, and the country involved in another civil war, even more distressing than the former, inasmuch as the principal persons on both sides were professed Protestants.

From the time that the queen was imprisoned, and the government transferred to the young prince under the regency of Moray, a considerable number of the nobility had withheld their approbation of these proceedings. The popish party were decidedly attached to Mary, and inimical to a revolution, which crushed the hopes which they had all along cherished of accomplishing the restoration of the ancient religion. Others, though professed Protestants, were induced by various motives to oppose the new government. Argyll was at this time alienated from Moray by a family quarrel.[2] The house of Hamilton followed that line of narrow and interested policy which they had adopted on former occasions of a similar kind. They were jealous lest the late settlement of the crown should invalidate the right of their chief, the Duke of Châtelherault, to the succession; and they were offended that the regency, which they considered as due to him, should have been conferred on Moray.[3] No governor can gratify the expectations of all; and some of those who were early friends of the regent, or had contributed to his advancement, thought that they were not sufficiently rewarded. The very means which he found it necessary to employ to restore tranquillity and order to the kingdom, created him enemies. During the late confusions many parts of the country had fallen into a state of anarchy; and the northern counties and the Borders presented nothing but scenes of rapine and bloodshed. It was impossible to repress these disorders without making severe examples of the most guilty; and the turbulent and licentious naturally sought the overthrow of a government by which they felt themselves overawed and restrained.[4] But the abilities of the regent enabled him to overcome these difficulties; and he was daily receiving submissions from the most powerful of the opposite party, when, on the 2d of May 1568, the queen escaped from her confinement in Lochleven. The discon-

[1] Letter to John Wood, 14th of February 1568; Cald. MS. ii. 91.

[2] Throkmorton to Elizabeth, 22d August 1567: Keith, 450.

[3] Throkmorton's letters of 14th, 16th, 18th, and 19th July 1567: Robertson, Append. No. 21. Laing, ii. Append. No. 31, p. 125. Keith, p. 423. The protestation taken at the coronation of James VI. by Arthur Hamilton of Meriton, in the name of the duke, is confined to the point of his succession to the crown, and does not allude, in the slightest degree, to the right of the queen. Keith, 437. Of the same strain was the protest which was intended to have been made at the parliament held in Dec. 1567; a copy of which, and a minute of a conversation on the subject between the regent and Arthur Hamilton, are preserved among the Hamilton MSS.

[4] Buchanan, Oper. i. 346. Keith, 407.

tented nobles immediately joined her standard, and, having mustered a large force, avowed their determination to restore her to the exercise of that authority which she had renounced by constraint. This formidable insurrection was defeated by the promptitude of the regent; and, in consequence of the battle of Langside, Mary was driven into England, and her party broken. Elizabeth having procured herself to be chosen umpire between the two parties, the conferences were protracted during so long a period, and the conduct of the English court was so equivocal and contradictory, that the friends of Mary were encouraged to renew their attempts to restore her by force of arms. But although the Duke of Châtelherault returned from France with a large sum of money contributed by the popish princes, and came into Scotland in the character of lieutenant of the queen,[1] the regent, by his vigilance, and his vigorous measures, prevented any insurrection, and preserved the kingdom in obedience to the young king's authority.

Despairing to accomplish their darling object during his life, the partisans of Mary resolved to cut off Moray by private means. During the year 1568 two persons were employed to assassinate him; but the design was discovered and prevented.[2] This did not hinder new machinations. Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, a nephew of the Archbishop of St Andrews, undertook to perpetrate the deed. He was one of the prisoners taken at the battle of Langside; but, after being arraigned, condemned, and brought out to execution, he had his life given him by the regent, and was soon after set at liberty along with the other prisoners.[3] It is said that he was actuated by revenge, on account of an injury which he had received, by detaining one of his forfeited estates, or by the cruel manner in which his wife had been dispossessed of it.[4] Whether this was really the case, or whether it was afterwards alleged to diminish the odium of his crime, and turn it away from his party, cannot perhaps be now certainly determined. But it does not appear that any part of the regent's conduct towards him was such as to afford the slightest alleviation of a crime, in the com-

[1] Spotswood, 216. Letter, Knox to Wood, 10th September 1568, published in the Appendix.

[2] The Historie of King James the Sext, p. 48. Birrel's Diary, 17, in Dalyell's Fragments of Scottish History. Laing, ii. 269. See also Letter, Knox to Wood, 10th September 1568, *ut supra*.

[3] Hist. of King James the Sext, pp. 43, 63.

[4] This story is related in very different ways. One account makes the revenge to turn solely upon the treatment of his wife, who, "expecting to be allowed to remain in her house of Woodislie," was, "uneourtouslie and unmercifullie put thairfra, all her gudis tane fra hir, and schoe left stark naked. The gentilwoman, quhat for grief of mynd and exceeding eald, that schoe had then contract it, conceaved sic madness as was almost incredible." Historie of King James the Sext, p. 74. Spotswood's account is different: he says that Bothwellhaugh had redeemed his life by yielding up the lands of Woodhouselee, which were given to the Justice-Clerk, and he refusing to part with them, Bothwellhaugh "made his quarrel to the regent, [*i. e.* revenged himself upon the regent], who was most innocent, and had restored him to life and liberty." Spotsw. Hist. p. 233. Crawfurd, in his Memoirs of the affairs of Scotland, p. 140, 1st edit. says that "Moray sent some officers to take possession of the house, who not only turned the gentlewoman out of doors, but," &c. This is the authority which has been relied upon by all those writers who have charged the regent with cruelty in this transaction; yet it is now discovered that the interpolation of Moray's name in this place is one of those forgeries by which that work is disgraced from beginning to end. Hist. of King James the Sext, preface, and p. 74.

mission of which he burst the ties of gratitude, as well as of humanity and justice. On the other hand, there is ample proof that he was incited to make the attempt by the political party with which he was connected.[1] Having formed his resolution, he deliberately followed the regent in his progress to Glasgow, Stirling, and Linlithgow; and, finding an opportunity in the last of these places, shot him through the body with a musket-ball. The wound proved mortal, and the regent died the same evening. While some of his friends, who stood round his bed, lamented the excessive lenity which he had shown to his enemies, and particularly to his murderer, he replied, with a noble and Christian spirit, that nothing would ever make him repent of an act of clemency.[2]

The consternation which is usually produced by the fall of a distinguished leader, was absorbed in the deep distress which the tidings of the regent's murder spread through the nation. The common people, who had experienced the beneficial effects of his short administration, to a degree altogether unprecedented in the country, felt as if each had lost a father, and loudly demanded vengeance upon the authors of the parricide. Many who had envied or hated him during his life were now forward to do justice to his virtues. Those who had not been able to conceal their satisfaction on the first intelligence of his death, became ashamed of the indecent exultation which they had so imprudently expressed. The Hamiltons were anxious to clear themselves from the imputation of a crime which they saw to be universally detested. They dismissed the murderer, who was glad to escape from ignominy by condemning himself to perpetual banishment. The only one of his crimes for which the Archbishop of St Andrews afterwards expressed contrition before his execution, was his accession to the murder of the regent.[3] Nor were these feelings confined to Scotland; the sensation was general through England, and the expressions of grief and condolence from that country evinced the uncommon esteem in which he was held by all ranks.

[1] This is clear from many considerations. Within a few days after the regent's assassination, his secretary, Mr John Wood, was murdered in Fife. Anderson's Col. iii. 84. The house in which Bothwellhaugh concealed himself, while he committed the murder, belonged to the Archbishop of St Andrews, who acknowledged that he was privy and accessory to the deed. Historie of King James the Sext, p. 117. The horse on which the murderer escaped belonged to John Hamilton, Abbot of Arbroath, one of the duke's sons. Cald. ad ann. 1570. He rode immediately to Hamilton, where he was "received with great applause." Ibid. Nay, grounds are not wanting for strong suspicion, that Maitland, and even Kirkaldy of Grange, who had long been the bosom friend of the regent, were acquainted with the conspiracy against his life. Ibid. Bannatyne's Journal, p. 429. Buchan. i. 384.

[2] Cald. *ut supra*. Buchanan, Oper. i. 385. Spotswood, 233.

[3] Bannatyne, p. 121. "To the thrid head" (his participation in the murder of the regent) the archbishop "answerit thus: That he not only knew thairof, and wald not stop it, bot rather furtherit the deed thairof, quhilk he repentit, and askit God mercie for the same." Historie of King James the Sext, p. 117. "Jhon Hamilton, bishop of Sanctandros, enemie to thy kirk and to the kingis autoritie, confessit at his daith of the knawledge of Erle of Morray regent's murther, and that he myght haif stayit the same gif he plesit." MS. Papers of the Laird of Lochleven. Yet an author in the nineteenth century can write of this deed in the following terms: "The heiress of Woodhouselee fell a sacrifice to the corrupt tyranny of the Regent Moray. Her husband, Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, put the guilty tyrant to death, as 'base-born Moray rode through old Linlithgow's crowded town.'" Chalmers's Caledonia, vol. ii. p. 571.

It was the happiness of the regent that in his youth he fell into the company of men who cultivated his vigorous understanding, gave a proper direction to his activity, and instilled into his mind the principles of religion and virtue. His early adoption of the reformed sentiments, the steadiness with which he adhered to them, the uniform correctness of his morals, his integrity, sagacity, and enterprising but cool courage, soon placed him in the first rank among those who embarked in the struggle for the reformation of religion, and the maintenance of national liberties, and secured to him their cordial and unbounded confidence. The honours which Mary conferred on him were not too great for the services which he performed; and had she continued to act by his advice, those measures would have been avoided which brought on her ruin. He was repeatedly placed in a situation which would have tempted the ambition of persons possessed of far inferior abilities; yet he showed no disposition to grasp at the supreme authority. When he accepted the regency, it was in compliance with the decided and uncorrupted choice of the acting majority in the kingdom, pointing him out as the person for occupying that high station; and his conduct, in one of the most delicate and embarrassing situations in which a governor was ever placed, showed that his countrymen were not mistaken in their choice. He united, in no ordinary degree, those qualities which are rarely combined in the same individual, and which form the character of an accomplished prince. Excelling equally in the arts of war and peace, he reduced the country to obedience by his military skill and valour, and preserved it in a state of tranquillity and order by the wise and impartial administration of justice. Successful in all his warlike enterprises, he never once tarnished the laurels of victory by cruelty or unnecessary rigour to the vanquished. He knew how to maintain the authority of the laws, and to bridle the licentious, by salutary severity, and at the same time to temper the rigour of justice by the interposition of mercy. He used to sit personally in the courts of judicature, and exerted himself to obtain for all the subjects an easy and expeditious decision of litigated causes. His hospitality, his unostentatious charity, his uncommon liberality to the learned, and the anxiety he showed to confer his favours in the manner least calculated to hurt their feelings, have been celebrated by one who had the best opportunities of becoming acquainted with these amiable traits of his character.[1] Nor has the breath of calumny, which has attempted in many ways to blast his reputation, ever insinuated that he oppressed or burdened the public, during his regency, in order to enrich himself or his family. Add to all these qualities, his exemplary piety, the only source of genuine and exalted virtue. His family was so regulated as to resemble a church rather than a court. Not a profane or lewd word was to be heard from any of his domestics. A chapter of the Bible was always

[1] Buchanan, Oper. i. 385.

read at table after dinner and supper; and it was his custom, on such occasions, to require his chaplain, or some learned man present, to give his opinion upon the passage, for his own instruction and that of his family. "A man truly good," says Archbishop Spotswood, "and worthy to be ranked among the best governors that this kingdom hath enjoyed, and therefore to this day honoured with the title of The Good Regent."[1]

This may perhaps be deemed by some readers an improper digression. But though it had been less connected with the subject of this work than it is, and though the familiarity and co-operation between the regent and the Reformer had been less intimate and cordial than they really were, I could not have denied myself the satisfaction of paying a small tribute to the memory of one of the greatest men of his age, who has been traduced and vilified in a most unjustifiable manner, and whose character has been drawn with unfavourable, and, in my opinion, with unfair colours, by the most moderate and impartial of our historians. All that I have attempted is to sketch the more prominent features of his character. That he was faultless I am far from wishing to insinuate; but the principal charges which have been brought against him I consider as either irrelevant, or unproved, or greatly exaggerated. That his exaltation to the highest dignity in the state which a subject could enjoy, produced no unfavourable change on his temper and behaviour, is what none can be prepared to affirm; but I have not seen the contrary established. The confidence which he reposed in his friends was great, and he was inclined to pay much deference to their advice; but that he became the dupe of worthless favourites, and fell by listening to their flattery, and refusing to hearken to wholesome advice, and not by the treachery of his friends and the malice of his enemies, are assertions which have been repeated upon the authority of a single witness, unsupported by facts, and capable of being disproved.[2]

The regent died on the evening of Saturday, the 23d of January 1570; and the intelligence of his murder was conveyed early next morning to Edinburgh. It is impossible to describe the anguish which the Reformer felt on this occasion. The loss of a noble and endeared friend was the least evil which he had to deplore. Of all the Scottish nobility, he placed the greatest confidence in Moray's attachment to religion; and his conduct after his elevation to the regency had served to heighten the good opinion which he formerly entertained of him. He looked upon his death as the greatest calamity which could befall the nation, and as a forerunner of many evils.[3] When the shock produced by the melancholy tidings had subsided, the first thought that rushed into his mind was, that he had himself been the instrument of obtaining, from his clemency, a pardon to the man who had become his murderer; a thought

[1] Hist., p. 234. [2] See Note LLL.
[3] Smotoni Responsio ad Hamiltonii Dialogum, p. 116.

which naturally produced a very different impression on him from what it did on the mind of the dying regent.[1]

In his sermon that day he introduced the melancholy subject; and after saying, that God in his great mercy raised up pious rulers, and took them away in his displeasure, on account of the sins of a nation, he thus poured out the sorrows of his heart: "O Lord, in what misery and confusion found he this realm! To what rest and quietness now by his labours, suddenly he brought the same, all estates, but especially the poor commons, can witness. Thy image, O Lord, did so clearly shine in that personage, that the devil, and the people to whom he is prince, could not abide it; and so to punish our sins and our ingratitude, (who did not rightly esteem so precious a gift), thou hast permitted him to fall, to our great grief, in the hands of cruel and traitorous murderers. He is at rest, O Lord; we are left in extreme misery."[2]

Only a few days before this, and after the plan of the murder was fully concerted, Gavin Hamilton, Abbot of Kilwinning, applied to Knox to intercede with the regent in behalf of some of his kinsmen, who were confined for practising against the government. He signified his readiness to do all in his power for the relief of any of that family who were willing to own the authority of the king, but entreated the abbot not to abuse him by employing his services, if his relations intended to do any mischief to the regent;[3] for "I protest," said he, "before God, who is the only witness now betwixt us, that if there be anything attempted, by any of that surname, against the person of that man, in that case I discharge myself to you and them for ever." After the assassination, the abbot sent to desire another interview; but Knox refused to see him, and desired the messenger to say, "I have not now the regent to make suit unto for the Hamiltons."[4]

At this time there was handed about a fabricated account of a pretended conference held by the late regent with Lord Lindsay, Wishart of Pittarow, the Tutor of Pitcur, James Makgill, and Knox; in which they were represented as advising him to set aside the young king, and place the crown on his own head. To give it the greater air of credibility, the modes of expression peculiar to each of the persons were carefully imitated in the speeches put into their mouths. The evident design of circulating it at this time was to lessen the odium of the murder, and the veneration of the people for the memory of Moray; but it

[1] "Upon the 22 of Maii, the Sherife of Linlithgow, the Laird of Innerweek, James Hamilton of Bothelhaugh, and six others, were put to an assyse; their hands bound; and pardoned at the request of Mr Knox, whereof he sore repented; for Bothwelhaugh killed the regent shortlie after." Cald. MS. ad ann. 1568.

[2] Cald. MS. ii. 150. He is said to have added this to his usual prayers after dinner and supper. But in a volume of Calderwood's History, in the Advocates Library in Edinburgh, which has been transcribed more early than any copy which I have seen), these words are scored out; and it is introduced as the prayer which he offered up in public, on the day on which he was informed of the regent's death.

[3] Great apprehensions of this were entertained by the regent's friends. Bannatyne, p. 428—429.

[4] Cald. MS. ad ann. 1570.

was universally regarded as an impudent and gross forgery. The person who fabricated it was Thomas Maitland, a young man of talents, but corrupted by his brother, the secretary, who had previously engaged himself to the queen's party, and was suspected of having had a deep hand in the plot for assassinating the regent.[1]

On the day on which the weekly conference was held in Edinburgh, the same person slipped into the pulpit a schedule, containing words to this effect: "Take up now the man whom you accounted another God, and consider the end to which his ambition hath brought him." It was Knox's turn to preach that day. On entering the pulpit he took up the paper, supposing it to be a note requesting the prayers of the congregation for a sick person, and having read it, laid it aside without any apparent emotion. But towards the conclusion of his sermon, after deploring the loss which the Church and commonwealth had recently sustained, and declaring the account of the conference, which had been circulated, to be false and calumnious, he said that there were persons who rejoiced at the treasonable murder, and scrupled not to make it the subject of their merriment; and particularly, there was one present who had thrown into the pulpit a paper exulting over an event which was the cause of grief to all good men: "that wicked man, whosoever he be, shall not go unpunished, and shall die where there shall be none to lament him." Maitland, after he went home, said to his sister that the preacher was raving, when he spake in such a manner of a person who was unknown to him; but she, suspecting that her brother had written the line, reproved him, saying with tears, that none of that man's denunciations were wont to prove idle. Spotswood (who had his information personally from the mouth of that lady) says that Maitland died in Italy, "having no known person to attend him."[2]

On Tuesday the 14th of February, the regent's corpse was brought from the palace of Holyrood House, and interred in the south aisle of the collegiate Church of St Giles. Before the funeral Knox preached a sermon on these words, "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord." Three thousand persons were dissolved in tears before him, while he described the virtues of the regent, and bewailed his loss."[3] Buchanan paid a tribute to the memory of his deceased patron, by writing the inscription placed on his monument,[4] with that expressive simplicity and

[1] Ibid., ii. 151—157.

[2] Spotswood, p. 234. Mackenzie labours to discredit the archbishop's narrative of this affair. Lives of Scottish Writers, iii. 195, 196. But whatever opinion we may form about the prediction, it cannot be doubted that Spotswood had the best means of information respecting the facts which he relates. Nor has Mackenzie any other authority for what he says about the death of Maitland than the archbishop's.

[3] Cald. MS. ii. 157.

[4] The inscription, engraved on brass, is yet preserved; and a copy of it will be found in Note MMM. But Buchanan has, in his History, reared to the regent "a monument more durable than brass," which will preserve his memory as long as the language in which it is written shall continue to be understood, and as long as a picture taken from life shall be preferred to the representations of fancy or of prejudice. Nor has he neglected to celebrate him in his verses. Epigram. lib. ii. 29, iii. 7, 9, 18.

brevity which are dictated by genuine grief. A convention of the nobility was held after the funeral, at which it was resolved to avenge his death; but different opinions were entertained as to the mode of doing this, and the commons complained loudly of the remissness with which the resolution was prosecuted. The General Assembly, at their first meeting, testified their detestation of the crime, by ordering the assassin to be publicly excommunicated in all the chief towns of the kingdom, and by appointing the same process to be used against all who should afterwards be convicted of accession to the murder.[1]

During the sitting of the convention, Knox received a number of letters from his acquaintances in England, expressive of their high regard for the character of the regent, and their sorrow at so grievous a loss.[2] One of these was from Christopher Goodman, and another from John Willock, who either had not complied with the invitation of the General Assembly, or had again returned to England.[3] The other letters were from Englishmen, who had no immediate connection with Scotland. Dr Laurence Humphrey[4] urged Knox to write a memoir of the deceased. Had he done this, his intimate acquaintance with the regent would, no doubt, have enabled him to communicate many particulars of which we must now be content to remain ignorant; but though he had been disposed to undertake this task, the state of his health would have prevented its execution.

The grief which he indulged on account of this mournful event, and the confusions which followed it, preyed upon his spirits, and injured his health.[5] In the month of October he had a stroke of apoplexy,[6] which affected his speech to a considerable degree. On this occasion his enemies exulted, and circulated the most exaggerated tales respecting his disorder. The report ran through Scotland and England, that John

[1] Spotswood, 235. [2] Cald. *ut supra.*

[3] A late author has very wantonly attempted to load the memory of this excellent man with a capital crime. He gives the following extract from the Paper Office, 22d April 1590: — "Twa men, the ane namyt Johnne Gibsone, Scottishman, preacher, and the other Johnne Willokis, now baith lying in prison at Leicester, were convicted by a jury of robbery." The last of these convicts, says he, was "the reforming coadjutor of Knox." Chalmers's Life of Ruddiman, p. 307. What evidence has this author for saying so? Nothing but the sameness of the name! Just as if a person, on reading in the public papers of one George Chalmers, who was convicted of a robbery, (no unlikely thing), should immediately take it into his head that this was, and could be, no other than the author of the Life of Ruddiman, and Caledonia! It is evident that the second convict was no preacher, else this designation would have been added to his name, as well as to that of the first. It is probable that Willock, who was a preacher as early as 1540, was not alive in 1590: it is utterly incredible that he should then have been in a condition to act as a robber. But it is paying too much regard to such a charge to bring exculpatory proof.

[4] In the copy of Cald. MS. belonging to the Church of Scotland, the name is written *Winfrid*; but in the copy in the Advocates' Library, it is *Umfrede*. The person meant is evidently Dr Laurence Humphrey, (Umfredius), Professor of Divinity, and head of one of the colleges, in the University of Oxford. This learned man was a Puritan, but enjoyed the patronage of Secretary Cecil. Strype's Annals, i. 421, 430—432.

[5] Smetoni Responsio ad Hamiltonii Dialogum, p. 116.

[6] Bannatyne's Journal, p. 54. Cald. MS. ii. 206. Bannatyne says, "the disorder was a kynd of apoplexia, called by the phisitiones resolutione;" probably a more gentle stroke of the disorder, attended with relaxation of the system.

Knox would never preach or speak more,—that his face was turned into his neck,—that he was become the most deformed creature ever seen,—that he was actually dead. A most unequivocal proof of the high consideration in which he was held, which our Reformer received in common with other great men of his age![1]

[1] In 1556 Calvin was suddenly seized in the pulpit with a fever, which confined him to his bed for a considerable time, and from which it was not thought he would recover. On hearing this, the popish clergy of Noyon, his native city, met, and rather prematurely gave public thanks to God for his death. Melch. Adam. Vitæ Exter. Theol. p. 93.—"Plusieurs grands hommes (says Senebier) ont partagé cet honneur avec Calvin, et ont eu, comme lui, la satisfaction de connoitre la profonde estime qu'on avoit conçue pour eux." Histoire Litteraire de Genève, tom. i. p. 228. Luther, having received in 1545 a copy of an account of his own death, printed at Naples, caused it to be reprinted, with this note: "I, Doctor Martin Luther, attest that I received this frantic fable on this 21st of March, and am delighted beyond measure to understand that the devil and his spawn, the pope and papists, hate me so heartily." Seckendorf, Hist. Lutheran, lib. iii. p. 581.

PERIOD IX.

FROM OCTOBER 1570, WHEN HE WAS STRUCK WITH APOPLEXY, TO HIS DEATH, IN NOVEMBER 1572.

THOSE who flattered themselves that the Reformer's disorder was mortal were disappointed, for he was restored to the use of his speech, and was able, in the course of a few days, to resume preaching, at least on Sabbath-days.[1] He never recovered, however, from the debility which was produced by the apoplectic stroke.

The confusions which he had augured from the death of the good regent soon broke out, and again spread the flames of civil discord through the nation. The Earl of Lennox, who was the natural guardian of his grandson, was advanced to the regency; but he was deficient in the talents which were requisite for so difficult a station, and the knowledge of his weakness emboldened and increased the party which was attached to the queen. The Hamiltons openly raised her standard, and were strengthened by the influence and abilities of Maitland. William Kirkaldy of Grange, whom Moray had made governor of the castle of Edinburgh, after concealing his defection for some time under the flag of neutrality, declared himself on the same side, and became a principal agent in attempting to overturn that government which he had been so zealous in erecting. Maitland's tergiversation surprised nobody; but the defection of Kirkaldy was deeply felt by those with whom he had been so long associated. It proved a source of the keenest distress to Knox. The acquaintance which they had formed in the castle of St Andrews,[2] grew into intimacy during their confinement in the French galleys; and Knox could never forget the services which Kirkaldy performed during the subsequent struggle for reformation, and continued to the last to cherish the hope that he was at heart a friend to religion. Under the influence of these feelings, he spared no pains in endeavouring to prevent him from renouncing his fidelity to the king, and afterwards to reclaim him from his apostasy. But in both attempts he was unsuccessful.

In the end of the year 1570 he was personally involved in a disagree-

[1] Bannatyne's Journal, p. 55.

[2] James Kirkaldy of Grange was restored to his lands, &c. at the request and special desire of Henry II. of France, by letters under the signet and privy seal of Queen Mary, dated at Paris, 26th February 1556. William Kirkaldy of Grange, son and heir to the former, was restored by letters dated the 13th of February 1561. Reg. Secr. Sig., lib. xxxi. f. 16.

able quarrel with Kirkaldy. One of the soldiers belonging to the castle having been imprisoned by the magistrates on a charge of murder, the governor sent a party from the garrison, who broke open the Tolbooth, and carried off the prisoner. In his sermon on the following Sabbath Knox condemned this riot, and violation of the house of justice. Had it been done by the authority of a bloodthirsty man, or one who had no fear of God, he would not, he said, have been so much moved at it; but he was affected to think that one of whom all good men had formed so great expectations, should have fallen so far as to act such a part; one too, who, when formerly in prison, had refused to purchase his own liberty by the shedding of blood.[1] An erroneous and exaggerated report of this censure being conveyed to the castle, the governor, in great rage, made his complaint, first to Knox's colleague, and afterwards formally to the kirk-session, that he had been calumniated as a murderer, and required that his character should be vindicated as publicly as it had been traduced. Knox, understanding that his words had been misrepresented, embraced the first opportunity of explaining and vindicating them from the pulpit. On a subsequent day, Kirkaldy, who had absented himself from church nearly a whole year, came down to St Giles's, accompanied with a number of the persons who had been active in the murder and riot. Regarding this as an attempt to overawe the authorities, and set public opinion at defiance, the Reformer dwelt particularly, in his discourse, upon the sinfulness of forgetting benefits received from God, and warned his hearers against confiding in the divine mercy, while they were knowingly transgressing any of the commandments, or proudly defending their transgression.

Kirkaldy was much incensed at this admonition, which he considered as levelled at him, and made use of very threatening language in speaking of the preacher. The report spread that the governor of the castle was become a sworn enemy to Knox, and intended to kill him. Upon this, several noblemen and gentlemen of Kyle and Cunningham sent a letter to Kirkaldy, in which, after reminding him of his former appearances for religion, and mentioning the reports which had reached their ears, they warned him against doing anything to the hurt of that man, whom "God had made the first planter and chief waterer of his Church among them," and protested that "his death and life were as dear to them as their own."[2]

Knox was not to be deterred from doing what he considered to be his duty. He persisted in warning his hearers to avoid all participation with those who prevented the punishment of atrocious crimes, by supporting the pretensions of the queen, and who exposed the reformed religion to the utmost hazard, by opposing the king's authority. When the General Assembly met in March 1571, anonymous libels were thrown into the house where they were sitting, and placards affixed to the church doors, accusing him of seditious railing against their sovereign, the

[1] See above, p. 37.

[2] Bannatyne's Journal, p. 67—87.

queen, refusing to pray for her welfare and conversion, representing her as a reprobate whose repentance was hopeless, and uttering imprecations against her. One of the placards concluded with a threat that, if the Assembly did not restrain him by their authority from using such language, the complainers would themselves apply a remedy to the evil "with greater unquietness." The Assembly having, by public intimation, required the complainers to come forward and substantiate their charges, another anonymous writing appeared, promising that accusers should not be wanting against next Assembly, if the preacher continued his offensive speeches, and was "then law-byding, and not fugitive, according to his accustomed manner."

Several of his friends dealt with him to pass over these unauthenticated libels in silence, but he refused to comply with this advice, considering that the credit of his ministry was implicated. Accordingly, he produced them in the pulpit, and returned a particular answer to the accusations which they contained. That he had charged the late queen with the crimes of which she had been notoriously guilty, he granted,—that he had railed against her, he denied; nor would they be able to substantiate this charge against him, without at the same time proving Isaiah, Jeremiah, and other inspired writers, to have been railers. "From them he had learned plainly and boldly to call wickedness by its own terms—a fig, a fig, and a spade, a spade." He had never called the queen reprobate, nor said that her repentance was impossible; but he had affirmed that pride and repentance could not remain long together in one heart. He had prayed that God, for the comfort of his Church, would oppose his power to her pride, and confound her and her assistants in their impiety: this prayer, let them call it imprecation or execration as they pleased, had stricken, and would yet strike, whoever supported her. To the charge of not praying for the queen, he answered, "I am not bound to pray for her in this place, for sovereign to me she is not; and I let them understand that I am not a man of law that has my tongue to sell for silver, or favour of the world."[1] What title she now had, or ever had to the government, he would not dispute; the estates had deprived her of it, and it belonged to them to answer for this: as for him, he had hitherto lived in obedience to all lawful authority within the kingdom. To the threatening against his life, and the insinuation that he might not be "law-byding, but fugitive" against next Assembly, he replied, that his life was in the custody of Him who had hitherto preserved him from many dangers, that he had reached an age at which he was not apt to flee far, nor could any yet accuse him of

[1] Crawfurd, in his Memoirs of Scotland, (p. 186, Edin. anno 1706), among other things disgraceful to our Reformers, says that they openly avowed, on this occasion, "That to pray for, or forgive our real or reputed enemies, was no part of a Christian's duty." It is sufficient to say, that there is not one word of this in the "authentick MS." from which he professes that his Memoirs were "faithfully published." See History and Life of King James the Sext, pp. 113, 114. The public are under great obligations to Mr Malcolm Laing, for exposing this literary forgery, which had continued so long to impose upon our most acute and industrious historians.

having left the people committed to his charge, except at their own command.

After these answers, his enemies fled, as their last resort, to an attack upon his Blast of the Trumpet, and accused him of inconsistency in writing against female government, and yet praying for Queen Elizabeth, and seeking her support against his native country. This accusation he also met in the pulpit, and refuted with great spirit. After vindicating his consistency, he concluded in the following manner: "One thing in the end, I may not pretermit; that is, to give him a lie in his throat that either dare, or will say, that ever I sought support against my native country. What I have been to my country, albeit this unthankful age will not know, yet the ages to come will be compelled to bear witness to the truth. And thus I cease, requiring of all men that has to oppose anything against me, that he will do it so plainly as I make myself and all my doings manifest to the world; for to me it seems a thing most unreasonable, that, in my decrepit age, I shall be compelled to fight against shadows, and howlets that dare not abide the light."[1]

The conduct of our Reformer at this period affords a striking display of the unextinguishable ardour of his mind. Previous to the breaking out of the late disturbances, he had given up attendance on church courts. He never went abroad except on Sabbath-day, to preach in the forenoon. He was so debilitated as to be unable to go to the pulpit without assistance.[2] He had weaned his heart from the world, and expressed his resolution to take no more part in public affairs. In answer to a letter of his esteemed friend, Sir William Douglas of Lochleven, who had informed him of an intended attempt on the castle of St Andrews by Archbishop Hamilton, and requested his good offices for certain preachers, we find him, on the 31st of March 1570, writing as follows: "How such troublers may be stayed in their enterprises, I commit to God, to whose counsels I commit you in that and all other causes worldly, for I have taken my good-night of it; and therefore bear with me, good sir, albeit I write not to the superintendent of Fife in the action that ye desire."[3] But whenever he saw the church and commonwealth seriously in danger, he forgot his infirmities and his resolutions, and entered into the cause with all the keenness of his more vigorous days. Whether the public proceedings of the nation, or his own conduct, were arraigned,—whether the attacks upon them were open or clandestine, he stood prepared to repel them, and convinced the adversaries, that they could not accomplish their designs without opposition, as long as he was able to move or speak.[4]

[1] The accusation and defence may be seen at full length in Bannatyne's Journal, 190—210.

[2] Bannatyne, p. 77.

[3] Letter to Laird of Lochleven, in Appendix.

[4] The lively interest which he continued to take in public affairs is apparent from the letters of his correspondents. Captain Crawford of Jordanhill sent him, at his desire, a minute account of the taking of Dumbarton castle, with an inventory of the arms, ammunition, and provisions, which were found in it. Bannatyne, 123. There are also two letters to him from Alexander Hay, clerk of the privy council, informing him of the most important transactions in England, and on the Continent. Ibid., p. 291—302.

His situation became very critical in April 1571, when Kirkaldy received the Hamiltons with their forces into the castle. Their inveteracy against him was so great that his friends were obliged to watch his house during the night. They proposed forming a guard for the protection of his person when he went abroad; but the governor of the castle forbade this, as implying a suspicion of his own intentions, and offered to send Melvil, one of his officers, to conduct him to and from the church. "He wold gif the woulf the wedder to keip," says Bannatyne. Induced by the importunity of the citizens, Kirkaldy applied to the duke and his party for a protection to Knox; but they refused to pledge their word for his safety, because "there were many rascals and others among them who loved him not, that might do him harm without their knowledge."[1] Intimations were often given him of threatenings against his life; and one evening a musket-ball was fired in at his window, and lodged in the roof of the apartment in which he was sitting. It happened that he sat at the time in a different part of the room from that which he had been accustomed to occupy, otherwise the ball, from the direction it took, must have struck him.[2] Alarmed by this occurrence, a deputation of the citizens, accompanied by his colleague, waited upon him, and renewed a request which they had formerly made, that he would remove from Edinburgh, to a place where his life would be in greater safety, until the queen's party should evacuate the town. But he refused to yield to them, apprehending that his enemies wished to intimidate him into flight, that they might carry on their designs more quietly, and then accuse him of cowardice. Being unable to persuade him by any other means, they had recourse at last to an argument which prevailed. They told him that, if he was attacked, they were determined to risk their lives in his defence; and if blood was shed in the quarrel, which was highly probable, they would leave it on his head. Upon this he consented to remove from the city, "sore against his will."[3]

He left Edinburgh on the 5th of May 1571, and crossing the Firth at Leith, travelled by short stages to St Andrews, which he had chosen as the place of his retreat.[4] His pulpit was filled by Alexander Gordon, Bishop of Galloway, who preached and prayed in a manner more acceptable to the queen's party than his predecessor, but little to the satisfaction of the people, who despised him on account of his weakness, and disliked him for supplanting their favourite pastor.[5] A number of the most respectable inhabitants were driven from the capital by violence, while others were induced to quit it, and retire to Leith, that they might not be understood as even practically submitting to the queen's authority. The Church of Edinburgh was for a time dissolved. The cele-

[1] Bannatyne, 132—133, 145.

[2] Cald. MS. ad ann. 1572. Life prefixed to History, anno 1644.

[3] Bannatyne, 144—146.

[4] Ibid. Hist. of King James the Sext, 123. Keith's Scottish Bishops, 166. The principles upon which the bishop vindicated the authority of the queen, and the duty of praying for her in the pulpit, show the strong and universal opinion entertained of her guilt at that time. He did not venture to insinuate her innocence, although the town was full of armed men, who were enlisted under her banners. Bannatyne, 181, 182.

bration of the Lord's Supper was suspended. And, whereas formerly scarce a day passed without some public exercise of religion, there was now, during a whole week, "neither preaching nor prayer; neither was there any sound of bell heard in all the town, except the ringing of the cannon."[1]

The kingdom was now subjected to all the miseries of civil war and intestine faction. In almost every part of the country there were adherents to the king and to the queen, who exasperated each other by reciprocal reproaches and injuries. The regent fortified Leith, while the queen's party kept possession of the castle and town of Edinburgh. As the two armies lay at a small distance from one another, and neither of them was sufficiently strong for undertaking to dispossess the other, they were daily engaged in petty skirmishes; and several acts of disgraceful retaliation, which rarely happen in the open field, were committed on both sides. The evidence which the queen's friends gave of their personal antipathy to the Reformer, clearly showed that his life would have been in imminent danger, if he had remained among them. An inhabitant of Leith was assaulted and his body mutilated, because he was of the same name with him. A servant of John Craig, being met one day by a reconnoitring party, and asked who was his master, answered, in his trepidation, Mr Knox; upon which he was seized, and, although he immediately corrected his mistake, they desired him to "hold at his first master," and dragged him to prison. Having fortified St Giles's steeple to overawe the inhabitants, the soldiers baptised one of the cannons by the name of Knox, which they were so fond of firing that it burst, killed two of the party, and wounded others.[2] They circulated the most ridiculous tales respecting his conduct at St Andrews. John Law, the letter-carrier of that city, being in the castle of Edinburgh, "the ladie Home and utheris wald neidis thraip in his face, that" John Knox "was banist the said toune, becaus that in the yarde he had reasit sum sanctis, amongis whome thair came up the devill with hornis, which when his servant Richart sawe, [he] ran woode, and so died."[3]

Although he was now free from personal danger, Knox did not find St Andrews that peaceful retreat which he had expected. The friends of Kirkaldy, and of Sir James Balfour,[4] resided in the neighbourhood, and the Hamiltons had their relations and partisans both in the university and among the ministry. These were thorns in the Reformer's side, and made his situation very uneasy, as long as he resided among them. Having left Edinburgh, because he could not be permitted to disburden his conscience, by testifying against the designs of per-

[1] Bannatyne, 144, 169, 170. Hist. of King James the Sext, 123, 124. Knox's Epistle to his Brethren of the Church of Edinburgh, now dispersed. Streveling, 1571.

[2] Bannatyne, 154, 240, 322.

[3] Bannatyne, 309, 310. "Gif this had been their first inventit lie," says the same Richart, "I wald never have blackit paper for it."

[4] See above, p. 35.

sons whom he regarded as conspirators against the legal government of the country, and favourers of a faction who intended nothing less than the overthrow of the reformed religion, it was not to be expected that he would preserve silence on this subject at St Andrews. Accordingly, in the discourses which he preached on the eleventh chapter of Daniel's prophecy, he frequently took occasion to advert to recent transactions, and to inveigh against the murder of the late king, and of the regent. This was very grating to the ears of the opposite faction, particularly to Robert and Archibald Hamilton, the former one of the ministers of the city, and the latter a professor in one of the colleges. Irritated by the censures which Knox pronounced against his kinsmen, Robert Hamilton attempted to injure his reputation, by circulating in private that it did not become him to exclaim so loudly against murderers; for he had seen his subscription, along with that of the Earl of Moray, to a bond for assassinating Darnley at Perth. When this came to the Reformer's ears, he immediately wrote a letter to Hamilton, desiring him to say whether he was the author of the slanderous report. Not receiving a satisfactory answer, he communicated the matter to Douglas, rector of the university, and Rutherford, provost of St Salvator's College, requesting them to converse with their colleague on the subject, and to inform him, that, if he did not give satisfaction for the slander which he had propagated, a complaint would be lodged against him before the Church. Upon this he came to Knox's room, and denied that he had ever given any ground for such a scandalous surmise.[1]

Archibald Hamilton being complained of for withdrawing from Knox's sermons, and for accusing him of intolerable railing, endeavoured to bring the matter under the cognisance of the masters of the university, among whom he possessed considerable influence.[2] Knox did not scruple to give an account of his conduct before the professors, for their satisfaction; but he judged it necessary to enter a protest

[1] Bannatyne, p. 380—3. Goodall, after relating this story, attempts, but with his usual imbecility of argument, to deduce from it that Moray had really conspired to murder Darnley, and that Knox was one of his accomplices. "They all talk of it," says he, "as a known uncontroverted matter of fact. And Knox's waiving all prosecution, and hushing up the business, is more than a tacit acknowledgment that he was in the plot, and a subscriber." Examination, i. 211. According to this doctrine, if a person shall rest satisfied with a private apology for a slander which a weak and irritable man had imprudently circulated to his prejudice, and if he shall decline a public prosecution, this must be regarded as good proof of his guilt, and of the truth of the report! With respect to Moray's having conspired against Darnley at the time of his marriage, it is true that such a thing was reported; but it is not mentioned in the proceedings against that nobleman, nor is there the least allusion to it in any of the proclamations which the queen issued against him, although Moray publicly accused Darnley of a plot against his life. If the court had credited that report, and possessed any evidence of its truth, it will not be easy to account for this silence.

[2] Archibald Hamilton, a short time after this, left Scotland, and, going to France, made a recantation of the Protestant religion. As an evidence of the sincerity of his conversion to Popery, he published *De Confusione Calvinianæ Sectæ apud Scotos Dialogus*—a book which I have frequently referred to, and which strikingly exemplifies the adage, *Omnis apostata osor acerrimus sui ordinis.* In the copious abuse of Knox with which it teems, we are reminded of the present quarrel. Thomas Smeton, principal of the University of Glasgow, published an elegant and masterly answer to this Dialogue. Hamilton replied in a work entitled *Calvinianæ Confusionis Demonstratio: Parisiis*, 1581. Of this treatise, which is rarer than his first, specimens will be found in the notes at the end of this volume.

that his appearance before them should not invalidate the liberty of the pulpit, nor the authority of the regular church courts, to which, and not to any university, the judgment of religious doctrine belonged.[1] This incident accounts for the zeal with which he expresses himself on this subject in one of his letters to the General Assembly ; in which he exhorts them, above all things, to preserve the Church from the bondage of the universities, and not to exempt them from ecclesiastical jurisdiction, or allow them to become judges of the doctrine taught from the pulpit.[2]

The military operations during the civil war were chiefly distinguished by two enterprises, which claim our notice from the influence which they had upon the affairs of the Church. The one was the taking of Dumbarton Castle, which was surprised, on the 2d of April 1571, by a small party of the regent's forces, led by Captain Crawford of Jordanhill. Archbishop Hamilton, having fallen into the hands of the captors, was soon after condemned, and ended his life on the gibbet. The execution of prisoners, although chargeable with crimes which merit death, is ordinarily avoided in civil contests, because it produces reprisals from the opposite party; but in every other respect the fate of Hamilton is not a subject of regret or of censure. Of all the queen's adherents, his motives for supporting her cause appear to have been the most unworthy ; and his talents and rank in the Church ought not to be pleaded in extenuation of the vices by which his private character was stained, or the crimes of which he had been guilty.[3] The death of Hamilton gave occasion to a change in the ecclesiastical government, of which I shall speak immediately.

An enterprise equally bold with Crawford's, but less successful, was planned by Kirkaldy.[4] While the Regent Lennox was holding a parliament at Stirling, which was numerously attended, a party of soldiers suddenly entered the town early on the morning of September 3, 1571, seized the regent and the nobility who were along with him, and carried them away prisoners. The alarm having been given, the Earl of Mar sallied from the castle, and with the assistance of the towns-

[1] Hamiltonii Dialog. p. 61. Smetoni Responsio ad Hamiltonii Dialogum, pp. 90, 91. Bannatyne, p. 383—385.

[2] Bannatyne, p. 364.

[3] Archbishop Spotswood is displeased that a bishop, and one of his predecessors in the see of St Andrews, should have suffered so disgraceful a punishment. History, p. 252. Even Dr Robertson seems to have felt the *esprit de corps* on this occasion. It is surprising that this accurate historian should say, that the accusations against Hamilton, as "accessory to the murder both of the king and regent, were supported by no proof," and that his enemies, by "imputing to him such odious crimes," merely "sought some colour" for the sentence which they pronounced against him. History of Scotland, ii. 334. Hamilton confessed his accession to the regent's murder. See above, p. 245. As the record of the trial has not been preserved, we cannot determine what evidence was brought forward; but there are good grounds for believing that he was also concerned in the murder of the king. Keith, 447. Spotswood, 252.

[4] Dr Robertson seems to regret the failure of this expedition, and says that, if Kirkaldy's plan had succeeded, it would have "restored peace to his country." History of Scotland, ii. 339. It would certainly have given a very dangerous blow to the king's party ; but it is not easy to conceive how it could have produced a desirable or lasting peace, when we consider the dispositions of the great body of the nation, the situation of the queen, and the temper and views of her adherents.

men dispersed the assailants, and rescued the noblemen. But this was not accomplished without the loss of the regent, who was slain by the orders of Lord Claud Hamilton, in revenge for the death of the Archbishop of St Andrews. Lennox was succeeded in the regency by the Earl of Mar, a nobleman of great moderation, who, during the short time that he held that office, exerted himself to restore peace to the kingdom, and brought the negotiations for this purpose very near to a successful termination.

During these transactions the courtiers were devising a scheme for securing to themselves the principal part of the ecclesiastical revenues, which led to an alteration of the polity of the Church. We have repeatedly had occasion to notice the aversion of the nobility to the Book of Discipline, and the principal source from which this aversion sprung. While the Earl of Moray administered the government, he prevented any new encroachments upon the rights of the Church; but the succeeding regents were either less friendly to them, or less able to check the avarice of the more powerful nobles. Several of the richest benefices having become vacant by the death or by the forfeiture of the popish incumbents who had been permitted to retain them, it was necessary to determine in what manner they should be disposed of. The Church had uniformly required that their revenues should be divided, and applied to the support of the religious and literary establishments; but with this demand the courtiers were as much indisposed to comply as ever. At the same time, the secularisation of them was deemed too bold a step; nor could laymen, with any shadow of consistency, or by a valid title, hold benefices which the law declared to be ecclesiastical. The expedient resolved on was, that the bishoprics and other rich livings should be presented to certain ministers, who, previous to their admission, should make over the principal part of the revenues to such noblemen as had obtained the patronage of them from the court. This plan, which was concerted under the regency of Lennox, was carried into execution during that of Mar, chiefly by the influence of the Earl of Morton.

Morton, having obtained from the court a gift of the archbishopric of St Andrews, vacant by the execution of Hamilton, entered into a private agreement respecting its revenues with John Douglas, rector of the university, whom he presented to that see. At the meeting of parliament in Stirling, August 1571, the commissioners of the General Assembly protested against this transaction; but through the interest of Morton, Douglas, though not yet elected, was admitted to a seat in parliament, and the new scheme for seizing on the ecclesiastical livings was confirmed, notwithstanding the warm remonstrances of the ministers of the Church, and the strenuous opposition of the more zealous and disinterested barons.[1] Bishoprics and other great benefices were now openly conferred on noblemen, on persons totally unqualified

[1] Bannatyne, 246, 250, 255, 257, 260, 285.

for the ministry, and even on minors. Pluralities were multiplied; the ecclesiastical courts were hindered in the exercise of their jurisdiction;[1] and the collectors of the Church were prohibited from gathering the thirds, until some new regulation was adopted for supplying the necessities of the court.[2]

These proceedings having created great dissatisfaction through the nation, the regent and council called an extraordinary assembly of superintendents and other ministers, to meet at Leith in January 1572, to consult about an order which might prove more acceptable. Through the influence of the court, this convention consented that the titles of archbishop, and other ecclesiastical dignitaries, should be retained; that the bounds of the ancient dioceses should not be altered during the king's minority; and that qualified persons from among the ministers should be advanced to these dignities. They, however, allotted no greater power to archbishops and bishops than to superintendents, with whom they were to be equally subject to the Assemblies of the Church.[3] These regulations were submitted to the ensuing General Assembly at St Andrews, but as that meeting was thinly attended, it came to no determination respecting them. The Assembly held at Perth, in August 1572, resumed the subject, and came to the following resolution:—That the regulations contained certain titles, such as archbishop, dean, archdean, chancellor, and chapter, which savoured of Popery, and were scandalous and offensive to their ears; and that the whole Assembly, including the commissioners which had met at Leith, unanimously protested that they did not approve of these titles, that they submitted to the regulations merely as an interim arrangement, and that they would exert themselves to obtain a more perfect order from the regent and council.[4] Such was the origin and nature of that species of Episcopacy which was introduced into the Reformed Church of Scotland during the minority of James VI. It was disapproved of by the ministers of the Church; and on the part of the courtiers and nobility, it does not appear to have proceeded from prédilection to hierarchical government, but from the desire which they felt to obtain possession of the revenues of the Church. This was emphatically expressed by the name of tulchan bishops,[5] which was commonly applied to those who were at that time admitted to the office.

Knox did not fail from the beginning to oppose these encroachments on the rights and property of the Church. Being unable to attend the General Assembly held at Stirling in August 1571, he addressed a letter to it, warning the members of the new contest which he foresaw they would have to maintain, and animating them to fidelity and

[1] See Note NNN.

[2] Ibid., 253, 278, 312, 367. Cald. MS. ii. 284, 295.

[3] Records of Privy Council, January 16, 1571. Cald. MS. ii. 310—325. Calderwood, De Reg. Eccl. Scotic. Relatio, p. 8, anno 1618; and Epist. Philad. Vind. apud Altare Damasc. p. 727—729. Lugd. Batav. 1708. Petrie, part ii. p. 372—374.

[4] Buik of the Universall Kirk, p. 55. Matthew Crawfurd's History of the Church of Scotland, MS. vol. i. p. 80.

[5] A tulchan is a calf's skin stuffed with straw, set up to make the cow give her milk freely.

courage. "And now, brethren," says he, "because the daily decay of natural strength threateneth my certain and sudden departing from the misery of this life, of love and conscience I exhort you, yea, in the fear of God, I charge and command you, that ye take heed unto yourselves, and to the flock over which God hath placed you pastors. Unfaithful and traitorous to the flock shall ye be before the Lord Jesus Christ, if, with your consent directly, ye suffer unworthy men to be thrust into the ministry of the Church, under whatever pretence it shall be. Remember and judge before whom we must make our account, and resist that tyranny as ye would avoid hell-fire. This battle will be hard, but in the second point it will be harder; that is, that with the like uprightness and strength in God, ye gainstand the merciless devourers of the patrimony of the Church. If men will spoil, let them do it to their own peril and condemnation, but communicate ye not with their sins, of whatsoever estate they be, by consent nor by silence; but with public proclamation make this known unto the world, that ye are innocent of robbery, whereof ye will seek redress of God and man. God give you wisdom and stout courage in so just a cause, and me an happy end."[1] In a letter which he afterwards wrote to Wishart of Pittarow, he also expresses himself in a strain of honest but keen indignation at the avarice of the nobility.[2]

It has been insinuated that Knox gave his approbation to the resolutions of the convention at Leith to restore the episcopal office; and the articles sent by him to the General Assembly, in August 1572, have been appealed to as a proof of this. But all that can be fairly deduced from these articles is, that he desired the conditions and limitations agreed upon by that convention to be strictly observed in the election of bishops, in opposition to the granting of bishoprics to laymen,[3] and to the simoniacal pactions which the ministers made with the nobles on receiving presentations. Provided one of the propositions made by him to the Assembly had been enforced, and the bishops had been bound to give an account of the whole of their rents, and either to support ministers in the particular places from which they derived these, or else to pay into the funds of the Church the sums requisite for this purpose, it is evident that the mercenary views both of patrons and presentees would have been defeated, and the Church would have gained her object, the use of the episcopal revenues. The prospect of this induced some honest ministers to agree to the proposed regulations, at the convention held in Leith. But it required a greater portion of disinterested firmness than falls to most men, to act upon this principle;[4] and the nobles were

[1] Buik of the Universall Kirk, p. 53. Cald. MS. ii. 280, 281. Petrie, part ii. 370. Spotswood, 258. Collier says that, in Knox's Letter to the Assembly at Stirling, "there are some passages not unbecoming a person of integrity and courage." Hist. ii. 533. Those who are acquainted with the spirit of this historian, will think this high praise from such a quarter.

[2] See this Letter in the Appendix.

[3] One glaring instance of this had just taken place, in giving the bishopric of Ross to Lord Methven. Bannatyne, 366. Robertson's History of Scotland, ii. pp. 358, 359.

[4] I have read somewhere (though I cannot

able to find, even at that period, a sufficient number of pliant, needy, or covetous ministers, to be the partners or the dupes of their avarice.

Though our Reformer was of opinion that, in certain circumstances of the Church, a power might be delegated to some ministers to inspect the congregations within a particular district, and accordingly recommended the appointment of superintendents at the first establishment of the Reformation in Scotland, yet he did not allow of any class of office-bearers in the Church, under whatever name, who were superior either in office or in order to ministers or presbyters. His sentiments were not more favourable to diocesan Episcopacy in his latter than they had been in his earlier days. Writing to a correspondent in England, in the year 1568, he says, "I would most gladly pass through the course that God hath appointed to my labours, giving thanks to his holy name, for that it hath pleased his mercy to make me not a lord-bishop, but a painful preacher of his blessed evangel."[1] In his correspondence with Beza, he had informed him of the government established in the Scottish Church; and at this very time he received a letter from that reformer, congratulating him that he had banished the order of bishops, and admonishing him and his colleagues to beware of suffering it to re-enter under the deceitful pretext of preserving unity.[2] He had an opportunity of publicly declaring his sentiments on this subject at the installation of Douglas as Archbishop of St Andrews. Having preached as usual on Sabbath, February 13, 1572, the Earl of Morton, who was present, desired him to inaugurate Douglas; but he positively refused, and pronounced an anathema against both the donor and the receiver of the bishopric. The Provost of St Salvator's College having said that Knox's conduct proceeded from disappointment, because the bishopric had not been conferred on himself, he, on the following Sabbath, repelled this invidious charge. He had refused, he said, a greater bishopric than that of St Andrews, which he might have had by the favour of greater men than Douglas had his;[3] what he had spoken was for the exoneration of his conscience, that the Church of Scotland might not be subject to that order, especially after a very different one had been settled in the Book of Discipline, subscribed by the nobility, and ratified by parliament. He lamented also that a burden should have been laid upon an old man, which twenty men of the greatest ability could not sustain.[4] In the General Assembly held

at present find my authority) that Robert Pont, when offered a bishopric, took the advice of the General Assembly as to accepting it, and professed his readiness to apply its funds to the support of the ministry within the diocese.

[1] Letter to Mr John Wood, Feb. 14, 1568, in the Appendix.

[2] In this letter, Beza commends Knox for establishing, not merely the purity of doctrine in the Scottish Church, but also discipline and good order, without which the former could not be preserved for any time. Bezæ Epistol. Theol. ep. lxxxix. p. 344—355, edit. 1572.

[3] Meaning Edward VI. of England and his council. See above, pp. 49, 50.

[4] Bannatyne, 321, 325, 375. Cald. MS. ii. 269, 338, 340. Douglas, after he was made bishop, was continued in his offices of rector of the university and provost of St Mary's College. James Melville says, that he was "a good upright-hearted man, but ambitious and simple;" and that Knox spoke against him "bot sparinglie, because he loved the man." MS. Diary, p. 27.

at St Andrews in the following month, he not only entered a protest against the election of Douglas,[1] but also "opponed himself directly to the making of bishops."[2]

While he was engaged in these contests, his bodily strength was every day sensibly decaying. Yet he continued to preach, although unable to walk to the pulpit without assistance; and, when warmed with his subject, he forgot his weakness, and electrified the audience with his eloquence. James Melville, afterwards minister of Anstruther, was then a student at the college, and one of his constant hearers. The account which he has given of his appearance is exceedingly striking; and, as any translation would enfeeble it, I shall give it in his own words. "Of all the benefits that I had that year, [1571], was the coming of that maist notable profet and apostle of our nation, Mr Johne Knox, to St Andrews, who, be the faction of the queen occupeing the castell and town of Edinburgh, was compellit to remove therefra, with a number of the best, and chusit to come to St Andrews. I heard him teache there the prophecies of Daniel, that simmer and the wintar following. I had my pen and my little buike, and tuke away sic things as I could comprehend. In the opening up of his text, he was moderat the space of an half houre; but when he entered to application, he made me so to grew[3] and tremble, that I could not hald a pen to wryt. He was very weik. I saw him, every day of his doctrine, go hulie and fear,[4] with a furring of marticks about his neck, a staffe in the ane hand, and gude, godlie Richart Ballenden, his servand, halden up the uther oxter,[5] from the abbey to the parish kirk, and, by the said Richart, and another servand, lifted up to the pulpit, whar he behovit to lean at his first entrie; bot, er he haid done with his sermone, he was sa active and vigorous, that he was lyk to ding the pulpit in blads,[6] and flie out of it."[7]

The persons with whom the Reformer was most familiar at St Andrews were the professors of St Leonard's College, who often visited him at his lodging in the abbey. This college was distinguished by its warm attachment to the doctrines of the Reformation, which it had embraced at a very early period;[8] while the two other colleges were disaffected to the authority of the king, and several of their teachers suspected of leaning to Popery. The Reformer was accustomed to

[1] Bannatyne's Journal, p. 331.
[2] Melville's Diary, p. 26.
[3] Thrill.
[4] Slowly and warily.
[5] Arm-pit.
[6] It appeared as if he would beat the pulpit in pieces.
[7] Melville's Diary, pp. 23, 28. It is not without reason that I have added the above explanation of some phrases in this extract, as the reader will perceive from the following version of it, by a modern French writer, in the Journal des Debats: "A presbyterian fanatic, named Knox, stirred up the people by his violent preaching. Nothing proves the coarseness of that people so much, as the ascendancy which such a madman possessed over them. Old and broken down, and so helpless as to be hardly able to crawl along, he was raised to his pulpit by two zealous disciples, where he began his sermon with a feeble voice, and slow action; but soon heating himself, by the force of his passion and hatred, he bestirred himself like a madman; *he broke his pulpit, and jumped into the midst of his auditors* (sautoit au des auditeurs), transported by his violent declamation, and words still more violent." For this *morceau* I am indebted to the editor of "The Poetical Remains of Mr John Davidson. Edinburgh, 1829."
[8] See above, p. 15.

amuse himself by walking in St Leonard's Yard, and to look with peculiar complacency on the students, whom he regarded as the rising hope of the Church. He would sometimes call them to him, and bless them, and exhort them to be diligent in their studies, to attend to the instructions of their teachers, and imitate the good example which they set before them, to acquaint themselves with God, and with the great work which he had lately performed in their native country, and to cleave to the good cause. These familiar advices, from a person so venerable, made a deep impression on the minds of the young men. He even condescended to be present at a college exercise performed by them at the marriage of one of their regents, in which the siege and taking of Edinburgh Castle were dramatically represented.[1]

During his stay at St Andrews he published a vindication of the reformed religion, in answer to a letter written by Tyrie, a Scottish Jesuit. The argumentative part of the work was finished by him in 1568; but he sent it abroad at this time, with additions, as a farewell address to the world, and a dying testimony to the truth which he had long taught and defended.[2] Along with it he published one of the religious letters which he had formerly written to his mother-in-law, Mrs Bowes; and, in an advertisement prefixed to this, he informs us that she had lately departed this life, and that he could not allow the opportunity to slip of acquainting the public, by means of this letter, with the intimate Christian friendship which had so long subsisted between them.

The ardent desire which he felt to be released by death from the troubles of the present life, appears in all that he wrote about this time. "Weary of the world," and "thirsting to depart," are expressions frequently used by him. The dedication of the above-mentioned work is thus inscribed: "John Knox, the servant of Jesus Christ, now wearie of the world, and daylie luiking for the resolution of this my earthly tabernakle, to the faithful that God of his mercie shall appoint to fight after me." In the conclusion of it he says, "Call for me, deir brethren, that God, in his mercy, will pleis to put end to my long and panefull battel. For now being unable to fight, as God sumtymes gave strength, I thirst an end befoir I be more troublesum to the faithfull. And yet, Lord, let my desyre be moderate be thy Holy Spirit." In a prayer subjoined to the dedication are these words: "To thee, O Lord, I commend my spirit. For I thirst to be resolved from this body of sin, and am assured that I shall rise agane in glorie; howsoever it be that the wicked for a tyme

[1] See Note OOO.

[2] Tyrie published a reply to this, under the title of "The Refutation of ane Answer made be Schir Johne Knox to ane Letter, send be James Tyrie to his vmquhyle brother. Set furth be James Tyrie, Parisiis, 1573. Cvm Privilegio." H. fol. 57. 12mo. It includes Tyrie's first letter, and Knox's answer, but not the other papers originally printed along with that answer. "Mr Knox," says Keith, "makes some good and solid observations, from which, in my opinion, the Jesuit (in his reply) has not handsomely extricated himself." History, Append. p. 255.

sall trode me and others, thy servandes, under their feit. Be merciful, O Lord, unto the kirk within this realme; continew with it the light of thy evangell; augment the number of true preicheris. And let thy mercifull providence luke upon my desolate bedfellow, the fruit of hir bosome, and my two deir children, Nathanael and Eleazar.[1] Now, Lord, put end to my miserie." The advertisement "to the faithful reader," dated at St Andrews, 12th July 1571, concludes in the following manner: "I hartly salute and take my good night of all the faithful of both realmes, earnestly desyring the assistance of their prayers, that, without any notable slander to the evangel of Jesus Christ, I may end my battel; for, as the worlde is wearie of me, so am I of it."

The General Assembly being appointed to meet at Perth on the 6th of August, he took his leave of them in a letter, along with which he transmitted certain articles and questions which he recommended to their consideration. The Assembly returned him an answer, declaring their approbation of his propositions, and their earnest desires for his preservation and comfort.[2] The last piece of public service which he performed at their request, was to examine and approve of a sermon which had been lately preached by David Ferguson, minister of Dunfermline. His subscription to this sermon, like everything which proceeded from his mouth or pen about this time, is uncommonly striking: "John Knox, with my dead hand, but glaid heart, praising God, that of his mercy he levis such light to his kirk in this desolation."[3]

From the rapid decline of his health, in the spring of 1572, there was every appearance of his ending his days at St Andrews; but it pleased God that he should be restored once more to his flock, and allowed to die peaceably among them. In consequence of a cessation of arms, agreed to in the end of July, between the regent and the adherents of the queen, the city of Edinburgh was abandoned by the forces of the latter, and secured from the annoyance of the garrison in the castle. As soon as the banished citizens returned to their houses,[4] they sent a deputation to St Andrews, with a letter to Knox, expressive of their earnest desire "that once again his voice might be heard among

[1] Tyrie, in his reply, scoffs at this amiable expression of piety; and in doing so, the Jesuit discovers that he was as great a stranger to conjugal and parental feelings as he was to the rules of logic. "He [Knox] sais, that of tuay propositionis quhilkis ar verray trew, I collect ane conclusione maist false and repugnant to all veritie. Ane Dialectitian wald answer that Schir Johne Knox hes nocht weill considderit the rewlis of Dialectik, to affirme ane fals conclusion to follow of trew premissis. Bot becaus I knaw his greit occupationis, and sollicitude he hes of his wyf and childrine, that he culd nocht take tent to sic trifflis, I will pas this with silence." Refutation, *ut supra*, fol. 4, a.

[2] Bannatyne, p. 364—369. Cald. vol. ii. pp. 355, 366.

[3] "Ane sermon prechit before the regent and nobilitie upon a part of the third chapter of Malachi, [verses 7—12], in the kirk of Leith, at the time of the General Assemblie, on Sonday the 13 of Januarie. Anno Do. 1571. Be David Fergusone, minister of the evangell at Dunfermline. Imprentit at Sanctandrois, be Robert Lekpreuik. Anno Do. MDLXXII." The dedication to the Regent Mar is dated 20th August 1572.

[4] Previous to the cessation of arms, the banished citizens (who had taken up their residence chiefly in Leith) entered into a solemn league, by which they engaged "in

them," and entreating him immediately to come to Edinburgh, if his health would at all permit; for, said they, "loath we are to disease or hurt your person any ways, but far loather to want you."[1] After reading the letter, and conversing with the commissioners, he expressed his willingness to return, but under the express condition that he should not be urged to preserve silence respecting the conduct of those who held the castle, "whose treasonable and tyrannical deeds he would cry out against as long as he was able to speak." He therefore desired them to acquaint their constituents with this, lest they should afterwards repent of his austerity, and be apprehensive of ill-treatment on his account. The commissioners assured him that they did not mean to put a bridle in his mouth, but wished him to discharge his duty as he had been accustomed to do. He repeated this intimation, after his arrival at Edinburgh, to the principal persons of his congregation, and received the same assurance from them, before he would resume preaching.[2]

On the 17th of August, to the great joy of the queen's faction, whom he had overawed during his residence among them, the Reformer left St Andrews, along with his family. He was accompanied so far on his journey by the principal persons of his acquaintance in the town, who sorrowfully took their leave of him, in the prospect of seeing his face no more. Being obliged by his weakness to travel slowly, it was the 23d of the month before he reached Leith, from which, after resting a day or two, he came to Edinburgh. The inhabitants enjoyed the satisfaction of seeing him again in his own pulpit, on the first Sabbath after he arrived; but his voice was now so enfeebled that he could not be heard by the half of the congregation. Nobody was more sensible of this than himself. He therefore requested his session to provide a smaller house, in which he could be heard, if it were only by a hundred persons; for his voice, he said, was not able, even in his best time, to extend over the multitude which assembled in that large church, much less now when he was so greatly debilitated. This request was readily complied with by the session.[3]

During his absence a coolness had taken place between his colleague and the parish, who found fault with him for temporising during the time that the queen's party retained possession of the city. In consequence of this they had mutually agreed to separate.[4] After preaching two years in Montrose, Craig removed to Aberdeen, where he acted as visitor of the churches in Buchan and Mar; and was afterwards chosen minister to the royal household, a situation which he held

the fear of God the Father, of his Son our Lord Jesus Christ, and of the Holie Spirit, tackand to witness his holie name," that they would, with their lives, lands, and goods, promote the gospel professed among them, maintain the authority of the king and regent, assist and concur with others against their enemies in the castle, defend one another if attacked, and submit any variances which might arise among themselves to brotherly arbitration, or to the judgment of the town council. Bannatyne, 361—364.

[1] Bannatyne, 370—373. [2] Ibid., 372, 373.
[3] Ibid., pp. 373, 385. Smetoni Respons. pp. 117, 118. [4] Ibid., 150, 370.

until his death in 1600, at the advanced age of eighty-eight.[1] Being deprived of both their pastors, and having no prospect that Knox, although he should return, would be capable of performing the public service among them, the kirk-session of Edinburgh had instructed their delegates to the General Assembly lately held at Perth, to petition that court for liberty to choose from the ministry a colleague to the Reformer. The Assembly granted their request, and ordained any minister (those of Perth and Dundee excepted) who might be chosen by Knox, the superintendent of Lothian, and the church of Edinburgh, to comply with their invitation, and remove to the capital.[2] When the commissioners came to St Andrews, they found the superintendent along with Knox, and having consulted with them, it was agreed to nominate and recommend James Lawson, sub-principal of the university of Aberdeen, a man eminent for his piety, learning, and eloquence.[3] Perceiving, on his return to Edinburgh, that he could not long be able to endure the fatigue of preaching, and that he was already incapacitated for all other ministerial duties, Knox was extremely solicitous to have this business speedily settled, lest the congregation should be left "as sheep without a shepherd," when he was called away. The session and the superintendent having sent letters of invitation to Lawson, the Reformer wrote him at the same time, urging his speedy compliance with their requests. This letter is very descriptive of the state of his mind at this interesting period.

"All worldlie strenth, yea ewin in thingis spirituall, decayes; and yet sall never the work of God decay. Belovit brother, seeing that God of his mercie, far above my expectatione, has callit me ones againe to Edinburgh, and yet that I feill nature so decayed, and daylie to decay, that I luke not for a long continewance of my battell, I wald gladlie anes discharge my conscience into your bosome, and into the bosome of utheris, in whome I think the feare of God remanes. Gif I hath had the habilitie of bodie, I suld not have put you to the pane to the whilk I now requyre you, that is, anes to visite me, that we may conferre together on heawinlie thingis; for into earth there is no stability, except the kirk of Jesus Christ, ever fightand vnder the crosse, to whose myghtie protectione I hartlie comitt you. Of Edinburgh the vii of September 1572. Jhone Knox.

"Haist, leist ye come too lait."[4]

In the beginning of September intelligence reached Edinburgh that the admiral of France, the brave, the generous, the pious Coligny, was murdered in the city of Paris, by the orders of Charles IX. Immediately on the back of this, tidings arrived of that most detestable

[1] Spotswood, 464. When informed that his majesty had made choice of Craig, the General Assembly, July 1580, "blessed the Lord, and praised the king for his zeal." Row, Hist. of the Kirk, 47.

[2] Smetoni Respons. p. 118. Bannatyne, p. 370.

[3] Smeton, *ut supra*. Bannatyne, 372. James Melville thus describes Lawson: "A man of singular learning, zeal, and eloquence, whom I never hard preache bot he meltit my hart with teares." MS. Diary, 23. See also Note PP at the end of the volume.

[4] Bannatyne, p. 386.

and unparalleled scene of barbarity and treachery, the general massacre of the Protestants throughout that kingdom. Post after post brought fresh accounts of the most shocking and unheard-of cruelties. Hired cut-throats and fanatical cannibals marched from city to city, paraded the streets, and entered into the houses of those that were marked out for destruction. No reverence was shown to the hoary head, no respect to rank or talents, no pity to tender age or sex. Infants, aged matrons, and women upon the point of their delivery, were trodden under the feet of the assassins, or dragged with hooks into the rivers; others, after being thrown into prison, were instantly brought out and butchered in cold blood. Seventy thousand persons were murdered in one week. For several days the streets of Paris literally ran with blood. The savage monarch, standing at the windows of the palace, with his courtiers, glutted his eyes with the inhuman spectacle, and amused himself with firing upon the miserable fugitives who sought shelter at his merciless gates.[1]

The intelligence of this massacre (for which a solemn thanksgiving was offered up at Rome, by order of the pope)[2] produced the same horror and consternation in Scotland as in every other Protestant country.[3] It inflicted a deep wound on the exhausted spirit of Knox. Besides the blow struck at the reformed body, he had to lament the loss of many individuals eminent for piety, learning, and rank, whom he numbered among his acquaintance. Being conveyed to the pulpit, and summoning up the remainder of his strength, he thundered the vengeance of Heaven against "that cruel murderer and false traitor, the King of France," and desired Le Croc, the French ambassador, to tell his master that sentence was pronounced against him in Scotland, that the divine vengeance would never depart from him, nor from his house, if repentance did not ensue; but his name would remain an execration to posterity, and none proceeding from his loins should enjoy his kingdom in peace. The ambassador complained of the indignity offered to his master, and required the regent to silence the preacher; but this was refused, upon which he left Scotland.[4]

Lawson having received the letters of invitation, hastened to Edinburgh. He had the satisfaction to find that Knox was still able to receive him; and, having preached to the people, gave universal satisfaction. On the following Sabbath, the 21st of September, Knox began to preach in the Tolbooth Church, which was now fitted up

[1] Memoires de Sully, tom. i. 16. Paris, 1664. Brantôme Memoires, apud Jurieu, Apologie pour la Reformation, p. 420. Smetoni Respons. ad Hamilt. Dial. p. 117. Bannatyne's Journal, p. 388—396.

[2] The papal bull for the jubilee may be seen in Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker. Append. No. 68, p. 108.

[3] The Regent Mar issued a proclamation on this occasion, summoning a general convention of deputies from all parts of the kingdom, to deliberate on the measures proper to be adopted for defence against the cruel and treasonable conspiracies of the papists. Bannatyne, 397—401. Strype has inserted the preamble, and one of the articles, of a supplication presented by this convention to the regent and council. Annals, ii. 180, 181. This may be compared with the more full account of their proceedings in Bannatyne, 406—441.

[4] Bannatyne, 401, 402.

for him. He chose for the subject of his discourses, the account of our Saviour's crucifixion, as recorded in the twenty-seventh chapter of the Gospel according to Matthew, a theme with which he had often expressed a wish to close his ministry. On Sabbath, the 9th of November, he presided at the installation of Lawson as his colleague and successor. The sermon was preached by him in the Tolbooth Church; after which he removed, with the audience, to the large church, where he went through the accustomed form of admission, by proposing the questions to the minister and people, addressing an exhortation to both, and praying for the divine blessing upon their connection. On no former occasion did he give more satisfaction to those who were able to hear him. After declaring the respective duties of pastor and people, he protested, in the presence of Him to whom he expected soon to give an account, that he had walked among them with a good conscience, preaching the gospel of Jesus Christ in all sincerity, not studying to please men, nor to gratify his own affections; he praised God that he had been pleased to give them a pastor in his room, when he was now unable to teach; he fervently prayed that any gifts which had been conferred on himself might be augmented a thousand-fold in his successor; and, in a most serious and impressive manner, he exhorted and charged the whole assembly to adhere steadfastly to the faith which they had professed. Having finished the service, and pronounced the blessing with a cheerful but exhausted voice, he descended from the pulpit, and leaning upon his staff and the arm of an attendant, crept down the street, which was lined with the audience, who, as if anxious to take the last sight of their beloved pastor, followed him until he entered his house, from which he never again came out alive.[1]

On Tuesday following, the 11th of November, he was seized with a severe cough, which greatly affected his breathing.[2] When his friends, anxious to prolong his life, proposed to call in the assistance of physicians, he readily acquiesced, saying that he would not neglect the ordinary means of health, although he was persuaded that death would soon put an end to all his sorrows. It had been his ordinary practice to read every day some chapters of the Old and New Testament; to which he added a certain number of the Psalms of David, the whole of which he perused regularly once a-month. On Thursday the 13th, he

[1] Smetoni Responsio, p. 118. The house which the Reformer possessed is situated near the bottom of the High Street, a little below the Fountain Well. These three words are inscribed on the wall, ΘΕΟΣ, Deus, God.

[2] As it is unnecessary to repeat the quotations, the reader may be informed, once for all, that the account of the Reformer's last illness and death is taken from the following authorities:—"Eximii viri Joannis Knoxii, Scoticanæ Ecclesiæ instauratoris, Vera extremæ vitæ et obitus Historia," published by Thomas Smeton, principal of the university of Glasgow, at the end of his "Responsio ad Hamiltonii Dialogum. Edinburgi, apud Johannem Rosseum. Pro Henrico Charteris. Anno Do. 1579. Cum Privilegio Regali:"—"Journal of the Transactions in Scotland, (Annis) 1570—1573, by Richard Bannatyne, secretary to John Knox," 413—429, edited from an authentic MS. by J. Graham Dalyell, Esq. Anno 1806:—Spotswood's History, p. 265—267. Anno 1677: and Calderwood's MS. History, ad ann. 1572; copy in Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, transcribed anno 1634. The two first of these works contain the most ancient and authentic narratives, both being written at the time of the event, and by persons who were eye and ear witnesses of what they relate.

sickened, and was obliged to desist from his course of reading; but he gave directions to his wife, and his secretary, Richard Bannatyne, that one of them should every day read to him, with a distinct voice, the seventeenth chapter of the Gospel according to John, the fifty-third of Isaiah, and a chapter of the Epistle to the Ephesians. This was punctually complied with during the whole time of his sickness; and scarcely an hour passed in which some part of Scripture was not read in his hearing. Besides the above passages, he at different times fixed on certain Psalms, and some of Calvin's French sermons on the Ephesians. Thinking him at times to be asleep when they were engaged in reading, they inquired if he heard them, to which he answered, "I hear, (I praise God), and understand far better;" words which he uttered for the last time within four hours of his death.

The same day on which he sickened he desired his wife to discharge the servants' wages; and wishing next day to pay one of his men-servants himself, he gave him twenty shillings above his fee, saying, "Thou wilt never receive more from me in this life." To all of them he addressed suitable exhortations to walk in the fear of God, and as became Christians who had lived in his family.

On Friday the 14th he rose from bed at an earlier hour than usual; and thinking that it was Sabbath, said, that he meant to go to church, and preach on the resurrection of Christ, upon which he had been meditating through the night. This was the subject on which he should have preached in his ordinary course. But he was so weak that he needed to be supported from his bedside by two men, and it was with great difficulty that he could sit on a chair.

Next day, at noon, John Durie, one of the ministers of Leith, and Archibald Steward, who were among his most intimate acquaintance, came into his room. Perceiving that he was very sick, they wished to take their leave, but he insisted that they should remain, and having prevailed with them to stay dinner, he rose from bed, and came to the table, which was the last time that he ever sat at it. He ordered a hogshead of wine which was in his cellar to be pierced for them; and, with a hilarity which he delighted to indulge among his friends, desired Steward to send for some of it as long as it lasted, for he would not tarry until it was all drunk.

On Sabbath the 16th he kept his bed, and, mistaking it for the first day of the fast appointed on account of the French massacre, refused to take any dinner. Fairley of Braid, who was present, informed him that the fast did not commence until the following Sabbath, and sitting down, and dining before his bed, prevailed on him to take a little food.

He was very anxious to meet once more with the session of his church, to leave them his dying charge, and bid them a last farewell. In compliance with this wish, his colleague, the elders, and deacons, with David Lindsay, one of the ministers of Leith, assembled in his room on Monday

the 17th, when he addressed them in the following words, which made a deep and lasting impression on the minds of all: "The day approaches, and is now before the door, for which I have frequently and vehemently thirsted, when I shall be released from my great labours and innumerable sorrows, and shall be with Christ. And now, God is my witness, whom I have served in the spirit in the gospel of his Son, that I have taught nothing but the true and solid doctrine of the gospel of the Son of God, and have had it for my only object to instruct the ignorant, to confirm the faithful, to comfort the weak, the fearful, and the distressed, by the promises of grace, and to fight against the proud and rebellious by the divine threatenings. I know that many have frequently complained, and do still loudly complain, of my too great severity; but God knows that my mind was always void of hatred to the persons of those against whom I thundered the severest judgments. I cannot deny that I felt the greatest abhorrence at the sins in which they indulged, but still I kept this one thing in view, that, if possible, I might gain them to the Lord. What influenced me to utter whatever the Lord put into my mouth so boldly, and without respect of persons, was a reverential fear of my God, who called and of his grace appointed me to be a steward of divine mysteries, and a belief that he will demand an account of the manner in which I have discharged the trust committed to me, when I shall stand at last before his tribunal. I profess, therefore, before God, and before his holy angels, that I never made merchandise of the sacred word of God, never studied to please men, never indulged my own private passions or those of others, but faithfully distributed the talents intrusted to me for the edification of the church over which I watched. Whatever obloquy wicked men may cast on me respecting this point, I rejoice in the testimony of a good conscience. In the mean time, my dear brethren, do you persevere in the eternal truth of the gospel: wait diligently on the flock over which the Lord hath set you, and which he redeemed with the blood of his only begotten Son. And thou, my dearest brother Lawson, fight the good fight, and do the work of the Lord joyfully and resolutely. The Lord from on high bless you, and the whole church of Edinburgh, against whom, as long as they persevere in the word of truth which they have heard of me, the gates of hell shall not prevail."[1] Having warned them against countenancing those who disowned the king's authority, and made some observations on a complaint which Maitland had lodged against him before the session, he became so exhausted as to be obliged to desist from speaking. Those who were present were filled both with joy and grief by this affecting address. After reminding him of the warfare which he had endured, and the triumph which awaited him, and joining in prayer, they took their leave of him, drowned in tears.

When they were going out, he desired his colleague and Lindsay to

[1] This speech is translated from the Latin of style, which the attentive reader must of Smeton, which accounts for the difference have remarked.

remain behind. "There is one thing that greatly grieves me," said he to them. "You have been witnesses of the former courage and constancy of Grange in the cause of God; but now, alas! into what a gulf has he precipitated himself! I entreat you not to refuse the request which I now make to you. Go to the castle and tell him: 'John Knox remains the same man now, when he is about to die, that ever he knew him when able in body, and wills him to consider what he was, and the estate in which he now stands, which is a great part of his trouble. Neither the craggy rock in which he miserably confides, nor the carnal prudence of that man [Maitland] whom he esteems a demi-god, nor the assistance of strangers, shall preserve him; but he shall be disgracefully dragged from his nest to punishment, and hung on a gallows before the face of the sun, unless he speedily amend his life, and flee to the mercy of God.' That man's soul is dear to me, and I would not have it perish, if I could save it." The ministers undertook to execute this commission; and going up to the castle, they obtained an interview with the governor, and delivered their message. He at first exhibited symptoms of relenting, but having consulted apart with Maitland, he returned, and gave them a very unpleasant answer. This being reported to Knox, he was much grieved, and said, that he had been earnest in prayer for that man, and still trusted that his soul would be saved, although his body should come to a miserable end.[1]

After his interview with the session he became much worse; his difficulty of breathing increased, and he could not speak without great and obvious pain. Yet he continued still to receive persons of every rank, who came in great numbers to visit him, and suffered none to go away without advices, which he uttered with such variety and suitableness as astonished those who waited upon him. Lord Boyd, coming into his chamber, said, "I know, sir, that I have offended you in many things, and am now come to crave your pardon." The answer was not heard, as the attendants retired and left them alone; but his lordship returned next day in company with Drumlanrig and Morton. The Reformer's private conversation with the latter was very particular, as afterwards related by the earl himself. He asked him if he was previously acquainted with the design to murder the late king. Morton having answered in the negative,[2] he said, "Well, God has beautified you with many benefits which he has not given to every man; as he has given you riches, wisdom, and friends, and now is to prefer you to the govern-

[1] After the castle surrendered, and Kirkaldy was condemned to die, Lindsay attended him at his earnest desire, and received much satisfaction from conversation with him. When he was on the scaffold he desired the minister to repeat Knox's last words respecting him, and said that he hoped they would prove true. James Melville had this information from Lindsay. MS. Diary, pp. 29, 30. See also Spotswood, pp. 266, 272.

[2] Morton afterwards acknowledged that he did know of the murder, but excused himself for concealing it. "The quene," he said, "was the doare thareof;" and as for the king, he was "sic a bairne, that there was nothing tauld him but he wald reveill it to hir agane." Bannatyne, pp. 494, 497.

ment of this realm.[1] And, therefore, in the name of God, I charge you to use all these benefits aright, and better in time to come than ye have done in times bypast; first to God's glory, to the furtherance of the evangel, the maintenance of the Church of God, and his ministry; next for the weal of the king, and his realm and true subjects. If so ye shall do, God shall bless you and honour you; but if ye do it not, God shall spoil you of these benefits, and your end shall be ignominy and shame."[2]

On Thursday the 20th, Lord Lindsay, the Bishop of Caithness, and several gentlemen, visited him. He exhorted them to continue in the truth which they had heard, for there was no other word of salvation, and besought them to have nothing to do with those in the castle. The Earl of Glencairn (who had often visited him) came in with Lord Ruthven. The latter, who called only once, said to him, "If there be any thing, sir, that I am able to do for you, I pray you charge me." His reply was, "I care not for all the pleasure and friendship of the world."

A religious lady of his acquaintance desired him to praise God for what good he had done, and was beginning to speak in his commendation, when he interrupted her. "Tongue! tongue! lady; flesh of itself is over-proud, and needs no means to esteem itself." He put her in mind of what had been said to her long ago, "Lady, lady, the black one has never trampit on your fute;" and exhorted her to lay aside pride, and be clothed with humility. He then protested as to himself, as he had often done before, that he relied wholly on the free mercy of God, manifested to mankind through his dear Son Jesus Christ, whom alone he embraced for wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption. The rest of the company having taken their leave of him, he said to Fairley of Braid, "Every one bids me good-night; but when will you do it? I have been greatly indebted unto you; for which I shall never be able to recompense you; but I commit you to one that is able to do it,—to the eternal God."

On Friday the 21st he desired Richard Bannatyne to order his coffin to be made. During that day he was much engaged in meditation and prayer. These words dropped from his lips at intervals: "Come, Lord Jesus.—Sweet Jesus, into thy hand I commend my spirit.—Be merciful, Lord, to thy Church, which thou hast redeemed.—Give peace to this afflicted commonwealth.—Raise up faithful pastors who will take the charge of thy Church.—Grant us, Lord, the perfect hatred of sin, both by the evidences of thy wrath and mercy." In the midst of his meditations, he often addressed those who stood by, in such sentences as

[1] The Regent Mar died on the 29th of October preceding. The nobility were at this time assembled at Edinburgh to choose his successor, and it was understood that Morton would be raised to that dignity. He was elected regent on the day of Knox's death. Bannatyne, 411, 412, 427. The author of the Historie of King James the Sext says, that the regent died October 18, and adds, "efter him dyed Johne Knox in that same moneth," p. 197. But he has mistaken the dates.

[2] Morton gave this account of his conference with the Reformer to the ministers who attended him before his execution. Being asked if he had not found Knox's admonition true, he replied, "I have fand it indeid." Morton's Confession. Bannatyne, 508, 509.

these: "O serve the Lord in fear, and death shall not be terrible to you. Nay, blessed shall death be to those who have felt the power of the death of the only begotten Son of God."

On Sabbath the 23d (which was the first day of the national fast), during the afternoon sermon, after lying a considerable time quiet, he suddenly exclaimed, "If any be present, let them come and see the work of God." Thinking that his death was at hand, Bannatyne sent to the church for Johnston of Elphinstone. When he came to the bedside, Knox burst out in these rapturous expressions: "I have been these two last nights in meditation on the troubled state of the Church of God, the spouse of Jesus Christ, despised of the world, but precious in the sight of God. I have called to God for her, and have committed her to her head, Jesus Christ. I have fought against spiritual wickedness in heavenly things, and have prevailed. I have been in heaven, and have possession. I have tasted of the heavenly joys where presently I am." He then repeated the Lord's prayer and the creed, interjecting devout aspirations between the articles of the latter.

After sermon, many came to visit him. Perceiving that he breathed with great difficulty, some of them asked if he felt much pain. He answered, that he was willing to lie there for years, if God so pleased, and if he continued to shine upon his soul through Jesus Christ. He slept very little; but was employed almost incessantly either in meditation, in prayer, or in exhortation. "Live in Christ. Live in Christ, and then flesh need not fear death.—Lord, grant true pastors to thy Church, that purity of doctrine may be retained.—Restore peace again to this commonwealth, with godly rulers and magistrates.—Once, Lord, make an end of my trouble." Then, stretching his hands towards heaven, he said, "Lord, I commend my spirit, soul, and body, and all, into thy hands. Thou knowest, O Lord, my troubles: I do not murmur against thee." His pious ejaculations were so numerous, that those who waited on him could recollect only a small portion of what he uttered; for seldom was he silent, when they were not employed in reading or in prayer.

Monday the 24th of November was the last day that he spent on earth. That morning he could not be persuaded to lie in bed, but, though unable to stand alone, rose between nine and ten o'clock, and put on his stockings and doublet. Being conducted to a chair, he sat about half an hour, and then was put to bed again. In the progress of the day, it appeared evident that his end drew near. Besides his wife and Bannatyne, Campbell of Kinyeancleugh, Johnston of Elphinstone, and Dr Preston, three of his most intimate acquaintance, sat by turns at his bedside. Kinyeancleugh asked him if he had any pain. "It is no painful pain, but such a pain as shall soon, I trust, put end to the battle. I must leave the care of my wife and children to you," continued he, "to whom you must be a husband in my room." About

three o'clock in the afternoon one of his eyes failed, and his speech was considerably affected. He desired his wife to read the fifteenth chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians. "Is not that a comfortable chapter?" said he, when it was finished. "O what sweet and salutary consolation the Lord hath afforded me from that chapter!" A little after he said, "Now, for the last time, I commend my soul, spirit, and body, (touching three of his fingers), into thy hand, O Lord." About five o'clock he said to his wife, "Go, read where I cast my first anchor;" upon which she read the seventeenth chapter of John's Gospel, and afterwards a part of Calvin's sermons on the Ephesians.

After this he appeared to fall into a slumber, interrupted by heavy moans, during which the attendants looked every moment for his dissolution. But at length he awaked, as if from sleep, and being asked the cause of his sighing so deeply, replied: "I have formerly, during my frail life, sustained many contests, and many assaults of Satan; but at present he hath assailed me most fearfully, and put forth all his strength to devour and make an end of me at once. Often before has he placed my sins before my eyes, often tempted me to despair, often endeavoured to ensnare me by the allurements of the world; but these weapons were broken by the sword of the Spirit, the word of God, and the enemy failed. Now he has attacked me in another way; the cunning serpent has laboured to persuade me that I have merited heaven and eternal blessedness by the faithful discharge of my ministry. But blessed be God, who has enabled me to beat down and quench this fiery dart, by suggesting to me such passages of Scripture as these,—'What hast thou that thou hast not received?—By the grace of God I am what I am.—Not I, but the grace of God in me.' Upon this, as one vanquished, he left me. Wherefore, I give thanks to my God through Jesus Christ, who has been pleased to give me the victory; and I am persuaded that the tempter shall not again attack me, but, within a short time, I shall, without any great pain of body or anguish of mind, exchange this mortal and miserable life for a blessed immortality through Jesus Christ."

He then lay quiet for some hours, except that now and then he desired them to wet his mouth with a little weak ale. At ten o'clock they read the evening prayer, which they had delayed beyond the usual hour, from an apprehension that he was asleep. After this exercise was concluded, Dr Preston asked him if he had heard the prayers. "Would to God," said he, "that you and all men had heard them as I have heard them; I praise God for that heavenly sound." The doctor rose up, and Kinyeancleugh sat down before his bed. About eleven o'clock he gave a deep sigh, and said, "Now it is come." Bannatyne immediately drew near, and desired him to think upon those comfortable promises of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which he had so often declared to others; and, perceiving that he was speechless, requested him to give them a sign that he heard them, and died in peace. Upon

this he lifted up one of his hands, and, sighing twice, expired without a struggle.[1]

He died in the sixty-seventh year of his age, not so much oppressed with years, as worn out and exhausted by his extraordinary labours of body and anxieties of mind. Few men were ever exposed to more dangers, or underwent greater hardships. From the time that he embraced the reformed religion till he breathed his last, seldom did he enjoy a respite from trouble; and he emerged from one scene of difficulty and danger, only to be involved in another still more distressing. Obliged to flee from St Andrews to escape the fury of Cardinal Beatoun, he found a retreat in East Lothian, from which he was hunted by Archbishop Hamilton. He lived for several years as an outlaw, in daily apprehension of falling a prey to those who eagerly sought his life. The few months during which he enjoyed protection in the castle of St Andrews, were succeeded by a long and rigorous captivity. After enjoying some repose in England he was again driven into banishment, and for five years wandered as an exile on the Continent. When he returned to his native country, it was to engage in a struggle of the most perilous and arduous kind. After the Reformation was established, and he was settled in the capital, he was involved in a continual contest with the court. When he was relieved from this warfare, and thought only of ending his days in peace, he was again called into the field; and, although scarcely able to walk, was obliged to remove from his flock, and to avoid the fury of his enemies by submitting to a new banishment. He was repeatedly condemned for heresy, and proclaimed an outlaw; thrice he was accused of high treason, and on two of these occasions he appeared and underwent a trial. A price was publicly set on his head; assassins were employed to kill him; and his life was attempted both with the pistol and the dagger. Yet he escaped all these perils, and finished his course in peace and in honour. No wonder that he was weary of the world, and anxious to depart; and with great propriety might it be said at his decease, that "he rested from his labours."

On Wednesday the 26th of November he was interred in the churchyard of St Giles.[2] His funeral was attended by the newly-elected regent, Morton, by all the nobility who were in the city, and a great concourse of people. When his body was laid in the grave, the regent

[1] "Manum itaque, quasi nouas vires jamjam moriturus concipiens, cœlum versus erigit, duobusque emissis suspiriis, e mortali corpore emigrauit, citra vllum aut pedum aut aliarum partium corporis motum, vt potius dormire quam occidisse videretur." Smetoni Responsio, p. 123.

[2] Cald. MS. ad ann. 1572. Bannatyne, 429. Spotswood, 267. The area of the Parliament Square was formerly the churchyard of St Giles. Some think that he was buried in one of the aisles of his own church. The place where the Reformer preached is that which is now called the Old Church. It has, however, undergone a great change since his time. The space now occupied by the pulpit and the greater part of the seats was then an aisle; and the church was considerably more to the north of the building than at present. The small church fitted up for him a few weeks before his death is called, by Bannatyne, the Tolbooth. Whether it was exactly that part of the building now called the Tolbooth Church I do not know.

emphatically pronounced his eulogium in these words, "There lies he who never feared the face of man."[1]

The character of this extraordinary man has been drawn in opposite colours, by different writers, and at different times. And the changes which have taken place in the public opinion about him, with the causes which have produced them, form a subject neither uncurious, nor unworthy of attention.

The interest excited by the revolutions of Scotland, ecclesiastical and political, in which he acted so conspicuous a part, caused his name to be known throughout Europe more extensively than those of most of the reformers. When we reflect that the Roman Catholics looked upon him as the principal instrument in overthrowing their religious establishment in this country, we are prepared to expect that writers of that persuasion would represent his character in an unfavourable light; and that, in addition to the common charges of heresy and apostasy, they would describe him as a man of a restless, turbulent spirit, and of rebellious principles. We will not even be greatly surprised though we find them charging him with whoredom, because, being a priest, he entered into wedlock, once and a second time; and imputing his change of religion to a desire of releasing himself from the bonds by which the popish clergy were professionally bound to chastity. But all this is nothing to the portraits which they have drawn of him, in which, to the violation of all credibility, he is unblushingly represented as a man, or rather a monster, of the most profligate character, who gloried in depravity, who avowedly indulged in the most vicious practices, and upon whom Providence fixed the most evident marks of reprobation at his death, which was accompanied with circumstances that excited the utmost horror in the beholders.[2] This might astonish us did we not know, from undoubted documents, that there was at that time a class of writers, who, by inventing or retailing such malignant calumnies, attempted to blast the fairest and most unblemished characters among those who appeared in opposition to the Church of Rome; and that, absurd and outrageous as the accusations were, they were greedily swallowed by the numerous slaves of prejudice and credulity. The memory of no one was loaded with a greater share of this obloquy than our Reformer's. But these accounts have long ago lost every degree of credit; and they now remain only as a proof of the spirit of lies, or of strong delusion, by which these writers were actuated, and of the deep and deadly hatred which they had conceived against the object of their calumny, on account of his strenuous and successful exertions in overthrowing the fabric of papal superstition and despotism.

Knox was known and esteemed by the principal persons among the reformed in France, Switzerland, and Germany. We have had occasion repeatedly to mention his friendship with the reformer of Geneva.

[1] Some verses to the Reformer's memory may be seen in Note PPP.
[2] See Note QQQ.

Beza, the successor of Calvin, was also personally acquainted with him; the letters which he wrote to him abound with expressions of the warmest regard, and highest esteem; and, in his Images of Illustrious Men, he afterwards raised an affectionate tribute to our Reformer's memory. This was done, at a subsequent period, by the German biographer, Melchior Adam, the Dutch Van Heiden, and the French La Roque. The late historian of the literature of Geneva, (whose religious sentiments are very different from those of Calvin and Beza), although he is displeased with the philippics which Knox sometimes pronounced from the pulpit, says, that "he immortalised himself by his courage against Popery, and his firmness against the tyranny of Mary; and that though a violent, he was always an open and honourable, enemy to the Catholics."[1]

The affectionate veneration in which his memory continued to be held in Scotland after his death, evinces that the influence which he possessed among his countrymen during his life was not constrained, but founded on the high opinion which they entertained of his virtues and talents. Bannatyne has drawn his character in the most glowing colours; and, although allowances must be made for the enthusiasm with which a favourite servant[2] wrote of a beloved and revered master, yet, as he lived long in the Reformer's family, and was himself a man of respectability and learning, his testimony is by no means to be disregarded. In a speech which he delivered before the General Assembly in March 1571, when in his master's name he craved justice against the calumnies circulated by the queen's party, he said, "It has pleased God to make me a servant to that man, John Knox, whom I serve, as God bears me witness, not so much in respect of my worldly commodity, as for that integrity and uprightness which I have ever known, and presently understand, to be in him, especially in the faithful administration of his office, in teaching of the word of God; and if I understood, or knew that he was a false teacher, a seducer, a raiser of schism, or one that makes division in the Church of God, as he is reported to be by the former accusations, I would not serve him for all the substance in Edinburgh."[3] And in his Journal, after giving an account of Knox's death, he adds: "In this manner departed this man of God: the light of Scotland, the comfort of the Church within the same, the mirror of godliness, and pattern and example to all true ministers, in purity of life, soundness of doctrine, and boldness in reproving of wickedness; one that cared not the favour of men, how great soever they were. What dexterity in teaching, boldness in reproving, and hatred of wickedness was in him, my ignorant dulness is not able to declare, which if I should preis[4] to set out, it were as one who would light a

[1] Senebier, Hist. Lit. de Genève, i. 377.

[2] The reader should observe, that the word servant, or servitor, was then used with greater latitude than it is now, and in old writings often signifies the person whom we call by the more honourable names of clerk, secretary, or man of business. As the drawing of the principal ecclesiastical papers, and the compiling of the history of public proceedings, were committed to our Reformer from the time of his last return to Scotland, he kept a person of this description in his family, and Bannatyne held the situation.

[3] Journal, 104, 105.

[4] Labour.

candle to let men see the sun; seeing all his virtues are better known and notified to the world a thousand-fold than I am able to express."[1]

Principal Smeton's character of him, while it is less liable to the suspicion of partiality, is equally honourable and flattering. "I know not," says he, "if ever so much piety and genius were lodged in such a frail and weak body. Certain I am, that it will be difficult to find one in whom the gifts of the Holy Spirit shone so bright, to the comfort of the Church of Scotland. None spared himself less in enduring fatigues, bodily and mental; none was more intent on discharging the duties of the province assigned to him." And again, addressing his calumniator Hamilton, he says, "This illustrious, I say illustrious, servant of God, John Knox, I shall clear from your feigned accusations and slanders, by the testimony of a venerable assembly rather than by my own denial. This pious duty, this reward of a well-spent life, all its members most cheerfully discharge to their excellent instructor in Christ Jesus. This testimony of gratitude they all owe to him, who, they know, ceased not to deserve well of all till he ceased to breathe. Released from a body exhausted in Christian warfare, and translated to a blessed rest, where he has obtained the sweet reward of his labours, he now triumphs with Christ. But beware, sycophant, of insulting him when dead; for he has left behind him as many defenders of his reputation as there are persons who were drawn, by his faithful preaching, from the gulf of ignorance to the knowledge of the gospel."[2]

The divines of the Church of England who were contemporary with Knox entertained a great respect for his character, and ranked him along with the most eminent of their own reformers.[3] I have already produced the mark of esteem which Bishop Bale conferred on him, and the terms of approbation in which he was mentioned by Dr Fulke, one of the most learned of the English divines in the sixteenth century.[4] Aylmer, in a work written to confute one of his opinions, bears a voluntary testimony to his learning and integrity.[5] And Ridley, who stickled more for the ceremonies of the Church than any of his brethren in the reign of Edward VI., and who was displeased with the opposition which Knox made to the introduction of the English liturgy at Frankfort, expressed his high opinion of him, as "a man of wit, much good learning, and earnest zeal."[6] Whatever dissatisfaction they felt at his pointed reprehension of several parts of their ecclesiastical establishment, the English dignitaries, under Elizabeth, rejoiced at the success of his exertions, and without scruple expressed their approbation of many of his measures, which were afterwards severely censured by their successors.[7]

[1] Bannatyne, 427, 429.

[2] Smetoni Resp. ad Hamilt. Dial. pp. 95, 115.

[3] Calfhill's Answere to the Treatise of the Crosse; Preface to the Readers, fol. 18, a Lond. 1565. This writer was cousin to Toby Mathews, Archbishop of York, and, in the Convocation which met in 1572, sat as a representative of the clergy of London, and the canons of Oxford. Strype, Annals, i. 289, 292-293.

[4] See above, p. 116, and Note N.

[5] Harborowe for Faithful and Trewe Subjects, B. B. 2. C. C. 2. Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 238.

[6] Strype's Life of Grindal, pp. 19, 20.

[7] Burnet, vol. ii. Appendix, part iii. B. vi. pp. 351, 352.

I need scarcely add that his memory was held in veneration by the English Puritans. Some of the chief men among them were personally acquainted with him during his residence in England and on the Continent; and others of them corresponded with him by letter. They highly esteemed his writings, sought for his manuscripts with avidity, and published them with testimonies of the warmest approbation.[1]

Towards the close of the sixteenth century there arose another race of prelates, of very different principles from the English reformers, who began to maintain the divine right of diocesan Episcopacy, with the intrinsic excellency of a ceremonious worship, and to adopt a new language respecting other reformed churches. Dr Bancroft, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, was the first writer among them who spoke disrespectfully of Knox,[2] after whom it became a fashionable practice among the hierarchical party. This was resented by the ministers of Scotland, who warmly vindicated the character of their Reformer,[3] at the expense of incurring the frowns and resentment of their sovereign. Though educated under the greatest scholar of the age, and one who was a decided friend to popular liberty, James, in spite of the instructions of Buchanan, proved a pedant, and cowardice alone prevented him from becoming a tyrant. His early favourites flattered his vanity, fostered his love of arbitrary power, and inspired him with the strongest prejudice against the principles and conduct of those men who, during his early years, had been the instruments of preserving his life, and supporting his authority. To secure his succession to the English crown, he entered into a private correspondence with Bancroft, and concerted with him the scheme of introducing Episcopacy into the Church of Scotland. The presbyterian ministers incurred his deep and lasting displeasure by their determined resistance to this design, and by the united and firm opposition which they made to the illegal and despotic measures of his government. He was particularly displeased at the testimony which they publicly bore to the characters of Knox, Buchanan, and the Regent Moray, who "could not be defended," he said, "but by traitors and seditious theologues." Andrew Melville told him that they were the men who had set the crown on his head, and

[1] In a dedication of Knox's "Exposition of the Temptation of Christ," John Field, the publisher, says: "If ever God shall vouchsafe the Church so great a benefite; when his infinite letters, and sundry other treatises shall be gathered together, it shall appear what an excellent man he was, and what a wonderfull losse that Church of Scotland susteined when that worthie man was taken from them. If, by yourselfe or others, you can procure any other his writings or letters here at home, or abroad in Scotland, be a meane that we may receive them. It were great pittie that any the least of his writinges should be lost: for he evermore wrote both godly and diligently, in questions of divinitie, and also of church policie; and his letters being had togeather, would togeather set out an whole historie of the churches where he lived."

[2] In a sermon preached by him at Paul's Cross, before the Parliament of England, Feb. 9, 1588, on 1 John, iv. 1, printed in 1588, and reprinted in 1636. He enlarged on the subject in two posterior treatises, the one entitled, "Dangerous Positions; or Scottish Genevating, and English Scottizing;" the other, "A Survey of the Pretended Holy Discipline."

[3] John Davidson, minister first at Liberton, and afterwards at Prestonpans, answered Bancroft in a book entitled, "Dr Bancroft's Rashnes in Raylingagainst the Church of Scotland." Printed at Edinburgh, 1590.

deserved better of him than to be so traduced. James complained that Knox had spoken disrespectfully of his mother; to which Patrick Galloway, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, replied, "If a king or a queen be a murderer, why should they not be called so?" Walter Balcanquhal, another minister of the city, having in one of his sermons rebuked those who disparaged the Reformer, the king sent for him, and in a passion protested that "either he should lose his crown, or Mr Walter should recant his words." Balcanquhal "prayed God to preserve his crown; but said, that if he had his right wits, the king should have his head before he recanted anything he spake."[1]

James carried his antipathies to the Presbyterian Church and reformers along with him to England, and he found it an easy matter to infuse them into the minds of his new subjects. Incensed at the freedom which Buchanan had used in his history of the transactions during the reign of Mary, he had, before leaving Scotland, procured the condemnation of that work by an act of parliament. And now he did not think it enough that he had got Camden's history of that period manufactured to his mind, but employed agents to induce the French historian, de Thou, to adopt his representations; and because that great man scrupled to receive the royal testimony respecting events which happened before James was born, or when he was a child, in opposition to the most credible evidence, his majesty was pleased to complain that he had been treated disrespectfully.[2] Charles I. carried these prejudices even farther than his father had done. During his reign, passive obedience, Arminianism, and semi-Popery, formed the court religion; Calvinism and Presbytery were held in the greatest detestation, and proscribed both as political and religious heresies. In the reign of the second Charles, the court, the bench, the pulpit, the press, and the stage, united in loading Presbyterians with every species of abuse, and in holding them forth as a gloomy, unsocial, turbulent, and fanatical race. And a large share of these contumelies uniformly fell on the head of Knox, who, it was alleged, had brought the obnoxious principles of the sect from Geneva, and planted them in his native country, from which they had spread into England. The Revolution was effected in England by a coalition of parties of very different principles, some of which were not of the most liberal kind. Though this event abated the force of the prejudices alluded to, it by no means removed them; and a considerable time after it took place, the great, the fashionable, and even the learned, among the English, regarded the Scots as only beginning to emerge from that inelegance and barbarism which had been produced by the peculiar sentiments of Knox and his followers.

The great body of his countrymen, however, continued long to enter-

[1] Cald. MS. ad an. 1570; quarto copy in Advocates' Library, vol. ii. pp. 260, 261.

[2] De Thuani Histor. Successu apud Jacobum I. Mag. Brit. Reg. Thuani Hist. tom. vii. pars v. edit. Buckley, 1733. Laing's Hist. Scot. i. 228—241, 2d edit.

tain a just sense of the many obligations which they were under to Knox. After the government of the Church of Scotland was conformed to the English model, the Scottish prelates still professed to look back to their national Reformer with sentiments of gratitude and veneration; and Archbishop Spotswood describes him as "a man endued with rare gifts, and a chief instrument that God used for the work of those times."[1] For a considerable time after the Revolution, the Presbyterians of Scotland treated with deserved contempt the libels which English writers had published against him; and blushed not to avow their admiration of a man to whose labours they were indebted for an ecclesiastical establishment, more scriptural and more liberal than that of which their neighbours could boast. The Union first produced a change in our national feelings on this subject. The short-lived jealousy of English predominance, felt by many of our countrymen on that occasion, was succeeded by a passion for conformity to our southern neighbours; and so fond did we become of their good opinion, and so eager to secure it, that we were disposed to sacrifice to their taste and their prejudices, sentiments which truth, as well as national honour, required us to retain and cherish. Our most popular writers are not exempt from this charge; and even in works professing to be executed by the united talents of our literati, the misrepresentations and gross blunders of which English writers had been guilty in their accounts of our Reformation, and the false and scandalous accusations which they had brought against our reformers, have been generally adopted and widely circulated, instead of meeting with the exposure and reprobation which they so justly merited.

The prejudices entertained against our Reformer by the friends of absolute monarchy, were taken up, in all their force, subsequently to the Revolution, by the adherents of the Stuart family, whose religious notions, approximating very nearly to the popish, joined with their slavish principle respecting non-resistance to kings, led them to disapprove of almost every measure adopted at the time of the Reformation, and to condemn the whole as a series of disorder, sedition, and rebellion against lawful authority. The spirit by which the Jacobitish faction was actuated did not become extinct with the family which had so long been the object of their devotion; and while they transferred their allegiance to the house of Hanover, they retained those principles which had incited them repeatedly to attempt its expulsion from the throne. The alarm produced by that revolution which of late has shaken the thrones of so many of the princes of Europe, has greatly increased this party; and with the view of preserving the present constitution of Britain, principles have been widely disseminated, which, if they had been generally received in the sixteenth century, would have perpetuated the reign of Popery and arbitrary power in Scotland. From persons of such principles, nothing favourable to our Reformer

[1] History, p. 261.

can be expected. But the greatest torrent of abuse, poured upon his character, has proceeded from those literary champions who have come forward to avenge the wrongs, and vindicate the innocence, of the peerless and immaculate Mary, Queen of Scots! Having conjured up in their imagination the image of an ideal goddess, they have sacrificed to the object of their adoration all the characters which, in that age, were most estimable for learning, patriotism, integrity, and religion. As if the quarrel which they had espoused exempted them from the ordinary laws of controversial warfare, and conferred on them the absolute and and indefeasible privilege of calumniating and defaming at pleasure, they have pronounced every person who spoke, wrote, or acted against that queen, to be a hypocrite or a villain. In the raving style of these writers, Knox was "a fanatical incendiary—a holy savage—the son of violence and barbarism—the religious Sachem of religious Mohawks."[1]

I cannot do justice to the subject without adverting here to the influence of the popular histories of those transactions, written by two distinguished individuals of our own country. The political prejudices and sceptical opinions of Mr Hume are well known, and appear prominently in every part of his History of England. Regarding the various systems of religious belief and worship as distinguished from one another merely by different shades of falsehood and superstition, he has been led, by a strange but not inexplicable bias, almost uniformly to show the most marked partiality to the grosser and more corrupt forms of religion; has spoken with greater contempt of the Protestants than of the Roman Catholics, and treated the Scottish with greater severity than the English reformers. Forgetting what was due to the character of a philosopher, which he was so ambitious to maintain in his other writings, he has acted as the partisan and advocate of a particular family; and, in vindicating some of the worst measures of the Stuarts, has done signal injustice to the memory of the most illustrious patriots of both kingdoms. Though convinced that the Queen of Scotland was guilty of the crimes laid to her charge, he has laboured to screen her from the infamy to which a fair and unvarnished statement of facts must have exposed her character, by fixing the attention of his readers on an untrue and exaggerated representation of the rudeness of Knox and the other reformers by whom she was surrounded, and by absurdly imputing to their treatment of her the faults into which she was betrayed. No person who is acquainted with the writings of Dr Robertson will accuse him of being actuated by such improper motives. But the warmest admirers of his History of Scotland cannot deny that he has been misled by the temptation of making Mary the heroine of his story, and of thus interesting his readers deeply

[1] Whitaker's Vindication of Queen Mary, *passim*. The same writer designs Buchanan "a serpent—daring calumniator—leviathan of slander—the second of all human forgers, and the first of all human slanderers." Dr Robertson he calls "a disciple of the old school of slander—a liar—and one for whom bedlam is no bedlam."

in his narrative by blending the tender and romantic with the more dry and uninteresting detail of public transactions. By a studious exhibition of the personal charms and accomplishments of the queen, by representing her faults as arising from the unfortunate circumstances in which she was placed, by touching gently on the errors of her conduct, while he dwells on the cruelty and the dissimulation of her rival, and by describing her sufferings as exceeding the tragical distresses which fancy has feigned to excite sorrow and commiseration, he throws a veil over those vices which he could not deny; while the sympathy which his pathetic account of her death naturally awakens in the minds of his readers effaces the impressions of her guilt which his preceding narrative had produced. However amiable the feelings of the author might be, the tendency of such a representation is evident. The Dissertation on the murder of King Henry has, no doubt, convinced many of Mary's accession to the perpetration of that deed; but the History of Scotland has done more to prepossess the public mind in favour of that princess than all the defences of her most zealous and ingenious advocates, and consequently to excite prejudice against her opponents, who, on the supposition of her guilt, acted a most meritorious part, and are entitled, in other respects, to the gratitude and veneration of posterity.

The increase of infidelity and indifference to religion in modern times, especially among the learned, has contributed in no small degree to swell the tide of prejudice against our Reformer. Whatever satisfaction persons of this description may express or feel at the reformation from Popery, as the means of emancipating the world from superstition and priestcraft, they naturally despise and dislike men who were inspired with the love of religion, and in whose plans of reform the acquisition of civil liberty, and the advancement of literature, held a subordinate place to the revival of primitive Christianity.

Nor can it escape observation, that prejudices against the characters and proceedings of our reformers are now far more general than they formerly were among those who still profess to adhere to their doctrine and system of church government. Impressed with a high idea of the illumination of the present age, and entertaining a low estimate of the attainments of those which preceded it; imperfectly acquainted with the enormity and extent of the corrupt system of religion which existed in this country at the era of the Reformation; inattentive to the spirit and principles of the adversaries with whom our reformers were obliged to contend, and to the dangers and difficulties with which they had to struggle,—they have too easily lent an ear to the calumnies which have been circulated to their prejudice, and rashly condemned measures which will be found, on examination, to have been necessary to secure and to transmit the invaluable blessings which we now enjoy.

Having given this account of the opinions entertained respecting our Reformer, I shall endeavour to sketch, with as much truth as I can, the leading features of his character.

That he possessed strong natural talents is unquestionable. Inquisitive, ardent, acute; vigorous and bold in his conceptions, he entered into all the subtilties of the scholastic science then in vogue; yet, disgusted with its barren results, sought out a new course of study, which gradually led to a complete revolution in his sentiments. In his early years he had not access to that finished education which many of his contemporaries obtained in foreign universities, and he was afterwards prevented, by his unsettled and active mode of life, from prosecuting his studies with leisure; but his abilities and application enabled him in a great measure to surmount these disadvantages, and he remained a stranger to none of the branches of learning which in that age were cultivated by persons of his profession. He united, in a high degree, the love of study, with a disposition to active employment. The truths which he discovered, he felt an irresistible impulse to impart to others, for which he was qualified by a bold, fervid, and impetuous eloquence, singularly adapted to arrest the attention and govern the passions of a fierce and unpolished people.

From the time that he embraced the reformed doctrine, the desire of propagating it, and of delivering his countrymen from the delusions and thraldom of Popery, became his ruling passion, to which he was always ready to sacrifice his ease, his interest, his reputation, and his life. An ardent attachment to civil liberty held the next place in his breast to love of the reformed religion. That the zeal with which he laboured to advance these objects was of the most disinterested kind, no candid person who has paid attention to his life can doubt for a moment, whatever opinion may be entertained of some of the means which he employed for that purpose. He thought only of advancing the glory of God, and promoting the welfare of his country. Intrepidity, independence and elevation of mind, indefatigable activity, and constancy which no disappointments could shake, eminently qualified him for the hazardous and difficult post which he occupied. His integrity was above the suspicion of corruption; his firmness proof equally against the solicitations of friends and the threats of enemies. Though his impetuosity and courage led him frequently to expose himself to danger, we never find him neglecting to take prudent precautions for his safety. The confidence reposed in him by his countrymen shows the high opinion which they entertained of his sagacity as well as of his honesty. The measures taken for advancing the Reformation were either adopted at his suggestion or sanctioned by his advice, and we must pronounce them to have been as wisely planned as they were boldly executed.

His ministerial functions were discharged with the greatest assiduity, fidelity, and fervour. No avocation or infirmity prevented him from appearing in the pulpit. Preaching was an employment in which he delighted, and for which he was qualified, by an extensive acquaintance with the Scriptures, and by the happy art of applying them, in the most striking manner, to the existing circumstances of the Church and of his

hearers. His powers of alarming the conscience, and arousing the passions, have been frequently celebrated; but he excelled also in unfolding the consolations of the gospel, and in calming the breasts of those who were agitated by a sense of guilt, or suffering under the ordinary afflictions of life. When he discoursed of the griefs and joys, the conflicts and triumphs, of genuine Christians, he described what he had himself known and experienced. The letters which he wrote to his familiar acquaintances breathe the most ardent piety. The religious meditations in which he spent his last sickness, were not confined to that period of his life; they had been his habitual employment from the time that he was brought to the knowledge of the truth, and his solace amidst all the hardships and perils through which he had passed.

With his brethren in the ministry he lived in the utmost cordiality. We never read of the slightest variance between him and any of his colleagues. While he was dreaded and hated by the licentious and profane, whose vices he never spared, the religious and sober part of his countrymen felt a veneration for him, which was founded on his unblemished reputation, as well as his popular talents as a preacher. In private life, he was beloved and revered by his friends and domestics. He was subject to the illapses of melancholy and depression of spirits, arising partly from natural constitution, and partly from the maladies which had long preyed upon his health; which made him (to use his own expression) churlish, and less capable of pleasing and gratifying his friends than he was otherwise disposed to be. This he confessed, and requested them to excuse;[1] but his friendship was sincere, affectionate, and steady. When free from this morose affection, he relished the pleasures of society, and, among his acquaintances, was accustomed to unbend his mind, by indulging in innocent recreation, and in the sallies of wit and humour to which he had a strong propensity, notwithstanding the graveness of his general deportment. In the course of his public life, the severer virtues of his character were more frequently called into execution; but we have met with repeated instances of his acute sensibility; and the unaffected tenderness which occasionally breaks forth in his private letters, shows that he was no stranger to any of the charities of human life, and that he could "rejoice with them that rejoiced, and weep with them that wept."

Most of his faults may be traced to his natural temperament, and to the character of the age and country in which he lived. His passions were strong; he felt with the utmost keenness on every subject which interested him; and as he felt he expressed himself, without disguise and without affectation. The warmth of his zeal was apt to betray him into intemperate language; his inflexible adherence to his opinions inclined to obstinacy; and his independence of mind occasionally assumed the appearance of haughtiness and disdain. In one solitary instance, the anxiety which he felt for the preservation of the great cause in which

[1] See Extracts from his Letters to "Mrs Locke, 6th April 1559," and to "A Friend in England, 19th August 1569;" published in the Appendix.

he was so deeply interested, betrayed him into an advice which was not more inconsistent with the laws of strict morality, than it was contrary to the stern uprightness, and undisguised sincerity, which characterised the rest of his conduct. A stranger to complimentary or smooth language, little concerned about the manner in which his reproofs were received, provided they were merited, too much impressed with the evil of the offence to think of the rank or character of the offender, he often "uttered his admonitions with an acrimony and vehemence more apt to irritate than to reclaim." But he protested, at a time when persons are least in danger of deception, and in a manner which should banish every suspicion of the purity of his motives, that, in his sharpest rebukes, he was influenced by hatred of vice, not of the vicious; that his great aim was to reclaim the guilty, and that, in using those means which were necessary for this end, he frequently did violence to his own feelings.

Those who have charged him with insensibility and inhumanity, have fallen into a mistake very common with superficial thinkers, who, in judging of the character of persons who lived in a state of society very different from their own, have pronounced upon their moral qualities from the mere aspect of their exterior manners. He was austere, not unfeeling; stern, not savage; vehement, not vindictive. There is not an instance of his employing his influence to revenge any personal injury which he had received. Rigid as his maxims respecting the execution of justice were, there are numerous instances on record of his interceding for the pardon of criminals; and, unless when crimes were atrocious, or when the welfare of the state was in the most imminent danger, he never exhorted the executive government to the exercise of severity. The boldness and ardour of his mind, called forth by the peculiar circumstances of the times, led him to push his sentiments on some subjects to an extreme, and no consideration could induce him to retract an opinion of which he continued to be persuaded; but his behaviour after his publication against female government, proves that he satisfied himself with declaring his own views, without seeking to disturb the public peace by urging their adoption. His conduct at Frankfort evinced his moderation in religious differences among brethren of the same faith, and his disposition to make all reasonable allowances for those who could not go the same length with him in reformation, provided they abstained from imposing upon the consciences of others. The liberties which he took in censuring from the pulpit the actions of individuals of the highest rank and station, appear the more strange and intolerable to us, when contrasted with the reserve and timidity of modern times; but we should recollect that they were then common, and that they were not without their utility, in an age when the licentiousness and oppression of the great and powerful often set at defiance the ordinary restraints of law.

In contemplating such a character as that of Knox, it is not the *man* so much as the *reformer* that ought to engage our attention. The

talents which are suited to one age and station would be altogether unsuitable to another; and the wisdom displayed by Providence, in raising up persons endowed with qualities singularly adapted to the work which they have to perform for the benefit of mankind, demands our particular consideration. We must admire the austere and rough reformer, whose voice once cried in the wilderness, who was clothed with camel's hair, and girt about the loins with a leathern girdle, who came neither eating nor drinking, but, laying the axe to the root of every tree, warned a generation of vipers to flee from the wrath to come, saying even to the tyrant upon the throne, "It is not lawful for thee." And we must consider him as fitted for "serving the will of God in his generation," according to his rank and place, as well as his Divine Master, whose advent he announced, who "did not strive, nor cry, nor cause his voice to be heard in the streets, nor break the bruised reed, nor quench the smoking flax." To those who complain that they are disappointed at not finding, in our national Reformer, courteous manners, and a winning address, we may say, in the language of our Lord to the Jews concerning the Baptist: "What went ye out into the wilderness for to see? A reed shaken with the wind? What went ye out for to see? A man clothed in soft raiment? Behold, they which are gorgeously apparelled, and live delicately, are in king's courts. But what went ye out for to see? A prophet? Yea, I say unto you, and more than a prophet." To the men of this generation, as well as to the Jews of old, may be applied the parable of the children sitting in the market-place, and calling one to another, saying, "We have piped unto you, and ye have not danced; we have mourned unto you, and ye have not wept." Disaffection to the work often lurks under cavils against the instruments by which it is carried on; and had Knox been softer and more yielding in his temper, he would have been pronounced unfit for his office by the very persons who now censure his harshness and severity. "But wisdom is justified of all her children." Before the Reformation, superstition, shielded by ignorance, and armed with power, governed with gigantic sway. Men of mild spirits, and of gentle manners, would have been as unfit for taking the field against this enemy, as a dwarf or a child for encountering a giant. What did Erasmus in the days of Luther? What would Lowth have done in the days of Wickliffe, or Blair in those of Knox? It has been justly observed concerning our Reformer, that "those very qualities which now render his character less amiable, fitted him to be the instrument of Providence for advancing the Reformation among a fierce people, and enabled him to face danger, and surmount opposition, from which a person of a more gentle spirit would have been apt to shrink back."[1] Viewing his character in this light, those who cannot regard him as an amiable man, may, without hesitation, pronounce him a Great Reformer.

[1] Robertson, History of Scotland.

The most disinterested of the nobility, who were embarked with him in the same cause, sacrificed on some occasions the public good to their private interests, and disappointed the hopes which he had formed of them. The most upright of his associates in the ministry relaxed their exertions, or suffered themselves at times to be drawn into measures that were unsuitable to their station, and hurtful to the reformed religion. Goodman, after being adopted by the Church of Scotland, and ranked among her reformers, yielded so far to the love of country as to desert a people who were warmly attached to him, and return to the bosom of a less pure Church, which received him with coldness and distrust. Willock, after acquitting himself honourably from the commencement of the interesting conflict, withdrew before the victory was completely secured, and, wearied out with the successive troubles in which his native country was involved, sought a retreat for himself in England. Craig, being left without the assistance of his colleague, and placed between two conflicting parties, betrayed his fears by having recourse to temporising measures. Douglas, in his old age, became the dupe of persons whose rapacity impoverished the Protestant Church. And each of the superintendents was, at one time or another, complained of for neglect or for partiality in the discharge of his functions. But from the time that the standard of truth was first raised by him in his native country, till it dropped from his hands at death, Knox never shrunk from danger —never consulted his own ease or advantage—never entered into any compromise with the enemy — never was bribed or frightened into cowardly silence ; but keeping his eye singly and steadily fixed on the advancement of religion and of liberty, supported throughout the character of the Reformer of Scotland.

Knox bore a striking resemblance to Luther in personal intrepidity and in popular eloquence. He approached nearest to Calvin in his religious sentiments, in the severity of his manners, and in a certain impressive air of melancholy which pervaded his character. And he resembled Zuinglius in his ardent attachment to the principles of civil liberty, and in combining his exertions for the reformation of the Church with uniform endeavours to improve the political state of the people. Not that I would place our Reformer on a level with this illustrious triumvirate. There is a splendour which surrounds the great German reformer, partly arising from the intrinsic heroism of his character, and partly reflected from the interesting situation in which his long and doubtful struggle with the court of Rome placed him in the eyes of Europe, which removes him at a distance from all who started in the same glorious career. The Genevese reformer surpassed Knox in the extent of his theological learning, and in the unrivalled solidity and clearness of his judgment. And the reformer of Switzerland, though inferior to him in masculine elocution, and in daring courage, excelled him in self-command, in prudence, and in that species of eloquence which steals into the heart, convinces without irritating, and governs

without assuming the tone of authority. But although "he attained not to the first three," I know not, among all the eminent men who appeared at that period, any name which is so well entitled to be placed next to theirs as that of Knox, whether we consider the talents with which he was endowed, or the important services which he performed.

There are perhaps few who have attended to the active and laborious exertions of our Reformer, who have not been insensibly led to form the opinion that he was of a robust constitution. This is, however, a mistake. He was of small stature, and of a weakly habit of body;[1] a circumstance which serves to give us a higher idea of the vigour of his mind. His portrait seems to have been taken more than once during his life, and has been frequently engraved.[2] It continues still to frown in the antechamber of Queen Mary, to whom he was often an ungracious visitor. We discern in it the traits of his characteristic intrepidity, austerity, and keen penetration. Nor can we overlook his beard, which, according to the custom of the times, he wore long, and reaching to his middle; a circumstance which I mention the rather, because some writers have gravely assured us, that it was the chief thing which procured him reverence among his countrymen.[3] A popish author has informed us, that he was gratified with having his picture drawn, and has expressed much horror at this, seeing he had caused all the images of the saints to be broken.[4]

One charge against him has not yet been noticed. He has been accused of setting up himself for a prophet, of presuming to intrude into the secret counsel of God, and of enthusiastically confounding the suggestions of his own imagination, and the effusions of his own spirit, with the dictates of inspiration, and immediate communications from Heaven. Let us examine this accusation a little. It is proper, in the first place, to hear his own statement of the grounds on which he proceeded in many of those warnings which have been denominated predictions. Having, in one of his treatises, denounced the judgments to which the inhabitants of England exposed themselves, by renouncing the gospel, and returning to idolatry, he gives the following explication of the warrant which he had for his threatenings. "Ye would know the groundis of my certitude. God grant that, hearing thame, ye may understand, and stedfastlie believe the same. My assurances are not

[1] "Haud scio an unquam—magis ingenium in fragili et imbecillo corpusculo collocarit." Smetoni Resp. ad Dialog. Hamilt. p. 115.

[2] A print of him, cut in wood, was inserted by Beza in his Icones. There is another in Verheideni Imagines. See also Grainger's Biographical History of England, i. 164.

[3] Henry Fowlis, apud Mackenzie's Lives of Scottish writers, ii. 132. The *learned* Fellow of Lincoln College had perhaps discovered, that the magical virtue which the popish writers ascribed to Knox resided in his beard.

[4] "Audivi mente captos hereticos Scotos eo etiam insaniæ aliquando venisse, quod sceleratissimi, atque omnium literarum imperitissimi nebulonis Knox, pessimi, hæretici, qui omnes imagines sanctorum frangi præceperat, imaginem suam non tam fabricari passum fuisse, quam jam fabricatam non parum probasse." Laingæus de Vita et Moribus Hæretic. pp. 65, 66. The same writer tells us, as a proof of Calvin's vain-glory, that he allowed his picture to be carried about on the necks of men and women, like that of a God; and that, when reminded that the picture of Christ was as precious as his, he returned a profane answer: "Fertur eum hoc tantum respondisse, Qui huic rei invidet *crepet medius*." Ibid.

the mervalles of Merlin, nor yit the dark sentences of prophane prophesies; but the plane treuth of Godis word, the invincibill justice of the everlasting God, and the ordinarie course of his punismentis and plagis frome the beginning, are my assurance and groundis. Godis word threatneth destructioun to all inobedient; his immutabill justice must requyre the same; the ordinarie punishments and plaguis schaw exempillis. What man then can ceise to prophesie?"[1] We find him expressing himself in a similar way, in his defence of the threatenings which he uttered against those who had been guilty of the murder of King Henry, and the Regent Moray. He denies that he had spoken "as one that entered into the secret counsel of God," and insists that he had merely declared the judgment which was pronounced in the divine law against murderers, and which had often been exemplified in the vengeance which overtook them, even in this life.[2] In so far, then, his threatenings or predictions (for so he repeatedly calls them) do not stand in need of an apology. Though sometimes expressed in absolute or indefinite language, it is but fair and reasonable to understand them like similar declarations in Scripture, as implying a tacit condition.

There are, however, several of his sayings which, perhaps, cannot be vindicated upon these principles, and which he himself seems to have rested upon different grounds.[3] Of this kind are the assurances which he expressed, from the beginning of the Scottish troubles, that the cause of the Congregation would ultimately prevail; his confident hope of again preaching in his native country, and at St Andrews, avowed by him during his imprisonment on board the French galleys, and frequently repeated during his exile; with the intimations which he gave respecting the death of Thomas Maitland, and Kirkaldy of Grange. It cannot be denied that his contemporaries considered these as proceeding from a prophetic spirit, and have attested that they received an exact accomplishment. Without entering on a particular examination of these instances, or venturing to give a decisive opinion respecting any of them, I shall confine myself to a few general observations.

The most easy way of getting rid of this delicate subject is to dismiss it at once, and summarily to pronounce that all pretensions to extraordinary premonitions, since the completing of the canon of inspiration, are unwarranted, and that they ought, without examination, to be discarded and treated as fanciful and visionary. Nor would this fix any peculiar imputation on the character or talents of our Reformer, when it is considered that the most learned persons of that age were under the influence of a still greater weakness, and strongly addicted to the belief of judicial astrology. But I doubt much if this method of determining the question would be doing justice to the subject. *Est periculum, ne, aut neglectis his, impia fraude, aut susceptis, anili superstitione, obligemur.*[4]

[1] Letter to the Faithfull in London, Newcastell, and Barwick; in MS. Letters, p. 113.
[2] Bannatyne, pp. 111, 112, 420, 421.
[3] The Epistle to the Reader, prefixed to his Sermon, App. to Hist. p. 113. Edin. 1644, 4to.
[4] Cicero de Divinat. lib. i. 4.

On the one hand, the disposition which mankind discover to pry into the secrets of futurity, has been always accompanied with much credulity and superstition; and it cannot be denied that the age in which Knox lived was prone to credit the marvellous, especially as to the infliction of divine judgments on individuals. A judicious person, who is aware of this, will not be disposed to acknowledge as preternatural whatever was formerly regarded in this light, and will be on his guard against the illusions of imagination as to impressions which may be made on his own mind.

Nor would it be difficult to produce instances in which writers of a subsequent age, through mistake or under the influence of prepossession, have given a prophetical meaning to words which originally were not intended to convey any such idea. But, on the other hand, is there not a danger of running into scepticism, and of laying down general principles which may lead us obstinately to contest the truth of the best authenticated facts, if not also to limit the operations of Divine Providence? This is the extreme to which the present age inclines. That there are instances of persons having had presentiments as to events which afterwards did happen to themselves and others, there is, I think, the best reason to believe. Those who laugh at vulgar credulity, and exert their ingenuity in accounting for such phenomena on ordinary principles, have been exceedingly puzzled with some of these facts,—a great deal more puzzled than they have confessed; and the solutions which they have given are, in some cases, as mysterious as anything included in the intervention of superior spirits, or in preternatural and divine intimations.[1] The canon of our faith, as Christians, is contained in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments; we must not look to impressions or new revelations as the rule of our duty: but that God may, on particular occasions, forewarn persons of some things which shall happen, to testify his approbation of them, to encourage them to confide in him in circumstances of peculiar difficulty, or to serve other important purposes, is not, I think, inconsistent with the principles of either natural or revealed religion. If to believe this be enthusiasm, it is an enthusiasm into which some of the most enlightened and sober men, in modern as well as ancient times, have fallen.[2] The reformers were men of singular

[1] This is acknowledged by one who had attempted this more frequently, and with greater acuteness than any of them. "De tels faits, dont l'univers est tout plein, embarrassent plus les esprits forts qu'ils ne le temoignent." Bayle, Dictionnaire, art. Maldonat, Note G. What he says elsewhere of dreams may be applied to this subject: "They contain infinitely less mystery than the multitude believe, and a little more than sceptics believe; and those who reject them wholly, give reason either to suspect their sincerity, or to charge them with prejudice and incapacity to discern the force of evidence." Ibid. Art. Majus, Note D.

[2] "Setting aside these sorts of divination as extremely suspicious," says a modern author, who was not addicted to enthusiastic notions, "there remain predictions by dreams, and by sudden impulses, upon persons who were not of the fraternity of impostors; these were allowed to be sometimes preternatural by many of the learned pagans, and cannot, I think, be disproved, and should not be totally rejected." Dr Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. i. p. 93. See also pp. 45, 77. Lond. 1805. The learned reader may also consult the epicrisis of Witsius on this question: the whole dissertation, intended chiefly to expose the opposite extreme, is well entitled to a perusal. Miscellanea Sacra, tom. i. p. 391.

piety; they were exposed to uncommon opposition, and had uncommon services to perform; they were endued with extraordinary gifts, and why may we not suppose that they were occasionally favoured with extraordinary premonitions, with respect to certain events which concerned themselves, other individuals, or the Church in general? But whatever intimations of this kind they received, they never proposed them as a rule of action to themselves or others, nor rested the authority of their mission upon these, nor appealed to them as constituting any part of the evidence of those doctrines which they preached to the world.

Our reformer left behind him a widow and five children. His two sons were born to him by his first wife, Marjory Bowes. We have already seen that, about the year 1566, they went to England, where their mother's relations resided. They received their education at St John's college, in the university of Cambridge, their names being enrolled in the matriculation-book only eight days after the death of their father. Nathanael, the eldest of them, after obtaining the degrees of bachelor and master of arts, and being admitted fellow of the college, died in 1580. Eleazar, the youngest son, in addition to the honours attained by his brother, was created bachelor of divinity, ordained one of the preachers of the university, and admitted to the vicarage of Clacton-Magna. He died in 1591, and was buried in the chapel of St John's college.[1] It appears that both sons died without issue, and the family of the Reformer became extinct in the male line. His other children were daughters by his second wife. The General Assembly testified their respect for his memory by assigning his stipend, for the year after his death, to his widow and three daughters, and this appears to have been continued for some time by the Regent Morton, who, though charged with avarice during his administration, treated them with uniform attention and kindness.[2] Margaret Stewart, his widow, was afterwards married to Sir Andrew Ker of Fadounside, a strenuous supporter of the Reformation.[3] The names of his daughters were, Martha, Margaret, and Elizabeth.[4] The first was married to James Fleming, a minister of the Church of Scotland;[5] the second to Zachary, son of the celebrated Robert Pont;[6] and the third to John Welch, minister of Ayr.

Mrs Welch seems to have inherited no inconsiderable portion of her father's spirit, and she had her share of similar hardships. Her husband was one of those patriotic ministers who resisted the arbitrary measures pursued by James VI. for overturning the government and liberties of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. Being determined to abolish the

[1] Newcourt's Repert. Londin. ii. 154. Communications from Mr Thomas Baker, apud Life of Knox, prefixed to Historie of the Reformation, edit. 1732, pp. xli. xlii.

[2] Melville's MS. Diary, p. 39. See also Note RRR.

[3] Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, p. 522.

[4] Testament of John Knox, in Appendix.

[5] He was the grandfather of Mr Robert Fleming, minister in London, and author of the well-known book, The Fulfilling of the Scriptures. But Mr Robert's father was of a different marriage. Fleming's Practical Discourse on the Death of King William, preface, p. 14. Lond. 1702.

[6] See Note SSS.

General Assembly, James had, for a considerable time, prevented the meetings of that court by successive prorogations. Perceiving the design of the court, a number of the delegates from synods resolved to keep the diet which had been appointed to be held at Aberdeen in July 1605. They merely constituted the Assembly, and appointed a day for its next meeting, and being charged by Laurieston, the king's commissioner, to dissolve, immediately obeyed; but the commissioner having antedated the charge, several of the leading members were thrown into prison. Welch and five of his brethren, when called before the privy council, declined that court, as incompetent to judge the offence of which they were accused, according to the laws of the kingdom; on which account they were indicted to stand trial for treason at Linlithgow. Their trial was conducted in the most illegal and unjust manner. The king's advocate told the jury that the only thing which came under their cognisance was the fact of the declinature, the judges having already found that it was treasonable; and threatened them with an "azize of error," if they did not proceed as he directed them. After the jury were impanneled, the Justice-Clerk went in and threatened them with his Majesty's displeasure, if they acquitted the prisoners. The greater part of the jurors being still reluctant, the Chancellor went out and consulted with the other judges, who promised that no punishment should be inflicted on the prisoners, provided the jury brought in a verdict agreeable to the court. By such disgraceful methods they were induced, at midnight, to find, by a majority of three, that the prisoners were guilty, upon which they were condemned to suffer the death of traitors.[1]

Leaving her children at Ayr, Mrs Welch attended her husband in prison, and was present at Linlithgow, with the wives of the other prisoners, on the day of trial. When informed of the sentence, these heroines, instead of lamenting their fate, praised God who had given their husbands courage to stand to the cause of their Master, adding that, like him, they had been judged and condemned under the covert of night.[2]

The sentence of death having been changed into banishment, she accompanied her husband to France, where they remained for sixteen years. Mr Welch applied himself with such assiduity to the acquisition of the language of the country, that he was able, in the course of fourteen weeks, to preach in French, and was chosen minister to a Protestant congregation at Nerac, from which he was translated to St Jean d'Angely, a fortified town in Lower Charente. War having broken out between Louis XIII. and his Protestant subjects, St Jean d'Angely was besieged by the king in person. On this occasion Welch not only ani-

[1] Matthew Crawfurd's Hist. Church Scot., MS. i. 258—283. The Reformation of Religion in Scotland, written by Mr John Forbes, MS. p. 131—151. The copy of this last work, which is in my possession, was transcribed "ex authoris autographo," in the year 1726. The author was one of the condemned ministers. His narrative properly begins at the year 1580, but is chiefly occupied in detailing the transactions which preceded and followed the Assembly at Aberdeen.

[2] Row's MS. Historie, pp. 111, 122.

mated the inhabitants of the town to a vigorous resistance by his exhortations, but he appeared on the walls, and gave his assistance to the garrison. The king was at last admitted into the town in consequence of a treaty, and being displeased that Welch preached during his residence in it, sent the Duke d'Espernon with a company of soldiers, to take him from the pulpit. When the preacher saw the duke enter the church, he ordered his hearers to make room for the marshal of France, and desired him to sit down and hear the word of God. He spoke with such an air of authority that the duke involuntarily took a seat, and listened to the sermon with great gravity and attention. He then brought Welch to the king, who asked him how he durst preach there, since it was contrary to the laws of the kingdom for any of the pretended reformed to officiate in places where the court resided. "Sir," replied Welch, "if your majesty knew what I preached, you would not only come and hear it yourself, but make all France hear it; for I preach not as those men you use to hear. First, I preach that you must be saved by the merits of Jesus Christ, and not your own; and I am sure your conscience tells you that your good works will never merit heaven. Next, I preach that, as you are king of France, there is no man on earth above you; but these men whom you hear, subject you to the pope of Rome, which I will never do." Pleased with this reply, Louis said to him, "*Hé bien, vous serez mon ministre*;"[1] and addressing him by the title of Father, assured him of his protection. And he was as good as his word; for St Jean d'Angely being reduced by the royal forces in 1621, the king gave directions to de Vitry, one of his generals, to take care of his minister; in consequence of which Welch and his family were conveyed, at his majesty's expense, to Rochelle.[2]

Having lost his health, and the physicians informing him that the only prospect which he had of recovering it was by returning to his native country, Mr Welch ventured, in the year 1622, to come to London. But his own sovereign was incapable of treating him with that generosity which he had experienced from the French monarch; and, dreading the influence of a man who was far gone with a consumption, he absolutely refused to give him permission to return to Scotland. Mrs Welch, by means of some of her mother's relations at court, obtained access to James, and petitioned him to grant this liberty to her husband. The following singular conversation took place on that occasion. His majesty asked her who was her father. She replied, "John Knox." "Knox and Welch!" exclaimed he, "the devil never

[1] "Very well, you shall be my minister."

[2] History of Mr John Welch, p. 31—33. Edinburgh, 1703. Characteristics of Eminent Ministers, subjoined to Livingston's Life: art. John Welch. Mr Livingston received his account of the above transactions in France, from Lord Kenmure, who resided in Mr Welch's house. The author of the History of Welch says that he received his information from the personal acquaintances of that minister. That work was drawn up by Mr James Kirkton, who married a descendant of Knox, and consequently a relation of Mrs Welch. See the article concerning Knox's descendants in Additions. The Life of Welch contains an account of an extraordinary occurrence relating to the first Lord Castlestewart, (ancestor of Lord Castlereagh), who, when a young man, lodged with Mr Welch in France.

made such a match as that."—"It's right like, sir," said she, "for we never speered[1] his advice." He asked her how many children her father had left, and if they were lads or lasses. She said three, and they were all lasses. "God be thanked!" cried the king, lifting up both his hands, "for an they had been three lads, I had never bruiked[2] my three kingdoms in peace." She again urged her request, that he would give her husband his native air. "Give him his native air!" replied the king, "give him the devil!"—"Give that to your hungry courtiers," said she, offended at his profaneness. He told her at last that, if she would persuade her husband to submit to the bishops, he would allow him to return to Scotland. Mrs Welch, lifting up her apron, and holding it towards the king, replied, in the true spirit of her father, "Please your majesty, I'd rather kep[3] his head there."[4]

Welch was soon after released from the power of the despot, and from his own sufferings. "This month of May 1622," says one of his intimate friends, "we received intelligence of the death of that holy servant of God, Mr Welch, one of the fathers and pillars of that church, and the light of his age, who died at London, an exile from his native country, on account of his opposition to the re-establishment of episcopal government, and his firm support of the presbyterian and synodical discipline, received and established among us; and that after eighteen years' banishment,—a man full of the Holy Spirit, zeal, charity, and incredible diligence in the duties of his office." The death of his wife is recorded by the same pen. "This month of January 1625, died at Ayr my cousin, Mrs Welch, daughter of that great servant of God, the late John Knox, and wife of that holy man of God, Mr Welch, above-mentioned; a spouse and daughter worthy of such a husband, and such a father."[5]

The account of our Reformer's publications has been partly anticipated in the course of the preceding narrative. Though his writings were of great utility, it was not by them, but by his personal exertions, that he chiefly advanced the Reformation, and transmitted his name to posterity. He did not view this as the field in which he was called to labour. "That I did not in writing communicate my judgment upon the Scriptures," says he, "I have ever thought myself to have most just reason. For, considering myself rather called of my God to instruct the ignorant, comfort the sorrowful, confirm the weak, and rebuke the

[1] Asked. [2] Enjoyed. [3] Receive.

[4] I met with the account of this conversation in a manuscript, written by Mr Robert Traill, minister in London, entitled, "an Accompt of several passages in the lives of some eminent men in the nation, not recorded in any history." It is inserted in the heart of a commonplace-book, containing notes of sermons, &c. written by him when a student of divinity at St Andrews, between 1659 and 1663. He received the account from aged persons, and says that the conference between King James and Mrs Welch "is current to this day in the mouths of many." I have since seen the same story in Wodrow's MS. Collections, vol. i. Life of Welch, p. 27, Bibl. Coll. Glas. James stood in great awe of Mr Welch, who often reproved him for his habit of profane swearing. If he had, at any time, been swearing in a public place, he would have turned round, and asked if Welch was near. Traill's MS. *ut supra*.

[5] Obituary of Robert Boyd of Trochrig, in Wodrow's MS. Collections, vol. v. pp. 145, 148. Bannatyne Miscellany, vol. i. pp. 291, 295. See Mrs Welch's Testament, in Appendix.

proud, by tongue and lively voice, in these most corrupt days, than to compose books for the age to come, (seeing that so much is written, and by men of most singular erudition, and yet so little well observed), I decreed to contain myself within the bounds of that vocation whereunto I found myself especially called."[1] This resolution was most judiciously formed. His situation was very different from that of the first Protestant reformers. They found the whole world in ignorance of the doctrines of Christianity. Men were either destitute of books, or such as they possessed were calculated only to mislead. The oral instructions of a few individuals could extend but a small way; it was principally by means of their writings, which circulated with amazing rapidity, that they benefited mankind, and became not merely the instructors of the particular cities and countries where they resided and preached, but the reformers of Europe. By the time that Knox appeared on the field, their translations of Scripture, their judicious commentaries on its different books, and their able defences of its doctrines, were laid open to the English reader.[2] What was more immediately required of him was to use the peculiar talent in which he excelled, and, "by tongue and lively voice," to imprint the doctrines of the Bible upon the hearts of his countrymen. When he was deprived of an opportunity of doing this, during his exile, there could not be a more proper substitute than that which he adopted, by publishing familiar epistles, exhortations, and admonitions, in which he briefly reminded them of the truths which they had embraced, and warned them to flee from the abominations of Popery. These could be circulated and read with far more ease, and to a far greater extent, than large treatises.

Of the many sermons preached by him during his ministry, he published but one, which was extorted from him by peculiar circumstances. It affords a very favourable specimen of his talents, and shows that, if he had applied himself to writing, he was qualified for excelling in that department. He had a ready command of language, and expressed himself with great perspicuity, animation, and force. Though he despised the tinsel of rhetoric, he was acquainted with the principles of that art, and when he had leisure and inclination to polish his style, wrote with propriety, and even with elegance. Those who have read his Letter to the Queen-Regent, his Answer to Tyrie, or his papers in the account of the dispute with Kennedy, will be satisfied of this. During his residence in England, he acquired the habit of writing the language according to the manner of that country; and in all his publications which appeared during his lifetime, the English and not the Scottish orthography and mode of expression are used. In this respect,

[1] Preface to his Sermon, apud History, p. 113. Edin. 1644.

[2] Those who have not directed their attention to this point cannot easily conceive to what extent the translation of foreign theological books into our language was carried at that time. There was scarcely a book of any celebrity published in Latin by the Continental reformers, that did not appear in an English version. Bibliographers, and the annalists of printing, are very defective in the information which they communicate on this branch.

there is a very evident difference between them and the vernacular writings of Buchanan.[1]

His practical treatises are among the least known, but most valuable, of his writings. In depth of religious feeling, and in power of utterance, they are superior to any works of the same kind which appeared in that age. The thoughts are often original, and always expressed in a style of originality, possessing great dignity and strength, without affectation or extravagance.[2]

The freedoms which have been used in the republication of such of his works as are best known, have contributed to injure his literary reputation. They were translated into the language commonly used in the middle of the seventeenth century, by which they were deprived of the antique costume which they formerly wore, and contracted an air of vulgarity which did not originally belong to them. Besides this, they have been reprinted with innumerable omissions, interpolations, and alterations, which frequently affect the sense, and always enfeeble the language. The two works which have been most read are the least accurate and polished, in point of style, of all his writings. His tract against female government was hastily published by him, under great irritation of mind at the increasing cruelty of Mary, Queen of England. His History of the Reformation was undertaken during the confusions of the civil war, and was afterwards continued by him at intervals snatched from numerous avocations. The collection of historical materials is a work of labour and time; the digesting and arranging of them into a regular narrative require much leisure and undivided attention. The want of these sufficiently accounts for the confusion that is often observable in that work. But notwithstanding this, and particular mistakes from which no work of the kind can be free, it still continues to be the principal source of information as to ecclesiastical proceedings in that period; and although great keenness has been shown in attacking its authenticity and accuracy, it has been confirmed in all the leading facts by an examination of those ancient documents which the industry of later times has brought to light.[3]

His Defence of Predestination, the only theological treatise of any extent which was published by him, is rare, and has been seen by few. It is written with perspicuity, and discovers his controversial acuteness, with becoming caution, in handling that delicate question. A catalogue of his publications, as complete as I have been able to draw up, will be found in the notes.[4]

[1] It is to this that Ninian Winget refers in one of his letters addressed to Knox. "Gif ye, throw curiositie of novationis, hes forzet our auld plane Scottis, quhilk zour mother lernit zow, in tymes coming I sall wrytt to zow my mynd in Latin, for I am nocht acquyntit with *zour Southeroun*." Keith, App. 254.

[2] Knox's praetical writings have been lately collected and reprinted. This, so far as it may have arisen, even indirectly, from what I have done in illustrating the events of his life, I regard as one of the most pleasing fruits of my labour; nor do I regret (though I did regret it) that the work has issued from the press of London, instead of Edinburgh.

[3] See Note TTT.

[4] See Note UUU. It may be proper to notice that our Reformer's writings had the honour of being marked in the Index Expurgatorius of Rome. "Joannes Chnoxus Scotus" occurs in Index Librorum Prohibitorum, p. 49. Rothomagi, 1625.

I have thus attempted to give an account of our national Reformer, of the principal events of his life, his sentiments, writings, and exertions in the cause of religion and liberty. If what I have done shall contribute to set his character in a more just light than that in which it has been generally represented, and to correct the erroneous views of it which have long been prevalent; or if it shall tend to elucidate the ecclesiastical history of the eventful period in which he lived, and be the means of illustrating the superintendence of a wise and merciful Providence, in the accomplishment of a revolution of all others the most interesting and beneficial to this country, I shall not think any labour which I have bestowed on the subject to have been thrown away or unrewarded.

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NOTES TO PERIOD FIRST.

Note A, Page 1.

Place of Knox's Birth, and his Parentage.

Although the question respecting Knox's birthplace is not of very great importance, I shall state the authorities for the different opinions which are entertained on the subject.

Beza—who was contemporary, and personally acquainted with our Reformer—designs him "Joannes Cnoxus, Scotus, Giffordiensis," evidently meaning that he was a native of the town of Gifford. Icones, seu Imagines Illustrium Virorum, Ee. iij. an. 1580. Spotswood, who was born in 1565, and could receive information from his father, and other persons intimately acquainted with Knox, says that he was "born in Gifford within Lothian." History, p. 265, edit. 1677. David Buchanan, in his Memoir of Knox, prefixed to the edition of his History, and published in 1644, gives the same account; which has been followed in the Life written by Matthew Crawfurd, and prefixed to the edition of the History, 1732; and by Wodrow, in his MS. Collections, respecting the Scottish Reformers, in Bibl. Coll. Glas. In a Genealogical Account of the Knoxes, which is in the possession of the family of the late Mr James Knox, minister of Scoon, the Reformer's father is said to have been a brother of the family of Ranferlie, and "proprietor of the estate of Gifford." Scott's History of the Scottish Reformers, p. 94.

On the other hand, Archibald Hamilton, who was his countryman, as well as his contemporary and acquaintance, says that Knox was born in the town of Haddington: "Obscuris natus parentibus in Hadintona oppido in Laudonia." De Confusione Calvinianæ Sectæ apud Scotos Dialogus, fol. 64, a. Parisiis, 1577. Another Scotsman, who wrote in that age, says that he was born near Haddington—"prope Haddintonam." Laingæus De vita, et moribus, atque rebus gestis Hæreticorum nostri temporis, fol. 113, b. Parisiis, 1581. Dr Barclay, late minister of Haddington, advanced an opinion which reconciles the two last authorities (although it is probable that he never saw either of them), by asserting that our Reformer was born in one of the suburbs of Haddington, called the Giffordgate. Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries in Scotland, pp. 69, 70.

The testimony of Archibald Hamilton is not altogether without weight, for, although he has retailed a number of gross falsehoods in the work referred to, there does not appear to be any reason for supposing that he would intentionally mislead his readers on such a circumstance as the birthplace of the Reformer. But I consider Spotswood's statement as going far to set aside Hamilton's; for, as the archbishop could scarcely be ignorant of it, and as he fixes Knox's birth at a different place, it is reasonable to suppose that he had good reasons for varying from a preceding authority. The grounds of Dr Barclay's opinion are, that, according to the tradition of the place, the Reformer was a native of Haddington; that the house in which he was born is still pointed out in the Giffordgate; and that this house, with some adjoining acres of land, belonged for a number of generations to a family of the name of Knox, who claimed kindred with the Reformer, and who lately sold the property to the Earl of Wemyss. I acknowledge that popular tradition may be allowed to determine a point of this nature, provided it is not contradicted by other evidence. In the present case, it is not

altogether free from this objection. As the sons of the Reformer died without issue, there is no reason to think that the family which resided in the Giffordgate was lineally descended from him. Still, however, the property might have belonged to his elder brother, which is consistent with the supposition of his being born in the house which tradition has marked out. But I have lately been favoured with extracts from the title-deeds of that property, now in the possession of the Earl of Wemyss, extending from the year 1598 downwards, which are not favourable to that supposition. On the 18th of February 1598, William Knox in Moreham, and Elizabeth Schortes his wife, were infeft in subjects in Nungate (of Haddington) by virtue of a crown charter. This charter contains no statement of the warrants on which it proceeded, farther than that the lands formerly belonged to the Abbey of Haddington, and were annexed to the crown. Having communicated the names of the persons mentioned in the first chapter and subsequent deeds to the Reverend Mr Scott of Perth, with a request to be informed if any such names occur in the genealogy of the Knox family which belonged to the late Mr Knox, minister of Scoon, I was favoured with an answer, saying, that neither the name of William Knox at Moreham, nor that of any other person answering to the description in my letter, is to be found in that genealogy. But, farther, the charter expressly states that the lands in question belonged to the Abbey of Haddington, and as they must have been annexed to the crown subsequently to the Reformation, they could not be the property of the family at the time of our Reformer's birth. The tradition of his having been born in the Giffordgate is therefore supported merely by the possibility that his parents might have resided in that house while it was the property of the Abbey. In opposition to this, we have the authorities already mentioned in support of the opinion that he was born in the village of Gifford.

With respect to the *parentage* of our Reformer, David Buchanan says that his "father was a brother's son of the house of Ranferlie." Life, prefixed to History of the Reformation, edit. 1644. In a conversation with the Earl of Bothwell, Knox gave the following account of his ancestors: "My Lord," said he, "my great-grandfather, gudeschir and father, have served your Lordchip's predecessours, and some of them have dyed under their standards; and this is a pairt of the obligatioun of our Scottish kindness." Historie of the Reformatioun, p. 306, edit. 1732. Matthew Crawfurd says, that "these words seem to import that Mr Knox's predecessors were in some honourable station under the Earls of Bothwell, at that time the most powerful family in East-Lothian." Life of the Author, p. ii. prefixed to Historie, edit. 1732. The only thing which I would infer from his words is, that his ancestors had settled in Lothian as early as the time of his great-grandfather. I do not wish to represent the Reformer as either of noble or of gentle birth, and cannot place much dependence on the assertion in the preceding note,[1] which makes his father "proprietor of the estate of Gifford." John Davidson, in the poem written in commendation of him, says,—

> First he descendit bot of lineage small,
> As commonly God usis for to eall
> The sempill sort his summoundis til expres.

At the same time, the statement given by some authors of the meanness and poverty of his parents is not supported by good evidence, and can in part be disproved. Dr Mackenzie says the Reformer was the "son of a poor countryman, as we are informed by those who knew him very well. His parents, though in a mean condition, put their son to the grammar-school of Haddington; where, after he had learned his grammar, he served for some time the Laird of Langniddrie's children, who being sent by their parents to the university of St Andrews, he thereby had occasion of learning his philosophy." Lives of Scottish Writers, vol. iii. p. 111. As his authorities for these assertions, the Doctor has printed on the margin, "Dr Hamilton, Dr Bailie, and many others,"—Popish writers, who, regardless of their own character, fabricated or retailed such stories as they thought most discreditable to the Reformer, many of which Mackenzie himself is obliged to pronounce "ridiculous stories, that are altogether improbable," p. 132.

[1] That is, in the preceding part of this note, which was originally divided into two.—Ed.

"Dr Bailie" was Alexander Bailie, a Benedictine monk in the Scottish monastery of Wurtzburg; and as he published the work to which Mackenzie refers in the year 1628, it is ridiculous to talk of his being well acquainted with either the Reformer or his father. Hamilton (the earliest authority), instead of supporting Mackenzie's assertions, informs us, as far as his language is intelligible, that Knox was in priest's orders before he undertook the care of children: "quo victum sibi pararet magis quam ut deo serviret (Simonis illius magi huc usquo sequutus vestigia) presbyter primum fieri de more, quamvis illiteratus, tum in privatis ædibus puerorum in vulgaribus literis formandorum curam capere coactus est." De Confusione Calv. Sectæ, p. 64. The fact is, that Knox entered into the family of Langniddrie as tutor, *after* he had finished his education at the university; and so late as 1547 he was employed in teaching the young men their grammar. Historie, p. 67.

Note B, p. 2.

Academical Education of Knox and Major.

I have been a good deal puzzled on the subject of the academical studies of our Reformer. Depending on the testimony of the earliest and most credible writers, I stated, in the former editions of this work, that he studied, and took the degree of Master of Arts, at St Andrews. After a minute examination, however, I was unable to find his name in the records of that university. Still I did not feel warranted to drop the account which I had given on such respectable authority, and contented myself with mentioning the unsuccessful result of my investigations. But when engaged in examining the records of the university of Glasgow with a view to another work, I accidentally met with evidence which convinces me that the common statement is erroneous. Knox was educated at the university, not of St Andrews, but of Glasgow.

In the "Annales Universitatis Glasguensis," the name "Johannes Knox" occurs among the *Incorporati*, or those who were matriculated, in the year 1522. In coming to the conclusion that this was our Reformer, I do not rest simply on his name occurring in the record. This opinion is confirmed by the two following circumstances. 1. The time answers to that at which he might be supposed to have entered the university, for in 1522 he was seventeen years of age. 2. John Major was at that time Principal of the university of Glasgow; and all the ancient accounts agree that Knox studied under that celebrated professor. This circumstance may perhaps account for the mistake into which the old writers have fallen on this subject. They appear to have been ignorant of the fact that Major taught at that time in Glasgow; and being informed that Knox studied under him, they concluded that he did so at St Andrews, where that professor was known to have resided for many years.

I take this opportunity of filling up a blank in the life of Major. Dempster, Dupin, and other writers, mention that, after being made Doctor of Divinity in 1505, he taught for some years at Glasgow, but that, owing to the confusions of his native country, he removed from it to Paris. I will not take upon me to say that this account is erroneous; but I have not been able to discover the name of Major in the records of the university of Glasgow at that period. Upon Major's return from France, the above-mentioned authors represent him as going directly to St Andrews. But from the subsequent extracts it will appear that he went first to Glasgow, and for several years held the situation of Principal and Professor of Divinity in the university of that city.

In the old Register entitled "Annales Universitatis Glasguensis" are the following minutes relating to Major; the last of them contains the matriculation of Knox:—

"Electio Rectoris.

"Congregatione generali alme Universitatis Glasguen. Citatione previa, &c. Die tertio mensis Novembris anno Dni millesimo quingentesimo decimo octavo, &c.

"Eodem die—Incorporati sub dicto Dno Rectore, Egregius vir Magr Johannes Majoris Doctor Parisiensis ac principalis regens Collegio et pedagogii dicte Univer-

sitatis, Canonicusque Capelli regie, ac Vicarius de Dunlop, &c." (43 names follow.)

There is no farther mention made of Major until 1521, when the following minute is found :—

"Electio Rectoris.

"Congregatione generali, &c. In festo sanctorum Marthirum Crispini et Crispiniani, anno Domⁱ millesimo quingentesimo vicesimo primo. Pro Electione novi Rectoris—In quaquidem Congregatione Electi fuerunt tres Intrantes, viz. Magr Mattheus Steward Decanus facultatis Johannes Majoris Theologie Professor, et nationis Albanie nullus interfuit, et Willmus Crechtoun Canonicus Glasguensis—Qui remoti, maturaque deliberatione prehabita, unanimi eorum consensu, Venerabilem et egregium Virum Jacobum Steward Prepositum ecclesie Collegiate de Dunbertane, absentem tanquam presentem, in Rectorem eligerunt et electum pronunciarunt. Qui postea inclinatus supplicationibus suppositorum hujus modi onus in se acceptavit. Insuper in eadem Congregatione electi fuerunt quatuor Deputati ad consulendum et assistendum dicto Dno rectori in omnibus et singulis causis per ipsum tractandis, viz. Magri Johannes Majoris predictus, Willms Chrichtoun, Johannes Reid, Jacobus Neilsoun—Necnon Electus fuit in bursarium discretus vir Magr Mattheus Reid, Magr schole grammiticalis. Et in promotorem Magr Andreas Smytht. Et in Procuratorem Magr Nicholaus Witherspuyne.

"Die xxiiij mensis Maij anno Dñi millesimo quingentesimo xxij.

"Congregatione generali Universitatis Glasguen. facta loco Capitulari ecclesie metropolitane ejusdem die xxiiij mensis maij Anno Dñi Millesimo quingentesimo xxij, per Venerabilem Virum Mgrm Jacobum Steward Prepositum ecclie Collegiate de Dunbertane ac Rectorem dicte Universitatis, Presentibus Ibidem Honorabilibus Viris, Magistris Johanne Majore, theologie professore, thesaurario Capelle regie Stirlingensis, Vicarioque de Dunlop, ac Principali regente dicte Collegie, Johanne Doby Canonico Glasguensi ac prebendario de Ancrum, Jacobo Neilson Vicario de Colmanel, Johanne Spruele Vicario de Dundonald, Jacobo Lyndesay secundario regente, aliisque patribus, Magistris, Studentibus, ac suppositis, inibi Congregatis —In quaquidem Congregatione Idem Dñus Rector Exposuit et Declaravit, &c.

"Electio Rectoris.

"Congregatione generali alme Universitatis Glass. Citatione previa per edictum publicum in Valvis ecclesie metripolitane affixum, Celebrata loco Capitulari ejusdem, In festo Sanctorum Marthirum Crispini et Crispiniani, Anno Dñi Millesimo quingentesimo Vicesimo secundo, Pro electione novi Rectoris. In quaquidem Congregatione electi fuerunt tres Intrantes, eoquod nullus nationis albanie extunc interfuit, viz. Mgr Thomas leiss Canonicus Dunblanensis, Johannes Majoris Principalis regens, et Johannes Reid Vicarius de Campsy—Qui remoti, matura et digesta deliberatione prehabita, unanimi eorum Consensu, Venerabilem et egregium Virum Mgrm Jacobum Steward prepositum Ecclesie Collegiate de Dunbertane, absentem tanquam presentem, in rectorem Continuarunt, eligerunt, et pronunciarunt—Qui postea supplicationebus magistrorum inclinatus hujus modi onus en se acceptavit. Insuper in eadem Congregatione electi fuerunt tres Deputati ad assistendum et consulendum dicto Dño Rectori in omnibus et singulis causis dicte Universitatis per eundem tractandis, viz. Prescripti magistri, Johannes Majoris, Johannes Reid, et Mgr Mattheus Steward Vicarius de Mayboile, Et Continuatus fuit in bursarium Mgr Mattheus Reid. Necnon electus fuit in procuratorem et promotorem Universitatis Mgr Nicholaus Vitherspuyne Vicarius de Straithawane—Incorporati sub dicto Dño Rectore,

Andreas Cottis	Alexr Dikke
Johannes hereot	Adam Kyngorne
Nigellus Campbal	Nigellus forguissone
Willmus Steward	Johannes huntar
Johannes Hamyltoun	Jacobus Mosman
Johannes Knox	Dñus Johannes Keyne presbiter
Archibaldus Langsyd	Patricius letryg Civis Glass."

In the records of the university of Glasgow, Major is uniformly called Joannes Majoris. It appears from Dr Lee's extracts, published in the second edition of Dr Irving's Memoirs of Buchanan (p. 373), that Major was incorporated into the university of St Andrews on the 9th of June 1523. He is there designed "Doctor Theologus Parisiensis, et Thesaurius Capellæ Regiæ;" and in an instrument of seisin belonging to that seminary he is styled "Vicarius de Dunloppie Glasg."—Some may perhaps be inclined to suppose that Knox followed Major to St Andrews, and attended his lectures, though not formally incorporated into that university; and consequently that the old writers had some foundation for their statement on this head. But if this was the case, it is not very probable that the truth of it can be now ascertained. I have only to add, that I cannot perceive, from the records of Glasgow, that Knox took any degree there, which confirms the doubt that I have already expressed on that subject.

Note C, p. 3.

Early State of Grecian Literature in Scotland.

In this note I shall throw together such facts as I have met with relating to the introduction of the Greek language into Scotland, and the progress which it made during the sixteenth century. They are scanty; but I trust they will not be altogether unacceptable to those who take an interest in the subject.

In the year 1522, Boece mentions George Dundas as a good Greek scholar. He was master of the Knights of St John in Scotland, and had most probably acquired the knowledge of the language on the Continent. "Georgius Dundas grecas atq; latinas literas apprime doctus, equitum Hierosolymitanorum intra Scotorum regnum magistratum multo sudore (superatis emulis) postea adeptus." Boetii Vitæ Episcop. Murth. et Aberdon. fol. xxvii. b. It is reasonable to suppose that some other individuals in the nation acquired it in the same way; but Boece makes no mention of Greek among the branches taught at the universities in his time, although he is minute in his details. Nor do I find any other reference to the subject previous to the year 1534, when Erskine of Dun brought a learned man from France, and employed him to teach Greek in Montrose, as mentioned in that part of the Life to which this note refers. At his school George Wishart the martyr must have obtained the knowledge of the language, and he seems to have been assistant or successor to his master. The Bishop of Brechin (William Chisholm), hearing that Wishart taught the Greek New Testament in Montrose, summoned him to appear before him on a charge of heresy, upon which he fled the kingdom. This was in 1538. Petrie, part ii. p. 182. It is likely that Knox was taught Greek by Wishart after the return of the latter from England. Buchanan seems to have acquired the language during his residence on the Continent. Epist. p. 25. Oper. edit. Rudd.

Lesley says that James V., during his progress through the kingdom in 1540, came to Aberdeen, and among other entertainments which were given him, the students of the university "recited orations in the Greek and Latin tongue, composed with the greatest skill"—"Orationes in Greca Latinaque lingua, summo artificio instructæ." Leslæus de rebus gestis Scotorum, lib. ix. p. 430, edit. 1675. When we consider the state of learning at that period in Scotland, there is reason for suspecting that the bishop's description is highly coloured; yet, as he entered that university a few years after, we may conclude from it that some attention was at that time paid to the study of Greek in Aberdeen. It might have been introduced by Hector Boece, the learned principal of that university. If the king was entertained with the great learning of the students of Aberdeen, the English ambassador was no less diverted, in the very same year, with the ignorance which our bishops discovered of the Greek tongue. The ambassador, who was a scholar as well as a statesman, had caused his men to wear on their sleeves the following Greek motto, ΜΟΝΩ ΑΝΑΚΤΙ ΔΟΥΛΕΥΩ, "I serve the king only." This the Scottish bishops, whose knowledge did not extend beyond Latin, read MONACHULUS, "a little monk," and thereupon circulated the report that the ambassador's servants were monks, who had been taken out of the monasteries lately suppressed in England. To counteract this report, Sadler was obliged to furnish a translation of

the inscription. "It appeareth (says he) they are no good Grecians. And now the effect of my words is known, and they be well laughed at for their learned interpretation." Sadler's Letters, i. 48, 49. Edinburgh, 1809. In a debate which occurred in the Parliament which met in 1543, individuals among the nobility and other lay members discovered more knowledge of Greek than all the ecclesiastical bench. Knox, Historie, 34.

Foreign writers have been amused with the information that many of the Scottish clergy affirmed, "that Martin Luther had lately composed a wicked book called the New Testament; but that they, for their part, would adhere to the Old Testament." Perizonii Hist. Seculi xvi. p. 233. Gerdesii Histor. Reform. tom. iv. p. 314. Buchanani Operæ, i. 291. Ignorant, however, as our clergy were, they were not more illiterate than many on the Continent. A foreign monk, declaiming one day in the pulpit against Lutherans and Zuinglians, said to his audience: "A new language was invented some time ago, called Greek, which has been the mother of all these heresies. A book is printed in this language, called the New Testament, which contains many dangerous things. Another language is now forming, the Hebrew; whoever learns it immediately becomes a Jew." No wonder, after this, that the commissioners of the senate of Lucerne should have confiscated the works of Aristotle, Plato, and some of the Greek poets, which they found in the library of a friend of Zuinglius, concluding, that every book printed in that language must be infected with Lutheranism. J. von Mullers Schw. Gesch. Hess, Life of Ulrich Zuingle, p. 213.

To return to the seminary at Montrose: it was kept up, by the public spirit of its patron, until the establishment of the Reformation. Some years before that event, the celebrated linguist, Andrew Melville, received his education at this school, under Pierre de Marsiliers, a Frenchman. And he had made such proficiency in Greek, when he entered the university of St Andrews, about the year 1559, that he was able to read Aristotle in the original language, "which even his masters themselves understood not." Life of Andrew Melville, p. 2, in Wodrow's MSS. Bibl. Coll. Glas. vol. i. and James Melville's Diary, p. 32. For although the logics, ethics, &c. of Aristotle, were then read in the colleges, it was in a Latin translation. "The regent of St Leonard's," says James Melville, "tauld me of my uncle Mr Andro Melvill, whom he knew, in the time of his cours in the new collag, to use the Greik logicks of Aristotle, quhilk was a wonder to them, he was so fyne a scholar, and of sic expectation." MS. Diary, p. 25.

By the First Book of Discipline it was provided, that there should "be a reader of Greek" in one of the colleges of each university, who "shall compleat the grammar thereof in three months," and "shall interpret some book of Plato, together with some places of the New Testament, and shall compleat his course the same year." Dunlop's Confessions, ii. 553. The small number of learned men, the deficiency of funds, and the confusions in which the country was afterwards involved, prevented, in a great degree, the execution of this wise measure. Owing to the last of these circumstances, some learned Scotsmen devoted their talents to the service of foreign seminaries, instead of returning to their native country. Buchanani Epist. pp. 7, 9, 10, 33. One of these was Henry Scrimger, celebrated for his Grecian literature. Some particulars respecting him may be seen in Senebier, Hist. Litter. de Geneve, tom. i. art. Scrimger. See also Teissier, Eloges, iii. 383—385. Leide, 1715. On account of the scarcity of preachers, it was also found necessary to settle several of the learned men in towns which were not the seat of a university. Some of these undertook the instruction of youth, along with the pastoral inspection of their parishes. John Row taught the Greek tongue in Perth. See Note PP. The venerable teacher, Andrew Simson (see p. 3), does not appear to have been capable of this task; but he was careful that his son Patrick should not labour under the same defect. He was sent to the university of Cambridge, in which he made great proficiency; and after his return to Scotland taught Greek at Spott, a village in East Lothian, where he was minister for some time. Row's MS. p. 96 of a copy in the Divinity Library, Edinburgh. It is reasonable to suppose that this branch of study would not be neglected at St Andrews during the time that Buchanan was principal of St Leonard's College, from 1565 to 1570. Patrick Adamson, to whom he demitted this office, and whom he recommended for his "literature and sufficiency" (Buch. Op. i. 10), was not then in the kingdom; and the state of education languished for some time in that university. James

Melville, who entered it in 1570, gives the following account—"Our regent begoud, and teached us the A, B, C, of the Grick, and the simple declinationis, but went no farder." MS. Diary, p. 26. *Græcum est, non legitur*, was at this time an adage, even with persons who had received a university education. Row's MS. *ut supra*.

The return of Andrew Melville, in 1574, gave a new impulse to literature in Scotland. That celebrated scholar had perfected himself in the knowledge of the languages during the nine years which he spent on the Continent, and had astonished the learned at Geneva by the fluency with which he read and spoke Greek. MS. Diary, *ut sup.* p. 33. He was first made Principal of the university of Glasgow, and afterwards removed to the university of St Andrews. Such was his celebrity, that he attracted students from England and foreign countries; whereas, formerly, it had been the custom for the Scottish youth to go abroad for their education. Spotswood, with whom he was no favourite, and Calderwood, equally bear testimony to his profound knowledge of this language. Soon after Melville, Thomas Smeton, another Greek scholar, returned to Scotland, and was made Principal of the university of Glasgow. I may mention here, although it belongs to the subject of typography, that there appear to have been neither Greek nor Hebrew types in this country in 1579, when Smeton's Answer to Archibald Hamilton was printed; for blanks are left for all the phrases and quotations in these languages, which the author intended to introduce. In my copy of the book, a number of the blanks have been filled up with a pen by the author's own hand.

Note D, p. 4.

Major's Political Sentiments.

The following are some of the passages from which the account of these, given in the text, has been drawn. Similar sentiments occur in his History of Scotland; but as it has been insinuated that he, in that work, merely copied Boece, I shall quote from his other writings, which are more rarely consulted.

"Ad policiam regalem non requiritur quod rex sit supra omnes sui regni tam regulariter quam casualiter—sed sat est quod rex sit supra unumquamlibet, et supra totum regnum regulariter, et regnum sit supra eum casualiter et in aliquo eventu." Again, "Similiter in regno: et in toto populo libero est suprema fontalis potestas inabrogabilis; in rege vero potestas mysterialis [*ministerialis?*] honesto ministerio. Et sic aliquo modo sunt duo potestates; sed quia una ordinetur propter aliam, potest vocari una effectualiter, et casu quo regnum rex in tyrannidem convertat et etiam incorrigibilis, potest a popolo deponi, tanquam a superiore potestate." Expos. Matth. fol. 71, a, c. Parisiis, 1518. To the objection urged against this principle from the metaphorical designation of head given to a king, he answers: "Non est omnino simile inter caput verum et corpus verum, et inter caput mysticum et corpus mysticum. Caput verum est supra reliquam partem sui corporis, et tamen nego regem esse majoris potestatis quam reliquam partem sui regni, &c. Ibid. fol. 62, b. "Rex utilitatem reipublicæ dissipans et evertens incorrigibilis, est deponendus a communitate cui præest. Rex non habet robur et auctoritatem nisi a regno cui libere præest." Ibid. fol. 69, c. Speaking of the excision of a corrupt member from the human body, in illustration of the treatment of a tyrant, he says: "Cum licentia totius corporis veri tollitur hoc membrum; etiam facultate totius corporis mystici, tu, tamque minister cõmitatis, potes hunc tyrannum occidere, dum est licite condempnatus." Tert. Sentent. fol. 139, c, d. Parisiis, 1517.

Note E, p. 6.

Popish Ordination of Knox.

Some have hesitated to admit that Knox was in priest's orders in the Church of Rome: I think it unquestionable. The fact is attested both by Protestant and Popish writers. Beza says, "Cnoxius, igitur, (ut manifeste appareat totum hoc admirabile Domini opus esse), ad Joannis illius Majoris, celeberrimi inter Sophistas

nominis, veluti pedes in Sanctandreæ oppido educatus, atque adeo SACERDOS FACTUS, apertaque celebri schola, quum jam videretur illo suo præceptore nihil inferior Sophista futurus, lucem tamen in tenebris et sibi et aliis accendit." Icones Illustr. Viror. Ee. iij. Comp. Spotswood's History, p. 265. Lond. 1677. Ninian Winget, in certain letters sent by him to Knox in the year 1561, says, "Ye renunce and estemis that ordinatioun null or erar wikit, be the quhilk sometyme ye war callit Schir Johne." And again: "We can persave, be your awin allegiance, na power that ever ye had, except it quhilk was gevin to you in the sacrament of ordination, be auctoritie of priesthed. Quhilk auctoritie give ye esteme as nochtis, be reasoun it was gevin to you (as ye speik) by ane Papist Bishope," &c. Winzet's Letteris and Tractatis: Keith, Append. pp. 212, 213. Winget's drift was to prove, that Knox had no lawful call to the ministry; consequently he would not have mentioned his Popish ordination, if the fact had not been well known and undeniable. Nicol Burne, arguing on the same point, allows that Knox had received the order of priesthood from the Romish Church. Disputation concerning the Controversit Headdis of Religion, p. 128. Paris, 1581. And in a scurrilous poem against the ministers of Scotland, printed at the end of that book, he calls him,

——— that fals apostat priest,
Enemie to Christ, and mannis salvatioun,
Your maister Knox.

The objection of the Roman Catholics to the legality of our Reformer's vocation was, that, although he had received the power of order, he wanted that of jurisdiction, these two being distinct according to the canon law. "The powere of ordere is not sufficient to ane man to preache, bot he man have also jurisdictione over thame to whom he preaches. Johann Knnox resavit never sic jurisdictione fra the Roman Kirk to preache in the realme of Scotland; thairfoir suppoise he receavit from it the ordere of priestheade, yet he had na pouar to preache, nor to lauchfullie administrat the Sacramentes." Nicol Burne's Disputation, p. 128.

Note F, p. 9.

Number of Scottish Monks.

We have no good *Monasticon* of Scotland; and it is now impossible to ascertain the exact number of regular clergy, or even religious houses, that were in this country. The best and most particular account of the introduction of the different monastic orders from England and the Continent is contained in the first volume of Mr Chalmers's Caledonia. Dr Jamieson, in his History of the Ancient Culdees, lately published, has traced, with much attention, the measures pursued for suppressing the ancient monks, to make way for the new orders which were immediately dependent upon Rome. In Spotswood's Account, published at the end of Keith's Catalogue of Bishops, 170 religious houses are enumerated; but his account is defective. Mr Dalyell, upon the authority of a MS., has stated the number of the monks and nuns in this country, as amounting only to 1114, about the period of the Reformation. Cursory remarks prefixed to Scottish Poems of the Sixteenth Century, v. i. 38, 39. Edin. 1801. Taking the number of monasteries according to Spotswood's account, this would allow only seven persons to each house on an average, a number incredibly small. It will be still smaller, if we suppose that there were 260 religious houses, as stated by Mr Dalyell in another publication. Fragments of Scottish History, pp. 11, 28. In the year 1542 there were 200 monks in Melrose alone. Ibid. The number in the abbey of Dunfermline seems to have varied from 30 to 50. Dalyell's Tract on Monastic Antiquities, p. 13. And Paisley, Elgin, and Arbroath, were not inferior to it in their endowments.

In general, it may be observed that the passion for the monastic life appears not to have been on the increase even in the early part of the sixteenth century. But if we would form an estimate of the number of the monks, we must allow for a great diminution from 1538 to 1559. During that period, many of them, and especially the younger ones, embraced the reformed opinions, and deserted the convents. Cald. MS. i. 97, 100, 151. When the monastery of the Greyfriars at Perth was destroyed in 1559, only eight monks belonged to it. Knox, Historie, p. 128.

Note G, p. 11.

THE CORPSE-PRESENT.

This was a forced benevolence, not due by any law, or canon of the Church, at least in Scotland. It was demanded by the vicar, and seems to have been distinct from the ordinary dues exacted for the interment of the body, and deliverance of the soul from purgatory. This perquisite consisted, in country parishes, of the best cow which belonged to the deceased, and the uppermost cloth or covering of his bed, or the finest of his body-clothes. It has been suggested, that it was exacted on pretext of dues which the person might have failed to pay during his lifetime. But whatever might afterwards be made the pretext, I think it most probable that the clergy borrowed the hint from the perquisites common in feudal times. The "cors-presant kow" answers to the "hereyield horse," which was paid to a landlord on the death of his tenant. The uppermost cloth seems to have been a perquisite belonging to persons occupying different offices. When Bishop Lesley was relieved from the Tower of London, a demand of this kind was made upon him. "The gentleman-porter of the Tower," says he, "retained my satin gown as due to him, because it was my *uppermost cloth* when I entered in the Tower." Negotiations, in Anderson's Collections, iii. 247.

The corpse-present was not confined to Scotland; we find the English House of Commons complaining of it in 1530. Foxe, 907, edit. 1596. It was exacted with great rigour in Scotland; and if any vicar, more humane than the rest, passed from the demand, he gave an unpardonable offence to his brethren. Lindsay of Pitscottie's Hist. p. 151, folio edit. Edin. 1728. Foxe, 1153. It was felt as a very galling oppression, and is often mentioned with indignation in the writings of Sir David Lyndsay.

Schir, be quhat law, tell me quharefor, or why,
That ane vickar suld tak fra me three ky?
Ane for my father, and for my wyfe ane uther,
And the third kow he tuke for Mald my mother.
They haif na law, exceptand consuetude,
Quhilk law to them is sufficient and gude.
* * * * * *
And als the vicar, as I trow,
He will nocht fail to tak ane kow,
And upmaist claith, thocht babis thame ban,
From ane pure selie husbandman;
Quhen that he lyis for til de,
Having small bairnis twa or thre,
And hes thre ky withoutin mo,
The vicar must have ane of tho,
With the gray cloke that happis the bed,
Howbeit that he be purelye cled;
And gif the wyfe de on the morne,
Thocht all the babis suld be forlorne,
The uther kow he clickis away,
With hir pure cote of roplock gray;
And gif, within twa days or thre,
The eldest chyld happinis to de,
Of the third kow he will be sure.
Quhen he hes all then under his cure,
And father and mother baith ar deid,
Beg mon the babis, without remeid.
Chalmers's Lyndsay, ii. 7, 8; iii. 105.

When the alarming progress of the new opinions threatened the overthrow of the whole establishment, the clergy professed their willingness to remit, or at least to moderate, this shameful tribute. But they did not make this concession until a remonstrance on the subject was presented by a number of persons who were attached to the Roman Catholic faith. This remonstrance was laid before the Provincial Council in 1558-59, and contains the following article, which serves to corroborate the strong statement which the poet has given of the rigour of the clergy in extorting these benevolences: "Item, Because yat ye corps presentes, kow, and

finest claith, and the silver commonlie callit the kirk richts, and Pasch offrands, quhilk is taken at Pasch fra men and women for distribution of ye sacraments of ye blessit body and blud of Jesus Christ, were at ye beginning but as offrands and gifts, at the discretion and benevolence of the givar only ; and now be distance of tym, ye kirkmen usis to compell men to ye paying yarof be authority and jurisdiction, sua that yai will not only fulminat yar sentence of cursing, but als stop and debar men and women to cum to ye reddy using of ye sacraments of haly kirk, quhile yai be sattisfiet yarof with all rigor : quhilk thing has na ground of ye law of God, nor halie kirk, and als is veray sclandrous, and gives occasion to the puir to murmur gretymly againes ye state ecclesiastick for the doing of ye premissis ; and therefore it is thocht expedient yat ane reformation be maid of ye premissis, and that sic things be na mair usit in tymes to cum within this realm, at ye least yat na man be compellit be authority of haly kirk to pay ye premissis ; but yat it shall onlie remane in the free will of the giver to gif and offir sic things be way of almous, and for uphalding of ye priests and ministers of the halie kirk, as his conscience and charitie moves him to : and quhair ye curatis and ministers forsaids, has not eneuch of yar sustentation by the saids kirk richts, that ye ordinaries every man within his awin diocesie take order, that the persons and uplifters of ye uther deutys perteining to the kirk, contributs to yar sustentation effeirindlie." Wilkins, Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ, tom. iv. p. 208.

Upon this, the council came to the following curious resolution on the subject : That to "take away the murmurs of those who spoke against mortuaries," when any person died, his goods, after paying his debts, should be divided into due portions (debitas partes), and if the *dead's part* (defuncti pars) [see Note X] did not exceed ten pounds Scots, the vicar should compound for his mortuary and uppermost cloth by taking forty shillings; if it was under ten pounds, and not below twenty shillings, that he should compound according to the above proportion (pro rata quadraginta solidorum de decem libris); but if it was under twenty shillings, that the vicar should make no demand. With respect to barons and burgesses, and all persons whose portion exceeded ten pounds, the old custom was to remain in force; and the ordinary remedy was to be used against those who should make wrong inventories,—*i. e.* they should be subjected to excommunication and its penalties. With respect to *Pasch offerings*, and *small tithes*, the council decreed, that "for avoiding popular murmur, especially at the time of Easter," the vicars should, a little before Lent, in the month of February, settle (or make an agreement—rationem ineant) with their parishioners for their small tithes, both personal and mixed, and also for other offerings due to the Church (aliis quoque oblationibus ecclesiæ debitis); and that there should be no exactions during Easter, although spontaneous oblations might still be received at that time. Can. Concil. 21 and 32: Wilkins, Concil. *ut supra*, pp. 214, 216.

It appears from this how very cautious the clergy were in their plans of reform, and how eagerly they clung to the most illegal and invidious claims, at the very time when they were in the utmost danger of being deprived of all their usurped prerogatives and possessions. Lord Hailes' words need explication, when he says that "the 32d canon [of this council] abolishes oblations at Easter." Provincial Councils, p. 40.

I need scarcely add, that all these exactions were abolished at the establishment of the Reformation. "The uppermost claith, corps-present, clerk maile, the Pasche offering, teind-aile, and all handlings upaland, can neither be required nor received of good conscience." First Book of Discipline, p. 48. Printed anno 1621. Dunlop's Confessions, ii. 563.

Note H, p. 15.

Scottish Martyrs, and Prosecutions for Heresy.

We are indebted to John Foxe, the industrious English martyrologist, for a great part of the facts respecting our countrymen who suffered for the reformed doctrine. John Davidson, minister of Prestonpans, composed, in Latin, an account of Scottish Martyrs, which, if it had been preserved, would have furnished us with more full information respecting them. Calderwood, however, had the use of it when he

compiled his history. A late author has said, that "most of those martyred seem to have been weak illiterate men; nay, they appear even to have been deficient in intellect." Cursory Remarks, prefixed to Scottish Poems of Sixteenth Century, i. 24. I must take it for granted that this author had not in his eye Patrick Hamilton, whose vigorous understanding discovered truth in the midst of darkness worse than Cimmerian, who obtained the praises of Luther, Melancthon, and Lambert of Avignon, and of whom a modern historian has said, that he received "the eternal fame of being the proto-martyr of the freedom of the human mind." Nor George Wishart, whose learning, fortitude, and mild benevolence, have been celebrated by writers of every description. But even among those who suffered from Hamilton to Wishart, there was scarcely one who was not above the ordinary class, both as to talents and learning.

Henry Forrest, who suffered at St Andrews in 1530, for possessing a copy of the New Testament, and affirming that Patrick Hamilton was a true martyr, had been, though a young man, invested with the orders of Bennet and Colet. Foxe, 895. Knox, 19. Spotswood, 65. David Straiton was a gentleman, and brother to the Laird of Lauriston. He was instructed in the Protestant principles by John Erskine of Dun, who had newly arrived from his travels. In 1534 he was committed to the flames at Greenside, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. His fellow-sufferer, Norman Gourlay, was in secular orders, and "a man of reasonabell eruditioun." He had been abroad, and had married upon his return, which was the chief offence for which he suffered. "For," says Pitscottie, "they would thole no priest to marry, but they would punish, and burn him to the dead; but if he had used then ten thousand whores, he had not been burnt." History, pp. 150, 152. Foxe, 896. Knox, 21, 22. Spotswood, 66. In 1538 two young men, of the most interesting characters, suffered with the greatest heroism at Glasgow. The one was Jerom Russel, a cordelier friar, "a young man of a meek nature, quick spirit, and of good letteris;" the other was a young gentleman of the name of Kennedy, only eighteen years of age, and "of excellent ingyne for Scottische poetry." Knox, 22. Spotsw. 67. Keith, 9. During the same year, five persons were burnt on the Castle Hill of Edinburgh: Robert Forrester was a gentleman; Sir Duncan Sympson was a secular priest; Beveridge and Kyllor were friars. The last of these had (according to the custom of the times) composed a tragedy on the crucifixion of Christ, in which he painted, in a very lively manner, the conduct of the popish clergy, under that of the priests. Ibid.

The other person who suffered at that time was Thomas Forrest, commonly called the Vicar of Dollar. I shall add some particulars respecting this excellent man, which are not to be found in the common histories. He was of the house of Forret, or Forrest, in Fife, and his father had been master-stabler to James IV. After acquiring the rudiments of grammar in Scotland, he was sent abroad by the kindness of a noblewoman, and prosecuted his education at Cologne. Returning to his native country, he was admitted a canon regular in the monastery of St Colm's Inch. It happened that a dispute arose between the abbot and the canons, respecting the allowance due to them, and the latter got the book of foundation to examine into their rights. With the view of inducing them to part with it, the abbot gave them a volume of Augustine's works, which was in the monastery. "Oh, happy and blessed was that book to me," did Forrest often say, "by which I came to the knowledge of the truth!" Having applied himself to the reading of the Scriptures, he was the means of converting a number of the young canons: "but the old bottles," he used to say, "would not receive the new wine." The abbot frequently advised him to keep his mind to himself, else he would incur punishment. "I thank you, my lord," was his answer: "ye are a friend to my body, but not to my soul." He was afterwards admitted to the vicarage of Dollar, in which situation he rendered himself obnoxious to his brethren, by his diligence in instructing his parish, and his benevolence in freeing them from oppressive exactions. When the agents of the pope came into his bounds to sell indulgences, he said, "Parishioners, I am bound to speak the truth to you; this is but to deceive you. There is no pardon for our sins that can come to us, either from pope or any other, but only by the blood of Christ." He composed a short catechism. It was his custom to rise at six o'clock in the morning, and study till mid-day. He committed three chapters of the Bible to memory every day, and made his servant hear him repeat them at night. He was often summoned before the Bishops of Dunkeld and

St Andrews. These facts were communicated by his servant Andrew Kirkie, in a letter to John Davidson, who inserted them in his account of Scottish martyrs. Cald. MS. i. 99, 100, 151.

An amusing account of the vicar's examination before the Bishop of Dunkeld may be seen in Foxe, 1153; and an interesting account of his trial, in Pitscottie, 150—152. But both these authors are wrong as to the time of his martyrdom, the latter placing it in 1530, and the former in 1540, instead of 1538. Foxe says, that three or four men of Stirling suffered death at the same time, because they were present at the marriage of "the vicar of Twybode [Tullybody], near Stirling, and did eat flesh in Lent, at the said bridal." P. 1154.

In consequence of a more diligent search into our ancient records, made since the former editions of this work appeared, I have discovered a number of additional facts respecting those who suffered for the reformed opinions in Scotland. I think it best to give these in the form, and in the order, in which they occur in the several records that I have consulted. It appears that the prosecutions for heresy from 1534 to 1540 were numerous. How many poor persons suffered during that period it is impossible to ascertain, as the names of those only who possessed property have a place in the documents to be quoted.

The following extracts are taken from the books kept by the lord treasurer, and preserved in the Register House, under the title of "Compot. Thesaur." The dates will be sufficient to guide those who wish to consult the original document.[1]

Anno 1534. Item, for 16 sergis to thame to turss that was accusit of heresy . . . . . xs. viiid.

Item (Sept. 1536), to James Bissat, m^r^, to pas with lettres to the provost and bailies of Dunde and Sanct Johnestoun to serche and seik John Blacat and George Lowett [Lovell?] suspect of hanging of the image of Sanct Francis, and to his wage . . . . . xxs.

Item, 28 (May 1537), to Cudde George, m^r^, to pas to summon the men of Aire, to compeir befoir the Lordis, anent the geir of theme quhilk was convict of heresy . . . . . xxs.

Annis 1537, 1538. Et (onerat se) de iiij. li. integre compositionis bonorum eschaetorum quondam Andreæ Alexandersoun, justificat. pro crimine heresis.

Et de xiiii. li. vi. s. viii. d. integre compositionis bonorum eschaetorum Gilberti Wedderburne, et Johannis Patersoun, burgen. de Dunde, pertinent. domino Regi, ratione quod ipsi convicti fuerint per judicium ecclesiæ, de crimine heresis eiisd. vendit.

Annis 1538, 1539. Et (onerat se) de x li. in completam solutionem compositionis bonorum eschaetorum Thome Kyd, Roberti Patersone, Alexandri Wannand, et Johannis Patersone, commoraũ in oppido de Dunde, abiurat. de certis criminibus heresieos eisdem concess. de mandato domini regis.

Et de vj^li^ xiij^s^. iiij^d^. in completam solutionem bonorum eschaetorum quondam domini Duncani Symsone capellani condamnati et ad mortem justificati pro certis criminibus heresieos concess. Jacobo Menteith.

Et de xx^li^ in completam solutionem compositionis vinius tenementi jacen. infra burgum de Dunde, pertinen. domino Regi per decessum David Straitoun in Quhitstoun, justificati ad mortem pro certis criminibus heresieos concess. Dauid Garne et Mariote Erskyn.

Et de vj^li^ xiij^s^ iiij^d^ in completam solutionem compositionis bonorum eschaetorum Roberti Cant, abiurati de certis criminibus heresieos concess. dicto Roberto.

Et de xx^li^ in completam solutionem compositionis bonorum eschaetorum Walteri Cowsland, burgensis de Striueling, abiurati de similibus criminibus concess. dicto Waltero.

Et de iij^li^ in completam solutionem compositionis bonorum eschaetorum Johannis Robesone, pauperis, abiurati certis criminibus heresios eiidem concess.

Et de xx^li^ in completam solutionem compositionis unius partis bonorum eschaetorum Jacobi Rollok, burgensis de Dunde, condampnati de certis criminibus heresieos concess. David Rollok, eius fratri.

Et de xl^s^ in completam solutionem compositionis bonorum eschaetorum magistri

[1] In an early part of the Record is the following entry:—

Item, the xii of November (1516), to Margaret Cornewle for i buk takin fra her and geven to my l. of Sanct Andros . . . . . xxxiii li

Johannis Wedderburn, convict. de certis criminibus heresieos concess. Henrico Wedderburn, eius fratri.

Et de, &c. Margarete Jamesone in Tulybody, condampnate de certis criminibus heresieos concess. Jacobo Murray, servitori domini regis.

Et de, &c. Henrici Carnys, incole de Leith, fugitiui et condampnati de certis criminibus heresieos concess. uxori et prolibus eiusdem de mandato domini Regis.

Et de, &c. Willielmi Clerk fugitiui et condampnati de certis criminibus heresieos concess. Alex^ro Urrok de Sillebanke.

Et de, &c. Willielmi Foster abiurati de certis criminibus heresieos concess. Johanni Cowane et Jonete Tenand, eius sponse.

Item, idem onerat se de xl^li in completam solutionem compositionis bonorum eschaetorum domini Thome Coklaw, curati de Tulybody, condampnati de certis criminibus heresieos concess. Jacobo Murray, seruitori domini regis.

Marche (1538-1539). Item, deliuerit to Arohibald Heriot, messinger, to pass and serche thair gudis, quhilkis war obiurit and declarit heritikis in Edinburt^t and Striueling . . . . . vis.

Item, deliuerit to Johnne Patersone pursevant—to pass to Dunde, and serche James Rollokkis gudis, and Maister Johnne Wedderburn . . xxs.

Annis 1539, 1540. (Non onerat se, &c.) Nec de x^li in completam solutionem compositionis bonorum eschaetorum magistri Henrici Henderson convict. de crimine heresieos ab antiquo concess. Jacobo Bannattyne, ex eo quod dominus rex remisit eandem summam dicto Jacobo, in compensatione suorum laborum in officio thesaurarie.

Anno 1542-1543. Item, the xxi day of Marche, geven to William Champney, messinger, passand with lettres to proclame the act anent the having of the New Testament in Inglis in the Westland . . . . . xls.

Similar letters to the Magistrates of Dundee, Aberdeen, Elgin, Forres, and Inverness; and to Lanark, Dumfries, Kirkcudbright, Wigtown.

Item, the xxviii day of Marche, geven to Johnne Cob, messinger, passand to Dumfermeling and Perth, to proclame twa letteris tuiching the having of the Scripture in Inglis, and with ane clois writting to the erle of Argyle . xxiis.

Item, the xx day of Februar, gevin to Carrick pursuivant, passand with lettres to proclame in Sanctandrois and Cowper the act tuiching the doing of devyne service, and lettres raisit thereupon . . . . . xxiis.

Annis 1543-1546. Et (onerat se) de ij^c li compositionis bonorum eschaetorum Jacobi Huncan et Roberti Cant, convict. pro disputatione in Sacris Scripturis contra tenorem acti parliamenti, concess. Cristine Pipar.

——————— Willielmi Anderson convict. ut supra ob causam suprascriptam, concess. Cristine Kerss, sponse dicti Willielmi.

Et de ij^c li compositionis remissionis concess. Johanni Elder, burgensis de Perth, pro disputatione in Sacris Scripturis contra tenorem acti parliamenti.

Et de xl^li compositionis remissionis concess. Laurencio Pillour, pro predicta causa.[1]

Item, the xij day of Januar 1543-1544, after the aggreance maid betwix my lord governour and the saidis lordis, convenit in Leith, aganis his grace hyrit liiij cart hors quhilk past agane to Striviling with the said artalze, and fra Striviling to Sanct Johnstoun, Dunde, for punissing of certane hereticks within the said townes, and paid the saidis hors eight days wages, &c.

January 20. At my lord governoris departing toward Sanct Johnestoun, for punishment as said is.

Item (March 16, 1545-1546), to summons the laird of Ormistoun to underly the law in Edinburgh, the xij day of Aprile nixt to cum, for resetting of Maister George Wischeart, he being at the horne, &c. and for breaking ward.

Item, xxviij May (1546) to ane boy to pas to my lord Argyle with ane closit writting of my lord governours, to shew the slaughtar of the Cardinal . viijs.

November 24, 1546. For copying of the gret cursing raisit upon Normond Leslie, laird of Grange, and their complices, for the slauchter of my lord Cardinall, quhilk copie was sent to thame in the castell . . . . vs.

December. For summonding Jonet Monnypennie, dochter of the laird of Pitmilly, for remaining in the castle, and assisting Leslie and his complices.

December 1548. Summons of treason against the laird of Pitmilly, and Mr Henry Balnaves.

[1] Comp. Knox, Historie, p. 40.

January 1551-1552. Item, for the Inglis bukis to my lord governour, viz. ane perraphrasis upoun the Evangelistis, and ane New Testament, and Hopper on the x Commandementes . . . . . iij^{li} xvs.

The extracts which follow are from the Register of Privy Seal, and contain grants of property which had been confiscated by sentences of the ecclesiastical courts for heresy, but which was afterwards bestowed on certain individuals upon their paying a composition to the royal treasury.

Ane letter maid to Andro, lord Vchiltre, of the gift of all eschete gudis movabill and vnmovabill, als wele of the byrun malis of parroche clerkschippis, as vtherwais pertenyng to vmq^{ll} Walter Stewart, sone to the said lord, and pertenis to our souerane lord, be resoun þat the said Walter was abiurit of heresy, etc. At Linlithgow, the xxix day of December, the 3eir of God I^{m}v^{c}. xxxvij 3eris, xx^{li}. [Reg. Sec. Sigilli. lib. xi. f. 51.] Per Signaturam.

Ane letter maid to James Annand, George Annand, Robert Andersoun, Johnne Flescheour, and Alexander Flescheour, burges of Dunde, makand mentiouñ that þai are convict be ane sentence of the spirituale juge of heresy, of the quhilk þai wer dilatit and abiurit, quharthrow all þare gudis, movabill and vnmovabill, pertenis, and suld pertene, to our souerane lord, be resouñ of eschete. And for þair gude, trew, and thankfull seruice, done be þame to his hienes, and compositioun þait be þame to his thesaurer, his grace hes remittit and forgevin to thame the eschete of all þair gudis, movabill and vnmovabill, and hes quitclamit and dischargit þaim þairof, and all þat may follow þairvpouñ, foreuer. And als his grace, of his speciale grace, autorite riall and kinglie power, hes rehabilit the saidis personis to stand in prief and witness, and to vse and exerce all lefull dedis in jugement, and outwith sielik and als frelie in all thingis, as þai my^{t} haue done before the tyme þat þai wer convict of the said heresy, and incurrit þairthrow notam infamie. And hes restorit, reponit, and reintegrate þame to þare gude fame, heritage, landis, gudis, and warldie honouris, in all, and be all thingis, as þai wer befor the tyme þai wer convict of the said heresy, without ony reproche, murmur, detractioun, or blasphematiouñ, to be maid, said, or done to þame þairthrow, in word or deid, in onywys in tyme cuming, &c. At Edinburgh, the xvij day of July, the 3er of God I^{m}v^{c}. xxxviij 3eris, i^{cli}. [Lib. xij. f. 23.] Per Signaturam.

Ane letter maid to Dauid Wod, in the craig, his airis and assignais, of the gift of all gudis, movable and vnmovable, quhilkis pertenit to James Hay, burges of Dunde. And now ar decernit be ane sentence of the spirituale juge, to pertene to our souerane lord be resoun of eschete for heresy, of the quhilk he wes dilatit, &c. At Edinburgh, the xxvij day of July, the 3eire of God forsaid (1538). [Lib. xij. f. 3.] Per Signaturam.

Ane letter maid to Maister Laurence Young, his airis and assignais, ane or ma, of the gift of all gudis, movabill and vnmovabill, q^{lkis} pertenit to vmq^{ll} Andro Alexandersouñ, and now pertenyng to our souerane lord be resoun of eschete, throw being of the said vmqle Andro convict of heresy, and justifyit to the deid for the samyn, with power, &c. At Stirling, the xxiij day of August, the 3eir of God I^{m}v^{c}. xxxviij 3eris, iiij^{li}. [Lib. xij. f. 19.]

Ane letter maid to Gilbert Wedderburñ, and Johne Patersoun, burgesses of Dunde, in forme aboue writtin, &c. At Linlithgow, þe viij day of September, the 3er forsaid. xiij^{li}. vi^{s}. viij^{d}. [Lib. xij. f. 23.] Per Signaturam.

Ane letter maid to Richart Rollok, burges of Dunde, in forme following: James be the grace of God king of Scottis, to all and sindry our officiaris, liegis, and subditis, quham it efferis, quhais knawlege þir our letters sal cum, greting. fforsamekle as Richart Rollok, burges of our burgh of Dunde, wes dilatit of certane poyntis of heresy, and wes abiurit and convict þ^{r}of, quharthrow all his landis and gudis, &c. &c. [as above], in tyme cuming. Quharfore we charge straitlie, and commandis 3ou, all and sindry our officiaris, liegis, and subditis forsaidis, þat nane of 3ou tak apouñ hand to do or attempt ony thing in contrar, violatiouñ, or breking of þis our remit, and discharge, rehabilitatiouñ, restitutiouñ, and reintegratiouñ, in ony wyse in tyme cuming, vnder all the hieast pane, charge, and offence, þat 3e, and ilk ane of 3ou, may committ and inrin aganis our maiestie in þat part, dischargeing 3ou, all our officiaris present and tocum, of all intrometting, poynding, distrin3eing, and vptaking of þe said Richartis gudis, as our eschete for þe causs forsaid, and of 3our offices in þat part, be þir our letteris for euer. Subscriuit with our hand, and vnder

our priue sele, at Abirbrothok, the xiij day of October, the ȝere of God Imvc. xxxviij. ȝeris. [Lib. xii. f. 33, b.] Subscript per Regem.

Ane letter maid to Thomas Kyd, Robert Patersoun, Alexander Vannand, and Johne Duncane, burges of Dundc, in forme of the letter befor writtin, &c. At Linlithgow, the last day of September, the ȝer of God Imvc. xxxviij ȝeris. xli. [Lib. xij. f. 33.] Per Signaturam.

Anc letter maid to maister Johne Porterfeild, his airis and assignais, ane or ma, of the gift of all gudis, movabill and vnmovabill, als weile of the birun proffittis of parroche-clerkschippis, as vtheris quhilkis pertenit to vmqll Walter Stewart, sone to Andro, lord Vchiltre, and throw his abiuratiouñ of heresy, pertenyng to our souerane lord be resouñ of eschete, &c. At Edinburgh, the xiij day of December, the ȝeire of God Imvc. xxxviij ȝeris. [Lib. xiij. f. 18.] Per Signaturam.

Ane letter maid to the said James (Murray), his airis and assignais, ane or ma, of the gift of the gudis, movabill and vnmovabill, quhilkis pertenit to Sr Thomas Coklaw, curat of Tulibody, and now to our souerane lord, throw being of the said Sr Thomas abiurit of heresy, &c. At Linlithgow, the xvij day of Januar, the ȝer of God Imvc. xxxviij ȝeris. xlli. [Lib. xij. f. 94.] Per Signaturam.

Presentatio Alexandri Scott, super prebenda capelle regie Striuilingeñ, nuncupat. are quam Dominus Johannes Lambert prius habuit nunc vacañ ob inhabilitatem ipsius Domini Johannis, ex eo quod ipse de suis ordinibus sacerdotalibus degradatus, extitit ad presentationem domini regis, et collationem episcopi Candidecase et capelle regie pleno jure spectañ, &c. Apud Edinburgh, vltimo Februarij, anno predict (1538.) [Ib. f. 71.] Per Signaturam.

Ane letter maid to James Menteith, his airis and assignais, of the gift of the eschete of all gudis, quhilkis pertenit to vmqll Sir Duncan Symsouñ, chaplane, and pertenyng to our souerane lord be resouñ of eschete, throw justifying of the said Sr Duncane to the deid for certane crymes of heresy, imput to him, &c. At Edinburgh, the first day of Marche, the ȝer forsaid (1538). vjli. xiijs. iiijd. except takis and stedingis. [Lib. xij. f. 76.] Per Signaturam.

Ane letter maid to Robert Cant, burges of Edinburgh, of the gift of his avne eschete guidis pertenyng to the king be resouñ forsaid, &c. At Linlithgow, the vj day of Marche, the ȝer forsaid (1538). vjli. xiijs. iiijd. [Ib. f. 80.] Per Signaturam.

Ane letter maid to Walter Cowsland, burges of Striuiling, of the gift of his avne gudis, movabill and vnmovabill, pertening to the kingis grace be resouñ of eschete throw being of the said Robert abiurit of heresy, &c. At Linlithgow, the aucht day of Marche, the ȝer forsaid (1538.) [Ib. f. 80.] Per Signaturam.

Preceptum carte Davidis Gardin, burgeñ de Dunde, et Mariote Erskin, sue sponse super toto et integro illo tenemento, cum pertineñ jaceñ infra predictum burgum, ex parte boreali vici vulgo Murray gait eiusdem nuncupat inter terras heredum quondam Johannis Baric ex parte orientali et terras heredum quondam Roberti Ramsay ex occidentali. Quodquidem terre tenementum quondam Dauid Stratoun perprius hereditarie pertinuit et nunc Regi pertinet ratione eschaete ob heresis punctus per ipsum commiss. de quibus accusatus et ad mortem justificatus extitit, &c. Apud Linlithgow, decimo die mensis Martij, anno domini Imvc. xxxviij. [Lib. xiij. f. 26.] Per Signetum.

Ane letter maid to Martyne Ballesky, renunceand to him the eschete of all his gudis, movabill and vnmovabill, and quitclamand and dischargeand him þairof, pertening to our souerane lord throw cumin in will of the said Martyne befor the justice, for breking of our souerane lordis proclamatiouñ, in having and vsing, efter þe making þairof, of certane Inglis bukis contenit in the samyn, &c. At Linlithgow, the xij day of Marche, the ȝer forsaid (1538). ijc. lli. [Lib. xij. f. 81.] Per Signaturam.

Ane letter maid to Maister James Foulis of Colintoun, clerk of register, his airis and assignais, anc or ma, of the gift of all and sindry the gudis, movabill and vnmovabill, landis, rentis, possessionis, reversionis, dettis, obligationis, and contractis, with the advocatioun and donatioun of the chaplanrie foundit at Sanct Francis altar, within the college kirk of Sanct Gele, in Edinburgh, with all richt of the patronage þairof, and all vther richtis quhatsumever quhilkis pertenit to Johne Broun, burges of Edinburgh, and now pertenis to or souerane lord, be resoun of eschete throw being of the said Johne dilatit, accusit, and abiurit of certane crymes

and poyntis of heresy, as in the proces and sentence led, deducit, and gevin aganis him þairupoun at mair lenth, is contenit, with power, &c. At Linlithgow, the xiij day of Marche, the 3eire of God I^m.v^c. xxxviij 3eiris, i^c. li.
[Ib. f. 83.] Per Signaturam.

Ane letter maid to Andro Cunnynghame, sone to William Cunnynghame, kny^t, maister of Glencarne, remittand and forgevand to the said Andro his eschete goods, movabill and vnmovabill, pertenying to our souerane lord, be resoun of eschete throw being of the said Andro abiurit of heresy before the spirituale juge, as the sentence gevin þairupon beris, &c. At Linlithgow, the xv day of Marche, the 3er of God I^m.v^c.xxxviij. [Lib. xiij. f. 3 b.] Per Signaturam.

Ane letter maid to Dauid Rollok, burges of Dunde, his airis and assignais, ane or ma, of the gift of the eschete of all gudis, movabill and vnmovabill, heretages, dettis, takkis, stedingis, cornis, cattale, money, gold, siluer, jowellis, and vtheris quhatsumever quhilkis pertenit to James Rollok, burges of the said burgh, except the said James part of ane wynd-myln liand within Dunde, and now pertening to our souerane lord, be resoun of eschete throw being of the said James fugityve fra the law for certane poyntis of heresy imput to him, &c. At Linlithgow, the xxij day of Marche, the 3er forsaid (1538). xx^li.
[Lib. xij. f. 87, b.] Per Signaturam.

Ane letter maid to Johnne Cowane, burges of Striueling, and Jonet Tennent, his spous, thare airis and assignais, ane or ma, of the gift of all gudis, movabill and vnmovabill, landis, heretages, cornis, catale, takkis, stedingis, dettis, obligationis, jowellis, sovmes of money, and vtheris quhatsumever quhilkis pertenit to William Forester, sone and apperand are to Johne Forester, burges of the said burgh, and now pertenying to our souerane lord, be resoun of eschete throw abiuratioun of the said William for certane poyntis of heresy confessit be him in jugement, &c. At Linlithgow, the xxiiij day of Marche, the 3er of God I^m.v^c.xxxviij 3eris. ix^li.
[Lib. xiij. f. 40.] Per Signaturam.

Preceptum carte Johannis Domini Erskin super vna domo cum pertineñ jaceñ ex parte australi vici publici burgi de Striueling inter vinellam pretorij eiusdem ex parte orientali etc. Quequidem domus quondam Roberto Forester perprius hereditarie pertinuit, et nunc regi pertinet ratione eschaete ob nonnulla heresis crimina per dictum quondam Robertum commiss., etc. Apud Linlithgow xxiiij^to die mensis Martij, anno, &c. v^c.xxxviij. [Lib. xiij. f. 14.] Per Signetum.

Ane letter maid to Richart Carmichaell, remittand to him his eschete gudis pertenying to our souerane, throw being of the said Richard abiurit of heresy, &c. At Linlithgow, the xxv day of Marche, the 3er of God I^m.v^c.xxxix 3eris.
[Lib. xij. f. 87.] Per Signaturam.

Ane letter maid to Walter Serymgeour of Glaswell, his airis and assignais, ane or ma, of the gift of all and haile the takkis and assedationis quhilkis James Rollok, burges of Dunde, had of the commoun myln and wynd-myln of the said burgh of Dunde, now fallin and cumin into our souerane lordis handis, be resoun of eschete for certane crymes of heresis committit be the said James, and he adjugit and condamnit þairintill, as the process led þairupon at mair lenth proportis, with power, &c. At Linlithgow, the xxviij day of Marche, the 3eir forsaid (1539). [Lib. xij. f. 93.] Per Signaturam.

Ane letter maid to James Murray, maister of aile seller, his airis and assignais, ane or ma, of the gift of all gudis, movabill and vnmovabill, dettis, takkis, stedingis, sovmes of money, and vtheris quhatsumever, quhilkis pertenit to Margarete Jamesoun in Tulibody, and now pertenying, or onywis sall happin or may pertene to our souerane lord, be resoun of eschete, throw non fulfilling of certane pennance ordanit to be done be hir be the ordinar, for certane crymes of heresy committit be hir, of the quhilkis scho wes convict in jugement, &c. At Stirling, the aucht day of Aprill, the 3er forsaid (1539). vj^li.xiij^s.iiij^d.
[Lib. xij. f. 93.] Per Signaturam.

Ane letter maid to Charlis, James, Robert, George, Johnne, Andro, Archibald, Helene, Margaret, Elizabeth, Isabell, and Agnes Carnis, sonis and dochteris to Henry Carnis in Leith, yair airis and assignais, ane or ma, off the gift of all gudis, movabill and vnmovabill, dettis, takkis, schip, obligationis, sovmes of money, and vtheris gudis quhatsumever quhilkis pertenit to the said Henry, and now decernit to pertene to our souerane lord, be resoun of eschete for heresy, of the quhilk the said Henry was abiurit be ane sentence gevin be the spirituale juge aganis him for

the samyn, &c. At Stirling, the viij day of Aprile, the 3er forsaid (1539). xli. xijs.
[Lib. xij. f. 94.] Per Signaturam.

Ane letter maid to Alexander Orrok of Silliebawke, his airis and assignais, of the gift of all gudis, movabill and vnmovabill, cornis, catale, dettis, takkis, stedingis, money, gold, siluer, and vtheris gudis quhatsumever quhilkis pertenit to William Clerk, clerk of the schip callit the Barge, and now pertenying to our souerane lord, be resoun of eschete throw being of the said William convict of heresy, &c. At Stirling, the viij day of Aprile, the 3eire forsaid (1539). xli.
[Lib. xij. f. 94.] Per Signaturam.

Ane letter maid to James Lovell, of the gift of his awne eschete gudis, movabill and vnmovabill, pertenying to our souerane lord throw being of the said James abiurit of heresy, &c. At Sanctandros, the xi day of May, the 3er forsaid (1539).
[Lib. xiij. f. 4.]

Ane letter maid to Johnne Henry, his airis and assignais, ane or ma, of the gift of all gudis, movabill and vnmovabill, quhilkis pertenit to Johnne Cameroun, burges of Perth, and now pertening to our souerane lord, be resoun of eschete throw being of the said Johne declarit heretyke, etc. At Sanctandros, the xxvi day of May, the 3er forsaid (1539). [Lib. xiij. f. 26.] Per Signaturam.

Ane letter maid to Johne Stewart, sone to Henry, Lord Methven, rehabilland him to stand in preif and witness, and to exerce all lefull dedis in jugement, and outwith, and als frelie, in all thingis as he myt have done befor the tyme he was convict of heresy, etc. At Edinburgh, the xxij day of Februare, the 3er forsaid (1539). [Lib. xiij. f. 65, b.] Per Signaturam.

Ane letter maid to Oliuer Sinclar and his assignais, ane or maa, of the gift of all gudis, movable and vnmovable, dettis, takkis, obligationis, sowmes of money, and vtheris gudis quhatsumever quhilkis pertenit to Sir David Huchesone, prouest of Rosling, and now pertening, or ony wise sal happin or may pertene to ws, throw being of the said Sir Dauid abiurit of certane poyntis of heresy, of the quhilkis he was dilatit, and ane sentence of the spirituale juge gevin aganis him þairupoun, as the same proportis, with power to the said Oliuer and his assignais, ane or maa, to intromet and tak vp ye saidis eschete gudis, etc. At Edinburt, the xiij day of August, the 3er foirsaid (1540).
[Lib. xiv. f. 8, b.] Per Signaturam.

Ane letter maid to Maister Williame Arthur, citinare of Sanctandross, his airis and assignais, of the gift of the escheit of all gudis, movable and vnmovable, dettis, takkis, steiddingis, rowmes, possessions, teyndis, cornis, catale, actiones, obligationis, sowmes of money, and vtheris gudis quhatsumevir, quhilkis pertenit to George Wynchister, cietinar of the said ciete, and now pertening to oure souerane lady, and being in hir hienes handis be resoun of escheit throw the said Georgeis noncomperance before ane maist reverand fader in God, Johnne, Archbishop of Sanctandros, his juge ordner, to haif vnderlyne the law for certane crymes of herisie quhairof he was dilaittit and convict of the samyn, and yairfore declarit heretick, as at mair length is contenit in the sentence and proces led and gevin aganis him þairvpone, with powar, &c. At Edinburh, the xiiij day of September, the 3eir of God, ane thousand, fyve hundreith, and fyfty 3eiris.
[Lib. xxiv. f. 24, b.] Per Signaturam.

Ane letter maid, makand mentioun, That yair was ane pretendit sentence of auld gevin againis Johnne Boirthwikt of Ciueray, knyt, declaring him to be ane allegit heretike, as the said sentence beiris, quhilk was gevin aganis him in his absence, without ony defence maid be him, and he yairby allegit to be depriuit of all honour, and dispossessit of all his landes, rowmes, and possessionis; Nochtheles, oure souerane lady, of hir auctorite royal, speciall grace, and fauour, rehabillis the said Johnne, and restoiris him to all his landis, heretages, takkis, stedingis, rowmes, and possessionis, and to all and sindrie his gudis, movable and vnmovable, quhatsumevir, and to his honour, fame, and dignitie; and reponis him agane in the same estait he was in befoir the leding and deducing of the said pretendit sentence aganis him, sua that he may peaceabillie brouk, joys, occupy, labour, and manure his landis, rowmes, takis, stedingis, and possessionis, intromet and vptak the malis, fermes, proffittis, and dewiteis yairof, off all 3eiris and termes bigane, restand vnpayit sin the geving and deduceing of the said pretendit sentence aganis him, and gif neid be, to convene, call, follow, and persew the detenaris yairof, befoir quhatsumeuir juge or jugeis, spirituale or temporale, vnto

the finall end and recovering of the samin vpoun yame, and to stand in jugement, beir witnes, and frelie vse and exerce all manner of offices or vther publict efferis in hir common weill, in jugement, and outwith, and joys and brouk siclike priuilegeis as he did, or myt have done, befoir the leding and deduceing of the said pretendit proces aganis him, siclike as the samyn had neuer bene gevin or pronunceit, &c. With inhibitioun in the samyn to all and sindrie our souerane lady's liegis and subdittis baith spirituall and temperall, of quhatsumeuir auctoritie or dignitie yai be of, that nane of thame tak vpoun hand to molest, truble, or invaid the said Johnne in his person, fame, landis, gudis, or possessionis, for quhatsumevir caus or actioun bigane; or to detract, bakbyte, sclander, or defame him, in ony manner of way, vnder all hieast pane, and charge, and offence. That þai and ilk ane of þame may commit and inryn aganis her maiestie, in þat parte, &c. At Sanctandrois, the last day of Februare, the 3eir of God I^m.v^c.lxij 3eiris.
[Lib. xxxj. f. 79, b.] Per Signaturam.[1]

Ane letter maid makand mention that thair wes ane pretendit sentence gevin and pronunceit againis James Hamilteun of Kincavill, of lang tyme begane in his absence, for null defence, declaring him to be ane allegeit heretike, as the pretendit sentence gevin thairupone buir; be the quhilk, he was allegit to be depryvit of all honoure, fame, and dignitie, and dispossessit of all his landis, heretages, rowmes, possessionis, teyndis, and vtheris pertening to him, quhilk pretended decrete and sentence the said James hes gotten retretit and reducit, with all that followith thairupoune: Thairfore oure said souerane ladie, of her auctorite royall speciale grace and favoure, rehabillis the said James, and restoris him to all his landis, &c. [in similar terms with the preceding.] At Edinburgh, the fift day of Merche, the 3eir of God, I^m.v^c.lxiij 3eris.
[Lib. xxxi. f. 35, b.] Per Signaturam.

Note I, p. 15.

Protestant Exiles from Scotland.

I have not reckoned it necessary to insert in this work those particulars respecting Scottish reformers before Patrick Hamilton, which have been repeatedly published in the Life of Andrew Melville. The reader may consult vol. ii. note D of the present edition. In this note, I shall state a few facts respecting those eminent men who were obliged to forsake their native country subsequently to Hamilton's martyrdom, in consequence of having expressed sentiments favourable to the Reformation.

Gawin Logie, who, in his important station of rector of St Leonard's College, was so useful in spreading the reformed doctrine, drew upon himself the jealousy of the clergy. More decided in his sentiments, and more avowed in his censure of the prevailing abuses, than the sub-prior of the abbey (who maintained his situation until the establishment of the Reformation), Logie found it necessary to consult his safety by leaving the country in 1533. Cald. MS. i. 82. I have not seen any notice of him after this. Robert Logie, a kinsman of Gawin, was a canon regular of Cambuskenneth, and employed in instructing the novices. Having embraced the reformed sentiments, he in 1538 fled into England, and became a preacher there. Thomas Cocklaw, parish priest of Tullibody, seems to have accompanied him, and was also employed as a preacher in England. Ibid. p. 97.

Alexander Seatoun was confessor to James V. The cause of his flight from Scotland, his letter to the King, and his retiring to England, are recorded in our common histories. Foxe (p. 1000) informs us that he was accused of heresy before Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, in 1541, and induced to recant certain articles which he had preached. Spotswood (p. 65) speaks of "the treatises he left behind him," and, among others, his "Examination by Gardiner and Bonner," from which it appears that "he never denied any point which formerly he taught." Foxe had not seen this. We learn from another quarter, that, after his trial, he continued to preach the truths for which he had been accused. Bale says that he died in 1542, in the family of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, who retained him as his chaplain. Script. Brytan. Post. Pars. p. 224.

[1] Comp. Bannatyne Miscellany, vol. i. p. 253—263.

Alexander Aless was a canon of the metropolitan church of St Andrews. His conversion to the Protestant faith was very singular. Being a young man of quick parts, and well versed in scholastic theology, and having studied the Lutheran controversy, he undertook to reclaim Patrick Hamilton from heresy, and held several conferences with him for this purpose. But, instead of making a convert of Hamilton, he was himself staggered by the reasoning of that gentleman. His doubts were greatly strengthened by the constancy with which he saw the martyr adhere to his sentiments to the last, amidst the scorn, rage, and cruelty of his enemies. Alesii Præfat. Comment. in Joannem: Jacobi Thomasii Orationes, pp. 307, 308. Lipsiæ, 1737. Bayle, Dictionnaire, art. *Ales.* A short time after this, he delivered a Latin oration before an ecclesiastical synod, in which he censured the vices of the clergy, and exhorted them to diligence and a godly life. This was enough to bring him under the suspicion of heresy, and he was thrown into prison, from which, after a year's confinement, he made his escape, and, getting into a vessel which lay on the coast, eluded his persecutors. He escaped in 1532. Cald. MS. i. 76. On leaving his native country, Aless went to Germany, where he was virulently attacked by Cochlæus, whom the Scotch bishops hired to abuse him.[1] On the invitation of Lord Cromwell and Archbishop Cranmer, he came to England in 1535, and was appointed Professor of Theology in the university of Cambridge. But he had scarcely commenced his lectures, when the patrons of Popery excited such opposition to him that he resolved to relinquish his situation. Having, at a former period of his life, applied to medical studies, he went to Dr Nicol, a celebrated physician in London, and, after remaining with him for some years, commenced practice, not without success. In 1537, Lord Cromwell having met him one day accidentally on the street, carried him to the convocation, and persuaded him to engage, without preparation, in a dispute with the Bishop of London, on the subject of the sacraments; of which Aless has given a particular account in one of his publications. De Authoritate Verbi Dei Liber Alexandri Alesii, contra Episcopum Lundinensem, p. 13—31. Argentorati, apud Cratonem Mylium, An. M.D.XLII. Archbishop Parker calls him "virum in theologia perdoctum." In 1540 he returned to Germany, was made Professor of Divinity at Leipsic, assisted at several public conferences, and wrote many books, which were much esteemed. Strype's Cranmer, pp. 402, 403. Bayle, Dict. *ut supra.* He died on the 17th of March, 1565, in the sixty-fifth year of his age. (Vita Alex. Alesii, in Observ. Select. vol. v. p. 443. Halæ Magd. 1702.) Bishop Bale was personally acquainted with him, and has enumerated his works. *Ut supra,* p. 176.

John Fife fled from St Andrews, accompanied Aless to Germany, and shared in his honours at Leipsic. "Francofurti ad Viadrum Scotus quidam, Joannis Fidelis, Theologiæ Doctor et Professor fuit; et anno 1551 rectoratum Academiæ gessit, ut in Actis Lipsiensibus Eruditorum anno 1684, p. 386, notatum est. Sed dubitari vix debet, Fidelem illum eundem fuisse qui Fife, sive Fief, dicebatur, cum ea vox *feudum* significet, ad quod alludit nomen Fidelis." Seckendorf. Hist. Luth. lib. iii. sec. 25. Fife returned to Scotland, acted as a minister, and died in St Leonard's College, soon after the establishment of the Reformation. Cald. MS. i. 78. Knox, 20. Strype's Cranmer, 403.

John Macbee, known on the Continent by the name of Dr Maccabæus, fled to England in 1532, and was entertained by Bishop Shaxton. He afterwards retired to Denmark, and was of great use to Christian III. in the settlement of the reformed religion in his dominions. He was made a professor in the university of Copenhagen. Gerdesii Historia Evang. Renovat. iii. 417-425. The Danish monarch held him in great esteem, and, at his request, wrote to Queen Mary of England, in behalf of his brother-in-law, Miles Coverdale, bishop of Exeter, and the venerable translator of the Bible, who was released from prison through his importunity. Bale, *ut supra,* p. 226. Foxe, 1390. Maccabæus was acquainted with the Danish and German languages, and assisted in the translation of the Bible into Danish (according to Luther's first German translation), which was printed in folio at Copenhagen, in 1550, by Ludov. Diest, accompanied with a marginal index, parallel places, and plates. Maittaire, apud Chalmers's Lyndsay, i. 82. Gerdes. Hist. tom. iii. Præ-

[1] In the Treasurer's Accompts, under the year 1534, is the following entry:—"Item, to ane servand of Cocleus, quhilk brot fra his maister ane buik intitulat to his reward, ... xli.'

fatio, ** 3. An edition of Lyndsay's "Monarchie" bears on the title-page that it was "imprintit at the command and expensis off Dr Machabæus, in Capmanhouin." But the editor of Lyndsay insists that this is "a deceptious title-page." *Ut supra*, 80, 81. That Maccabæus was alive in 1557, appears from the following passage of a Danish literary work: "In Facultate Theologica, Doctores creati sequentes in Academia Hafniæ A°. 1557, a D. Joh. Maccabeo, M. Nic. Hemmingius Theolog. Professor," &c. Albert Thura, Idea Histor. Literar. Danorum, p. 333. Hamburgi, 1723. This writer (p. 274) mentions "Annot. in Matthæum" as written by him, but does not say whether it was a MS. or a printed book. Bale mentions another work of his, entitled "De vera et falsa Religione." *Ut supra*, p. 226. Those who have access to the Bibliotheca Dunica, will find some of his writings inserted in that work, Parts v. and viii. Gerdes. iii. 417. Among the MSS. bequeathed by Archbishop Parker to Corpus Christi Collegi, is "De conjugio sacerdotum, an liceat sacris initiatis contrahere matrimonium affirmatur autore Johanne Macchabeo Scoto."

We learn from Bale that Maccabæus was well born ("præclara familia;") and that, having discovered from his infancy a strong propensity to learning, his parents provided him with the best teachers. But I have an additional piece of information to communicate, which cannot fail to be gratifying to some readers. The proper name of this divine was neither Maccabæus nor Macbee, but Macalpine, and he belonged to the noble and celebrated Clan Alpine. In what degree of kindred he stood to the noted Roderigh Vich Alpine dhu, and whether he was obliged to change his name on account of the outrage which caused that chieftain and his whole clan to be proclaimed rebels, I cannot determine, as I have met with no northern Scald or Gaelish bard who has touched on these circumstances. But the following are my authorities for the statement which I have given:—"Ad docendas sacras literas accersivit [Danniæ Rex] Johannem Maccabæum, proprio nomine Macalpinum, Scotum, virum doctrina et pietate gravem, Regique ac bonis omnibus modestia longe carissimum. Vinding. Descript. Acad. Hafniæ, p. 71—73. "Reliquerat is, qui ex nobili et antiqua Macalpinorum in Scotia familia ortum trahebat, Religionis erga, Scotiam, et migraverat Witebergam, atque ibi cum Luthero et Melanchthone familiaritatem contraxerat, unde Hafniam vocatus Academiæ præfuit per annos sedecim, mortuus d. 6. Decemb. 1557." Gerdes. iii. 417. See also the verses on Maccabæus in Supplement.

Macdowal repaired to Holland, and was so much esteemed that he was raised, though a stranger, to the chief magistracy in one of its burghs. Knox, 20.

John Macbray, or Macbrair, a gentleman of Galloway, fled to England about 1538, and at the death of Edward VI. retired to Frankfort, where he preached to the English congregation. Troubles at Frankfort, pp. 13, 20, 25. Spotswood, p. 97. He afterwards became pastor of a congregation in Lower Germany, and wrote an account of the formation and progress of that church. Balei Scriptores M. Brytan. p. 229. On the accession of Elizabeth he returned to England, and officiated as a preacher in that country. He is called "an eminent exile" in Strype's Annals, i. 130. Grindal, p. 26. On the 13th of November 1568 he was inducted to the vicarage of St Nicholas, in Newcastle, and was buried there on November 16, 1584. Dr Jackson complains that "Mackbray, Knox, and Udale had sown their tares in Newcastle." Heylin speaks in the same strain. Brand's Hist. of Newcastle, p. 303. Bale (p. 229) mentions several works of Macbray, and says that he "wrote elegantly in Latin." Spotswood also mentions some of his works. *Ut supra.*

The causes of Buchanan's imprisonment and escape from Scotland, and his reception and employments on the Continent, may be found in other publications which are accessible to the reader. See Irving's Memoirs of Buchanan, and Chalmers's Life of Ruddiman. Some facts which have not been fully stated by his biographers will be found in a subsequent part of this work.

James Harrison was a native of the south of Scotland, and liberally educated, says Bale. He seems to have gone to England at a period somewhat later than the others mentioned in this note. He wrote a treatise "De regnorum unione," in which he warmly recommended to his countrymen the advantages of a union with England. It was dedicated to the Duke of Somerset, in 1547. Bale (p. 225) gives the first words of it, "Comminiscens, ut soleo per ocium;" and calls it "elegans ac mellitum opus."

Robert Richardson was a canon of the monastery of Cambuskenneth, and fled to

England in 1538. Cald. MS. i. 97. I suppose he is the person who is called "Sir Robert Richardson, priest," in Sadler's Letters. He was sent into Scotland in 1543, by Henry VIII., with a recommendation to the Regent Arran, who employed him in preaching through the kingdom, along with Guillaume and Rough. When the regent apostatised from the reformed cause, he withdrew his protection from Richardson, who was obliged to flee a second time into England, to escape the cardinal's persecution. Sadler's State Papers, i. 210, 217, 344.

Note K, p. 17.

Influence of Poetry in Promoting the Reformation.

As the influence which the poets and satirists of the age had upon the Reformation, is a subject curious in itself, and to which little attention has been paid, the following illustrations of what has been generally stated in the text, may not be unacceptable to some readers. Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, and other Italian writers, by descanting on the ambition, luxury, and scandalous manners of the clergy, had contributed greatly to lessen the veneration in which they had been long held, and to produce in the minds of men a conviction of the necessity of a reformation. "There was," says John Gerson, chancellor of the university of Paris, "one called Johannes Meldinensis, who wrote a book called the Romaunt of the Rose, which book, if I only had, and that there were no more in the world, I would rather burn it than take five hundred pounds for the same; and if I thought the author thereof did not repent of that book before he died, I would no more pray for him than I would for Judas that betrayed Christ." Catal. MSS. in Adv. Lib. The writings of Chaucer, and especially those of Langland, had the same effect in England. When the religious struggle had actually commenced, and become hot, a diversion, by no means inconsiderable, was made in favour of the reformers by the satirists and poets of the age. A pantomime, intended to degrade the court of Rome and the clergy, was acted before Charles V. at the Augsburg Assembly. Lud. Fabricius de Ludis Scenicis, p. 231. Gerdesii Historia Evangel. Renovat. tom. ii. Docum. No. vii. p. 48. In 1524 a tragedy was acted at Paris, in the presence of Francis I., in which the success of Luther was represented, and the pope and cardinals were ridiculed, by kindling a fire which all their efforts could not extinguish. Jacob. Burchard. de Vita Ulrici Hutteni, pars ii. p. 293, pars iii. p. 296. Gerdes. Hist. iv. 315. As late as 1561 the pope's ambassador complained to the queen-mother of France, that the young king, Charles IX., had assisted at a show, in which he had counterfeited a friar. Letters of the Cardinal de St Croix, prefixed to Aymons, Synodes Nationaux de France, tom. i. p. 7—11. In Switzerland, Nic. Manuel wrote certain comedies of this description in the year 1522, which were published under the title of Fastnachts Spielen, at Berne, in 1525. Gerdes. ii. 451. There were similar compositions in Holland. Brand's History of the Reformation, i. 127, 128. Lond. 1720. And also in England. Burnet's History of the Reformation, i. 318. Nasmith, Catal. Libr. Manuscr. Colleg. Corporis Christi, p. 93.

In Scotland, the same weapons were employed in attacking the Church. The first Protestant books circulated in Scotland came chiefly from England. Mr Chalmers has mentioned "the very first reforming treatise which was, probably, written in Scotland," compiled by "Johne Gau," and printed at Malmoe in Sweden, anno 1533. We would have been still more obliged to the learned author, if he had given us some idea of its contents, instead of dismissing it with the flourish, "Had all been like this!" which, whether he meant to apply to the elegance of the printing, or the orthodoxy of the sentiments, it is difficult to say. Caledonia, ii. 616. Calderwood seems to say that books against Popery began to be printed in this country in 1543. MS. ad h. ann. But, previously to that period, the reformed sentiments were diffused by metrical and dramatic writings. The satire of Buchanan against the Franciscan friars, for which he was thrown into prison, was elegant and pungent, but, being written in Latin, it could be felt only by the learned. The same may be said as to his "Baptistes." But a passion for Scottish poetry had been lately produced in the nation by the compositions of some of our ingenious countrymen, and this now began to be improved by the friends of

the Reformation. Kennedy and Kyllor distinguished themselves in this line. See above, p. 313. Kyllor's Scripture drama was exhibited before James V. at Stirling, about the year 1535; and the most simple perceived the resemblance between the Jewish priests and the Scottish clergy, in opposing the truth, and persecuting its friends. Knox, 22. Soon after this, Alexander, Lord Kilmaurs, wrote his Epistle from the Hermit of Lareit to the Greyfriars. Ibid. 24, 25. James Stewart, son of Lord Methven, composed poems and ballads in a similar strain, after the death of the vicar of Dollar; and Robert Alexander, advocate, published the Earl of Errol's "Testament," in Scottish metre, which was printed at Edinburgh. Cald. MS. i. 103. James Wedderburn, son of a merchant in Dundee, converted the history of the beheading of John the Baptist into a dramatic form, and also the history of the tyrant Dionysius, which were acted at Dundee. In both of these the Popish religion was attacked. Cald. MS. ad an. 1540. Dalyell's Cursory Remarks, p. 31.

But the poet who had the greatest influence in promoting the Reformation was Sir David Lyndsay. His "Satyre on the Three Estates," and his "Monarchies," had this for their principal object. The former was acted at Cupar in Fife, in the year 1535; at Linlithgow, before the king and queen, the court, and country, in 1540; and at Edinburgh, before the queen-regent, a great part of the nobility, and a vast number of people, in 1554. Chalmers's Lyndsay, i. 60, 61. Row says, that it was also acted "in the amphitheatre of St Johnstoun." MS. History of the Kirk, p. 3. It exposed the avarice, luxury, and profligacy of the religious orders; the temporal power and opulence of the bishops, with their total neglect of preaching; the prohibition of the reading of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue; the extolling of pardons, relics, &c. In his "Monarchies," composed by him at a subsequent period, he traced the rise and progress of the Papacy, and has discovered a knowledge of history, and of the causes that produced the corruption of Christianity, which would not disgrace any modern author. The poems of Lyndsay were read by "every man, woman, and child." Row has preserved an anecdote, which serves to illustrate their influence, and the manner in which the reformed sentiments were propagated at that period. Some time between 1550 and 1558, a friar was preaching at Perth in the church where the scholars of Andrew Simson attended public worship. In the course of his sermon, after relating some of the miracles wrought at the shrines of the saints, he began to inveigh bitterly against the Lutheran preachers who were going about the country, and endeavouring to withdraw the people from the Catholic faith. When he was in the midst of his invective, a loud hissing arose in that part of the church, where the boys, to the number of three hundred, were seated, so that the friar, abashed and affrighted, broke off his discourse, and fled from the pulpit. A complaint having been made to the master, he instituted an inquiry into the cause of the disturbance, and to his astonishment found that it originated with the son of a craftsman in the town, who had a copy of Lyndsay's "Monarchies," which he had read at intervals to his schoolfellows. When the master was about to administer severe chastisement to him, for the tumult which he had occasioned, and also for retaining in his possession such a heretical book, the boy very spiritedly replied, that the book was not heretical, requested his master to read it, and professed his readiness to submit to punishment, provided any heresy was found in it. This proposal appeared so reasonable to Simson that he perused the work, which he had not formerly seen, and was convinced of the truth of the boy's statement. He accordingly made the best excuse which he could to the magistrates for the behaviour of his scholars, and advised the friar to abstain in future from extolling miracles, and from abusing the Protestant preachers. From that time Simson was friendly to the Reformation. MS. Historie of the Kirk, pp. 3, 4.

In every Protestant country, a metrical version of the Psalms, in the vernacular language, appeared at a very early period. The French version, begun by Clement Marot, and completed by Beza, contributed much to the spread of the Reformation in France. The Psalms were sung by Francis I. and Henry II. and by their courtiers. The Catholics flocked for a time to the assemblies of the Protestants to listen to their psalmody. Bayle, Dictionnaire, art. Marot, Notes N, O, P. At a later period, Cardinal Châstillon proposed to the papal ambassador, as the best method for checking the progress of heresy, that his holiness should authorise some "good and godly" songs to be sung by the French,—"cantar alcune cose in lingua Fran-

cese, le quali pero fossero parole buono et sante, et prima approvate de sua Beatitudine." Lettres de St Croix: Aymons, *ut supra*, tom. i. pp. 7, 9, 11. It has been said that there was a Scottish version of the Psalms at a very early period. Dalyell's Cursory Remarks, p. 35. It is more certain that, before the year 1546, a number of the Psalms were translated in metre; for George Wishart sung one of them in the house of Ormiston, on the night in which he was apprehended. Knox, Historie, p. 49. The two lines quoted by Knox answer to the beginning of the second stanza of the fifty-first Psalm, inserted in Scottish Poems of the Sixteenth Century, p. 111. They were commonly sung in the assemblies of the Protestants, in the year 1556. Knox, 96. John and Robert Wedderburn, brothers to the poet of that name mentioned above, appear to have been the principal translators of them. Cald. MS. i. 108, 109. The version was not completed; and at the establishment of the Reformation it was supplanted in the churches by the version begun by Sternhold and Hopkins, and finished by the English exiles at Geneva.

But the most singular measure adopted for circulating the reformed opinions in Scotland was the composition of "Gude and godly ballates, changed out of prophaine sanges, for avoyding of sinne and harlotrie." John and Robert Wedderburn were the chief authors of this work also. Cald. *ut supra*. Row's Hist. of the Kirk, p. 4. The title sufficiently indicates their nature and design. The air, the measure, the initial line, or the chorus of the ballads most commonly sung by the people at that time, were transferred to hymns of devotion. Unnatural, indelicate, and gross as this association appears to us, these spiritual songs edified multitudes in that age. We must not think that this originated in any peculiar depravation of taste in our reforming countrymen. Spiritual songs constructed upon the same principle were common in Italy. Roscoe's Lorenzo de Medici, i. 309, 4to. At the beginning of the Reformation, the very same practice was adopted in Holland as in Scotland. "The Protestants first sung in their families and private assemblies the psalms of the noble lord of Nievelte, which he published in 1540, ut homines ab amatoriis, haud raro obscœnis, aliisque vanis canticis, quibus omnia in urbibus et vicis personabant, avocaret. Sed quia modulationes vanarum cantionum (alias enim homines non tenebant) adhibuerat," &c. Gisberti Voetii Politica Ecclesiastica, tom. i. p. 534. Amstælod. 1663, 4to. Florimond de Remond objected to the psalms of Marot, that the airs of some of them were borrowed from vulgar ballads. A Roman Catholic version of the Psalms in Flemish verse, printed at Antwerp by Simon Cock, in 1540, has the first line of a ballad printed at the head of every psalm. Bayle, Dict. art. Marot, Note N. The spiritual songs of Colletet, although composed a century after our "Godly Ballates," were constructed on still more exceptionable models. "Et moy, Monsieur," says Mons. Jurieu, "je vous feray voir, quand il vous plaira, les cantiques spirituels de Colletet imprimés à Paris, chés Antoine de Raflé, avec privilege du Roy, de l'an 1660. Livre curieux, où vous trouverés des Noëls sur le chant de ce vaudeville infame qui commence, *Il faut chanter une histoire de la femme d'un manant*, &c. le reste est un conte scandeleux autant qu'il y en ait dans le Satyricon de Petrone. Vous en trouverés un autre sur l'air de ces paroles libertines d'une chanson de l'opera,—

A quoy bon tant de raison, dans un bel aage.

Un autre sur ce vaudeville impudent,—

Allés vous . . . . .
Un galant tout nouveau, &c.

Dès le temps de Henri II. parce que toute la Cour chantoit les Pseaumes de Marot, le Cardinal de Lorraine jugea que, pour arrester un si grand desordre, il seroit très edifiant de faire tourner des odes d'Horace en rime Françoise, pour nourrir la pieté de cette cour si devote." Apologie pour les Reformateurs, &c., tom. i. 129, 4to. A Rotterdam, 1683.

NOTES TO PERIOD SECOND.

Note L, p. 21.

Of George Wishart.

The following graphic description of this interesting martyr is contained in a letter written by a person who had been one of his pupils at Cambridge, and transmitted by him to John Foxe, who inserted it in his work, p. 1155, edit. 1596.

"About the yeare of our Lord, a thousand, five hundreth,. fortie and three, there was, in the universitie of Cambridge, one Maister George Wischart, commonly called Maister George of Bennet's Colledge, who was a man of tall stature, polde headed, and on the same a round French cap of the best. Judged of melancholye complexion by his phisiognomie, black haired, long bearded, comely of personage, well spoken after his country of Scotland, courteous, lowly, lovely, glad to teach, desirous to learne, and was well traulled, hauing on him for his habit or clothing, neuer but a mantell frise gowne to the shoes, a blacke Millian fustian dublet, and plaine blacke hosen, course new canuasse for his shirtes, and white falling bandes and cuffes at the hands. All the which apparell he gaue to the poore, some weekly, some monethly, some quarterly, as hee liked, sauing his Frenche cappe, which hee kept the whole yeere of my beeing with him. Hee was a man modest, temperate, fearing God, hating couetousnesse: for his charitie had neuer ende, night, noone, nor daye: hee forbare one meale in three, one day in four for the most part, except something to comfort nature. [When accused, at his trial, of contemning fasting, he replied, 'My Lordis, I find that fasting is commendit in the Scriptur.—And not so only; bot I have leirnit by experience, that fasting is gude for the healthe and conservation of the body.' Knox, 60.] Hee lay hard upon a pouffe of straw: coarse new canuasse sheetes, which, when he changed, he gaue away. Hee had commonly by his bedside a tubbe of water, in the which (his people being in bed, the candle put out, and all quiet) hee used to bathe himselfe, as I, being very yong, being assured offen, heard him, and in one light night discerned him. Hee loved me tenderly, and I him, for my age, as effectually. Hee taught with great modestie and grauitie, so that some of his people thought him seuere, and would haue slain him, but the Lord was his defence. And hee, after due correction for their malice, by good exhortation amended them, and he went his way. O that the Lord had left him to mee his poore boy, that hee might haue finished that he had begunne! For in his religion he was, as you see heere in the rest of his life, when he went into Scotland with diuers of the nobilitie, that came for a treaty to King Henry the eight. His learning was no less sufficient than his desire, alwayes prest and readie to do good in that hee was able, both in the house priuately, and in the schoole publickely, professing and reading divors authours.

"If I should declare his loue to mee and all men, his charitie to the poore, in giuing, relieuing, caring, helping, prouiding, yea infinitely studying how to do good unto all, and hurt to none, I should sooner want words than just cause to commend him.

"All this I testifie, with my whole heart and trueth, of this godly man. Hee that made all, gouerneth all, and shall iudge all, knoweth I speake the throth, that the simple may be satisfied, the arrogant confounded, the hypocrite disclosed.

τέλος Emery Tylney."

A particular account of Wishart's trial and execution was published in England, apparently soon after the assassination of Beatoun. This very rare little book does not appear to have been seen by any of the writers who have mentioned it. The following account is taken from a copy belonging to Richard Heber, Esq., who communicated it to me with that liberality for which he is so eminently distinguished. The general title is: "The tragical death of Dauid Beatō, Bishoppe of sainct Andrewes in Scotland; Whereunto is ioyned the martyrdom of maister George Wyscharte gentleman, for whose sake the aforesayed bishoppe was not longe after slayne. Wherein thou maist learne what a burnynge charitie they shewed not only

towardes him : but vnto al suche as come to their hādes for the blessed Gospels sake." On the next leaf begins, "Roberte Burrant to the reader," being a preface extending to twelve leaves, ending on B. iiiii. After this is the following title of the tragedy or poem : "Here followeth the Tragedy of the late moste reuerende father Dauid, by the mercie of God Cardinall and archbishoppe of sainct Andrews. And of the whole realme of Scotland primate, legate and chaunceler. And administrator of the bishoprich of Merapois in Fraunce. And comendator perpetuall of the abbay of Aberbrothoke, compiled by sir Dauid Lindsaye of the mounte Knyghte. Alias, Lione, kyng of armes. Anno M.D. xlvi. Ultimo Maii. The wordes of Dauid Beaton the cardinall aforesaied at his death. Alas alas, slaye me not, I am a priest." The poem begins on the reverse, and ends on the first page of C. vii. On the back of that leaf is—"The accusation of maister George Wysehart gentlemā, who suffered martrydome for the faith of Christ Jesu, at S. Andrewes in Scotlād the first day of Marche. In the yere of our Lorde, M.D. xlvi. wyth the articles which he was accused of, and his swete answeres to the same, wherunto are ioyned his godly oratiōs and praiers.—With most tendre affection and unfeyned herte considere," &c. The narrative ends on the first page of F. vi. with these words, "complayning of thys innocent lābes slaughter."—"Imprinted at London, by John Day, and William Seres, dwellynge in Sepulchres parish at the signe of the Resurrection, a little aboue Holbourne conduict. Cum gracia et priuilegio ad imprimendum solum." In eights. The Tragedy of Beatoun is printed in small, and the account of Wishart's trial in large black letter. The date of printing is not mentioned. Those who have fixed on the year 1546 have been influenced by the occurring of this date on the title of the tragedy, which evidently refers to the time of Beatoun's death. It is probable, however, from some expressions in the preface, as well as from other considerations, that it was printed soon after that event. Foxe has embodied the whole account of Wishart's trial in his Acts and Monuments, p. 1154—1158, "*Ex. Histor. Impressa.*" Knox has transcribed it from Foxe. Historie, p. 72.

Wishart had travelled on the Continent. Knox, 56. Lesley, p. 458. Buchanan calls him *Sophocardius*, supposing his name to be *Wiseheart*—a mistake which has been corrected by an intelligent foreign historian, who says that the original name was *Guiscard*, a name common in France, from which country the *Wischards* (for so Knox writes it) originally came to Scotland. Gerdesii Hist. Reform. tom. iv. p. 314. See also Ruddiman's *Propriorum nominum Interpretatio*, subjoined to Buchanan's History.

The following extract from the records of the city of Bristol has been obligingly sent me by Theodore Laurence, Esq.

"30 Henry viij. That this yere the 15 May a Scot named George Wysard sett furth his lecture in St Nicholas Church of Bristowe the most blasphemous heresy that ever was herd, openly declarying that Christs mother hath not nor coulde merite for him nor yett for us, wich heresy brought many of the commons of this towne into a greate erro^{r} and dyvers of theym were persuaded by that hereticall lecture to heresy. Wherupon the said stiff-necked Scot was accused by Mr John Kerne deane of the s^{d} diocese and soon aft^{r} he was sent to the moost reverend father in God the archebishop of Canterbury, bifore whom and others, that is to signifie, the bishops of Bathe Norwhiche and Chichester, with others, as doctors and he bifore theym was examyned convicted and condemned in and upon the detestable heresy above mentioned, whereupon he was injoyned to bere a fagot in St Nicholas Church aforsaid and the parishe of the same the 13 July and in Christe church the 20 July abovesaid folls, which was duely executed in the time aforesaid."

This is extracted from the "Mayor's Kalendar," a vellum manuscript-book of great antiquity, which is usually produced at the swearing in of the mayor, as it has a drawing of that ceremony, and refers to some old customs observed on the occasion. I have no doubt that the person referred to is George Wishart, the Scottish martyr. The facts related happened on the year after he left Scotland. In the course of that year John Lambert suffered martyrdom for denying transubstantiation, and Henry VIII. was using the severest measures against the Protestants. The circumstance of George Wysard having recanted what he had taught respecting the Virgin, is not sufficient to discredit this supposition. Whether his recantation proceeded from fear, or from his being entangled by the sophistry of his judges,

any stain which it affixed to his character was completely effaced by the fortitude and constancy with which he afterwards suffered.

The following is the title of a very rare book, which appears to have been written by George Wishart during his travels on the Continent, and printed after his death.

"The Confescion of the fayth of the Sweserlādes.

"This Confescion was fyrste wrytten and set out by the ministers of the churche and congregacion of Sweuerland, where all godlyness is receyued, and the word hadde in most reuerence, and from thence was sent vnto the Emperours maiestie, then holdynge a gryat counsell or parliament in the yeare of our Lord God M. v. G. XXXVII. in the moneth of February.

"Translated out of Laten by George Vsher, a Scotchman, who was burned in Scotland, the yeare of oure Lorde M. v. C. XLVI."

Note M, p. 25.

Knox on the Assassination of Cardinal Beatoun.

Mr Hume has, not very philosophically, inferred the savageness of Knox's temper from the evident satisfaction with which he wrote of Cardinal Beatoun's assassination; and in this judgment he has been followed by several writers. If to express satisfaction at cutting off one who was regarded as a public enemy be viewed as an infallible mark of cruelty, we must pronounce this verdict upon many who were never before suspected of such a disposition. The manner in which the Christian fathers expressed themselves respecting the death of the persecutors of the Church, is not unknown. See Julian the Apostate, chaps. vii. viii., in Works of the Rev. Samuel Johnston, p. 22—24. Bayle, Critique General de l'Histoire du Calvinisme, p. 295. Even the mild and philosophic Erasmus could not refrain from declaring his joy at the violent death of two of the most learned and eminent Reformers. "Bene habet," says he, "quod duo Coriphæi perierunt, Zuinglius in acie, Oecolampadius paulo post febri et apostemate. Quod si illis favisset Ἐνυάλιος, actum est de nobis." Epist. 1205: Jortin's Life of Erasmus, ii. 28. Sir Walter Scott, in his Cadyow Castle (see Lyrical Pieces), has lately exerted all his poetic powers to invest Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh with the character of a hero, in assassinating the Regent Moray, a person who is no more to be compared to Cardinal Beatoun than "Hyperion to a Satyr." I know the apology that will be made for the poet (although I think he might have found, in this, and in some other instances, a subject more worthy of his muse); but what shall we say of the historian who narrates the action of Bothwellhaugh "approvingly," celebrates the "happy pencil of the poet" in describing it, and insults over the fall of Moray, by quoting a sarcastic line from the poem, in the very act of relating his death! Chalmers's Caledonia, ii. 571. Yet the same writer is highly displeased that Sir David Lyndsay, in his Tragedy of Beatoun, has "no burst of indignation" at the cardinal's murder; and twice in the same work he has related with triumph, that, on the margin of one edition of Knox's History, the part which James Melvin acted in that scene is called a "godly fact." And he pronounces the assassination of Beatoun to be "the *foulest* crime which ever stained a country, except perhaps the similar murder of Archbishop Sharpe, within the same shire, in the subsequent century, by similar miscreants." Chalmers's Works of Lyndsay, i. 34, 35; ii. 231. How marvellously does prejudice distort the judgment even of learned men! And how surprising to find the assassination of two sanguinary persecutors represented as more criminal than the murder of the generous Henry IV., the patriotic Prince of Orange, and the brave and pious Coligny! There are not a few persons who can read in cold blood of thousands of innocent persons being murdered under the consecrated cloak of authority, but who "burst into indignation" at the mention of the rare fact (occurring once in a century) of a person who, goaded by oppression and reduced to despair, has been driven to the extremity of taking vengeance on the proud and tyrannical author of his own and his country's wrongs. I mention these things to show the need which certain writers have to look at home, and to judge of characters and actions with a little more impartiality, or at least consistency.

Honest Keith, whose personal feelings do not appear to have been violent, has

expressed with much simplicity the feelings of his party, in the reflections which he makes on the cardinal's assassination. "What might have proved (says he) to be the issue of such procedure [Beatoun's severe measures against the Reformers], had he enjoyed his life for any considerable time, I shall not pretend to judge: only this seems to be certain, that by his death the reins of the government were much loosened; and some persons came to be considerable soon after, who probably, if he had lived, had never got the opportunity to perpetrate such villanies under the cloak of religion, as 'tis certain they did; he being at least no less a statesman than a clergyman." History, p. 45. This language needs no commentary; and the callousness to the interests of (I say not the Reformation, for that is entirely out of the question, but) humanity, implied in the prospect that Keith takes of the cruelties which the Protestants must have suffered from the cardinal, if his life had been spared, is far more reprehensible than any satisfaction which Knox expressed at his death.

"It is very horrid," says Hume, "but at the same time somewhat amusing, to consider the joy, alacrity, and pleasure which that historian [Knox] discovers in his narrative of this assassination." History of England, vol. vi. chap. iv. Mr Hume makes a partial apology for Knox by the description which he gives of his own feelings; while he allows that what, in the main, excites horror, may produce some amusement. It is well known that there are writers who can treat the most sacred subjects with a levity bordering upon profaneness. Must we at once pronounce them profane? And is nothing to be set down to the score of natural temper inclining them to wit and humour? The Reformer rejoiced at the death of Beatoun; and even those who could not approve of the act of the conspirators, were happy that he was taken away.

As for the Cardinal, we grant,
He was a man we weel might want,
And we'll forget him sone;
And yet I think, the sooth to say,
Although the lown is weel away,
The deed was foully done.

The pleasantry which Knox has mingled with the narrative of his death and burial is unseasonable and unbecoming. But it is to be imputed, not to any pleasure which he took in describing a bloody scene, but to the strong propensity which he felt to indulge his vein of humour. Those who have read his History with attention, must have perceived that he is not able to check this, even on very serious occasions. I shall at present refer to one instance only. None will doubt that his mind was deeply affected in relating the trial and execution of his esteemed friend, and revered instructor, George Wishart. Yet, even in the midst of his narrative of this event, he could not abstain from inserting the truly ludicrous description of a quarrel which arose on that occasion between the Archbishops of St Andrews and Glasgow; for which he apologises thus,—"Gif we interlace merrines with ernest matters, pardone us, gude reidare, for the fact is sa notable that it deserves lang memorie." Historie, p. 51.

Note N, p. 35.

Knox in the French Galleys.

The following curious notice as to this event in our Reformer's life will form an appropriate introduction to the extracts referred to in the text. It has been preserved by the learned Dr Fulke, and is given as an answer to a Popish writer, who had said, in the way of detraction, "Knokes was a galley-slave three yeares."—"The more wicked," replies Fulke, "those Papistes which betrayed him into the galley. The master whereof was glad to be rid of him, because he never had good successe so long as he kept that holy man in slaverie, whome also, in danger of tempest, though an errant Papiste, he would desire to commend him and his galley to God in his praiers." T. Stapleton and Martiall (two Popish heretics) confuted. By D. Fulke, master of Pembroke-hall, in Cambridge, p. 116. Lond. 1580.

I shall give Knox's own account of his feelings on that occasion from the MS.

copy of his Treatise on Prayer, in my possession, preserving the original language, which is altered in the printed edition. Those who have access to the latter can compare the two.

"I mene not," says he, "that any man, in extreamitie of trubill, can be without a present dolour, and without a greater feir of trubill to follow. Trubill and feir are the very spurris to prayer. For when man, compassit about with vehement calamities, and vexit with continewall solicitude, having by help of man no hope of deliverance, with soir oppressit and punissit hart, feiring also greater punisment to follow, from the deip pit of tribulation, doith call to God for comfort and support, such prayer ascendeth into Godis presence, and returneth not in vane." Having illustrated this from the exercise of David, as described in psalm vii., he proceeds: "This is not written for David onlie, but for all such as sall suffer tribulatioun to the end of the world. For I, the wryter hereof (lat this be said to the laude and prais of God allone), in angusche of mynd, and vehement tribulatioun and afflictioun, called to the Lord, when not only the ungodlie, but evin my faithfull brether, ye and my awn self (that is, all natural understanding) judgeit my cause to be irremedeable; and yit in my greatest calamitie, and when my panis wer most cruell, wold his eternall wisdome that my handis suld wryt far contrarie to the judgement of carnall reasone, whilk his mercie hath proved trew. *Blessit be his halie name.*[1] And therefore dar I be bold in the veritie of Godis word, to promeis that, notwithstanding the vehemencie of trubill, the long continewance thairof, the desperatioun of all men, the feirfulness, danger, dolour, and angusche of our awn hartis, yit, yf we call constantlie to God, that, beyound expectatioun of all men, hie sall delyver." Pp. 52—54. After showing that prayers for temporal deliverance ought always to be offered up with submission to the divine will, that God often delays the deliverance of the body while he mitigates the distress of the spirit, and sometimes permits his saints "to drink, before the maturity of age, the bitter cupe of corporall death, that thairby they may receave medicine, and cure from all infirmitie," he adds: "Albeit we sie thairfoir no appeirand help to our selves, nor yit to otheris afflictit, lat ws not ceis to call (thinking our prayeris to be vane); for whatsoever cum of our bodeis, God sall gif unspeakabill comfort to the spreit, and sall turne all to our comodities beyound our awn expectatioun. The caus that I am so lang and tedious in this matter is, for that I knaw how hard the batell is between the spreit and the flesche, under the heavie cros of afflictioun, whair no warldlie defence, but present death dois appeir. I knaw the grudging and murmuring complaints of the flesche; I knaw the anger, wrath, and indignatioun, whilk it consaveth aganis God, calling all his promissis in dout, and being readie every hour utterlie to fall from God: aganis whilk restis onlie faith provoking us to call ernistlie, and pray for assistance of Godis spreit, whairin if we continew, our maist disperat calamiteis sall hie turn to gladnes, and to a prosperous end.[2] To thee, O Lord, allone be prais; for with experience I wryt this, and speak." MS. Letters, pp. 65, 66.

The edition was printed most probably in England (*Rome* is on the title-page), during the persecution, from a MS. sent by Knox from Dieppe, and so incorrectly, that it is often impossible to make sense of it. The following are specimens:—"Diffysed," fol. 2; "difficil," MS.—"A pure word of God," fol. 2; "a puritie allowit of God," MS.—"Consent," fol. 3; "conceat, MS."—"May any other Jesus Christ, except I, in these wordes, make intercession for sinners?" fol. 11; "May any other (Jesus Christ except) in these wordes mak intercession for sinners?" MS.: the transcriber having mistaken the concluding mark of parenthesis for the pronoun.—"Carkese slepe," fol. 16; "carleslie slepeth," MS. In quoting Isaiah lxiv. 5, the printed edition has employed a word which I have not seen in any old version of the Bible: "Thou art *crabbid*, O Lord, because we have sinned," fol. 4; and again in verse 9, "Be not *crabbid*, O Lord, remember not our iniquities for ever." In the MS. it is *angrie* in both instances. In fol. xvi. is a greater variation: "For with such as do aleage that God may not chaunge his sentence, and our prayers therefore to be vayne, can I no wyse agree." Instead of this the MS. has "Whilk thing if we do unfeanedlie, he will revoke his wrath, and in the middis of his furie think upon mercie." There are similar variations between the MS. and the printed copies

[1] The words in Italics are not in the printed copies.

[2] The printed copies, instead of "end," have "fyne;" a word sometimes used in the MS. Letters.

of most of his other tracts. They show that the MS. which I possess has not been transcribed from these copies, according to a custom very common in that age.

Note O, p. 37.

Extracts from Balnaves' Confession of Faith, or Treatise on Justification.

In reading the writings of the first reformers there are two things which must strike our minds. The first is, the exact conformity between the doctrine maintained by them respecting the justification of sinners, and that of the apostles. The second is, the surprising harmony which subsisted among them on this important doctrine. On some questions respecting the sacraments, and the external government and worship of the Church, they differed; but upon the article of free justification, Luther and Zuinglius, Melancthon and Calvin, Cranmer and Knox, spoke the very same language. This was not owing to their having read each other's writings, but because they copied from the same divine original. The clearness with which they understood and explained this great truth is also very observable. More learned and able defences of it have since appeared; but I question if it has ever been stated in more scriptural, unequivocal, and decided language, than in the writings of the early reformers. Some of their successors, by giving way to speculation, gradually lost sight of this distinguishing badge of the Reformation, and landed at last in Arminianism, which is nothing else but the Popish doctrine in a Protestant dress. Knox has informed us that his design, in preparing for the press the treatise written by Sir Henry Balnaves, was to give, along with the author, his "confession of the article of justification therein contained." I cannot, therefore, lay before the reader a more correct view of our Reformer's sentiments upon this fundamental article of faith, than by quoting from a book which was revised and approved by him.

Having given the philosophical definition of justice or righteousness, and explained what is meant by civil and ceremonial justice, the author proceeds as follows:—

"The justice of the lawe morall or Moses's lawe, which is the lawe of God, exceedeth and is far above the other two justices. It is the perfite obedience required of man, according to all the works and deeds of the same; not only in externall and outward deeds, but also with the inward affections and motions of the hart, conforme to the commandement of the same (saying), Thou shalt love thy Lord God with all thy hart, with all thy mind, with all thy power and strength, and thy neighbour as thyselfe. This is no other thing but the lawe of nature, prented in the hart of man, in the beginning; nowe made patent by the mouth of God to man, to utter his sin, and make his corrupted nature more patent to himselfe. And so is the lawe of nature and the law of Moses joyned together in a knot; which is a doctrine teaching all men a perfite rule, to know what he should do, and what he should leave undone, both to God and his neighbour. The justice of the lawe, is to fulfill the lawe; that is, to doo the perfite workes of the lawe as they are required, from the bottome of the hart, and as they are declared and expounded by Christ; and whosoever transgresseth the same, shall never be pronounced just of the lawe. But there was never man that fulfilled this lawe to the uttermost perfection thereof, except only Jesus Christ. Therefore, in the lawe can we not find our justice, because of the deedes of the lawe no flesh shall be made just before God." Pp. 57, 58.

"For transgression of the commandement of God, our forefather Adam was exiled and banished forth of paradise, and spoiled of the integrity, perfection, and all the excellent qualities, dignities, and godlie vertues, with which he was endued by his creation, made rebell, and disobedient to God in his owne default. And therefore he might not fulfill the lawe to the perfection as the same required. For the lawe remaining in the owne perfection, just, holye, and good, requireth and asketh the same of man, to be indeed fulfilled. But all men proceeding from Adam, by natural propagation, have the same imperfection that hee had; the which corruption of nature resisteth the will and goodness of the lawe, which is the cause that wee fulfill not the same, nor may not of our power and strength, through the infirmitie and weakness of our flesh, which is enemie to the spirit, as the apostle saith." Pp. 79, 80.

"Notwithstanding, after the fall of man, remained with our first parents some rest and footsteppes of this lawe, knowledge, and vertues, in the which he was created, and of him descended in us; by the which of our free will and power, we may do the outward deeds of the lawe, as is before written. This knowledge deceaved and beguiled the philosophers; for they looke but to the reason and judgement of man, and could not perceave the inward corruption of nature, but ever supponed man to bee clean and pure of nature, and might, of his own free will and naturall reason, fulfill all perfection. And when they perceaved the wickednes of man from his birth, they judged that to be by reason of the planete under whom he was borne, or through evill nourishing, upbringing, or other accidents, and could never consider the corrupted nature of man, which is the cause of all our wickednes; and therefore they erred, and were deceaved in their opinions and judgements; but the perfite Christian man should looke first in his corruption of nature, and consider what the law requireth of him, in the which he findeth his imperfection and sinnes accused (for that is the office of the lawe, to utter sinne to man, and giveth him no remedy), then of necessitie is he compelled either to despaire or seek Christ, by whom he shall get the justice that is of value before God, which can not be gotten by any lawe or workes, because by the deedes of the lawe no flesh shall be justified before God." Pp. 81, 83.

"This proposition of the Holy Spirite is so perfite, that it excludeth (if ye will understande the same right), all the vaine foolish arguments of sophistrie made by the justifiers of themselfes, which perverte the words of S. Paule (as they doo the other Scriptures of God), to their perversed sence and mind; saying, that the apostle excludeth by these wordes the workes of the law ceremonial, and not the deeds of the lawe of nature, and morall lawe of Moyses. The which shameless sayings are expressly evacuat by the wordes of the apostle, insomuch that no man of righteous judgement can deny, but shall feel the same as it were in their hands, by this probation. The lawe speaketh to all, that is, accuseth all men that are under the lawe. All men are under the lawe of nature, or the lawe of Moyses, therefore the apostle speaketh of the lawe of nature, or the lawe of Moyses, and of all men which he comprehendeth under Jewe and Gentill, as he proveth by his argumentes in the first and second chap. to the Romans, and concludeth in the third chap. all men are sinners. If all men bee sinners, none is just; if none bee just, none fulfill the lawe; if none fulfill the lawe, the lawe can pronounce none just; therefore concludeth he, that of the deedes of the lawe no fleshe shall be fonde just before God. The same is proved by David in the 130 Psalme. Here ye see by the words of the apostle, he intends to prove and declare all men sinners; that is, to stoppe all men's mouths, and to dryve them to Christ by the accusation of the lawe. No lawe may make or declare all men sinners, and subdue the whole world to God, but the lawe of nature and Moyses; therefore, under that word (lawe) the apostle comprehendeth the lawe morall, and not the lawe ceremonial only." Pp. 84, 85.

"But think not that I intende through these assertions to exclude good workes; no, God forbid, for good workes are the gift of God, and his good creatures, and ought and should be done of a Christian, as shalbe showen hereafter at length in their place; but in this article of justification, yee must either exclude all workes, or els exclude Christ from you, and make your selfes just; the which is impossible to do. Christ is the end of the lawe (unto righteousness) to all that beleeve, that is, Christ is the consummation and fulfilling of the lawe, and that justice whiche the law requireth; and all they which beleeve in him are just by imputation through faith, and for his sake are repute and accepted as just. This is the justice of faith, of the which the apostle speaketh, Rom. the 10 chapter: therefore, if ye wilbee just, seeke Christ, and not the lawe, nor your invented workes, which are lesse than the lawe. Christ shall have no mixtion with the lawe, nor workes thereof, in this article of justification; because the lawe is as contrarie to the office of Christ as darknes to light, and is as farre different as heaven and earth. For the office of the lawe is to accuse the wicked, feare them, and condemne them, as transgressors of the same; the office of Christ is to preache mercy, remission of sinnes, freely in his bloode through faith, give consolation, and to save sinners; for hee came not into this world to call them which ar just, or think themselves just, but to call sinners to repentance." Pp. 100, 126, 127, 128.

"This faith which only justifieth and giveth life, is not idle nor remaineth alone; nevertheless, it alone justifieth, and then it works by charitie; for unfained faith

may no more abyde idle from working in love, than the good tree may from bringing foorth her fruite in due time; and yet the fruite is not the cause of the tree, nor maketh the tree good, but the tree is the cause of the fruite; and the good tree bringeth forth good fruite, by the which it is knowen goode; even so it is of the faithfull man, the workes make him not faithfull nor just, nor yet are the cause thereof; but the faithfull and just man bringeth forth and maketh good workes, to the honour and glorie of God, and profit of his neighbour, which beare witnesse of his inward faith, and testify him to be just before man." Pp. 131, 132. In the following part of the treatise, the author shows at large that the doctrine of gratuitous justification does not release Christians from obligation to perform good works, and inculcates the duties incumbent upon them in the different spheres of life in which they may be placed. *Confession of Faith; conteining how the troubled man should seeke refuge at his God; compiled by M. Henry Balnaves of Halhill,*[1] *and one of the Lords of Session of Scotland, being a prisoner within the old pallaice of Roane, in the year* 1548. *T. Vautrollier, Edin.* 1584.

NOTES TO PERIOD THIRD.

Note P, p. 42.

Extracts from Knox's Defence before the Bishop of Durham.

Since the publication of the first edition of this Life, I have seen a copy of this Defence in print. Its title will be found in the catalogue of Knox's works. (See Note UUU at the end of this volume.) The printed edition agrees more exactly with the MS. in my possession than any of his other works which I have had the opportunity of comparing. The extracts given in this note are continued in their original form, to preserve the orthography of the MS., which constitutes almost the only difference between it and the printed edition.

"The fourt of Apryle, in the yeir 1550, was appoyntit to Johne Knox, preacher of the halie evangell of Jesus Chryst, to gif his confessioun why hie affirmed the mes idolatrie; whilk day, in presence of the consale and congregatioun, amangis whome was also present the bischope of Duram and his doctors, on this manner hie beginneth.

"This day I do appeir in your presence, honourabill audience, to gif a reasone why so constantlie I do affirme the mes to be, and at all tymes to haif bene, idolatrie and abominatioun before God; and becaus men of great eruditioun, in your audience, affirmed the contrarie, most gladlie wold I that heir thay wer present, either in proper persone, or els by thair learnit men, to ponder and wey the causis moveing me thairto: for unles I evidentlie prufe myne intent be Goddis halie scriptures, I will recant it as wickit doctrine, and confes my self maist worthie of grevous punishment. How difficil it is to pull furth of the hartis of the pepill the thing whairin opinioun of holines standeth, declareth the great tumult and uprore moveit aganis Paule by Demetrius and his fellowis, who by idolatrie gat great vantage, as our priestis have done be the mes in tymes past. The pepill, I say, heiring that the honor of thair great goddes Diana stude in jeopardie, with furious voces eryit, 'Great is Diana of the Ephesians;'—and heirunto wer thay moveit be lang custom and fals opinioun. I knaw, that in the mes hath not onlie bene estemit great holines and honoring of God, but also the ground and fundatioun

[1] A charter of confirmation was granted to Mr Henry Balnaves and Christian Scheves, his spouse, of the lands of "Ester Cullessy vocat Halhill," on the 10th of August 1538. Reg. Secr. Sigil. lib. xiij. f. 20. On the 12th of May 1562, a letter under the privy seal was granted to Mr Henry Balnaves of Halhill, restoring him to his lands, honours, &c., of which he had been deprived "for certane allegit crymes of lese majestie imput to him." Ibid. lib. xxxi. f. 16.

of our religioun: so that, in opinioun of many, the mes taken away, thair resteth no trew wirschipping nor honoring of God in the erth. The deiper hath it persit the hartis of men yat it occupyith the place of the last and misticall supper of our Lord Jesus. But yf I sal, be plane and evident scriptures, prove the mes, in hir mair honest garment, to haif been idolatrie befoire God, and blasphemous to the death and passioun of Chryst, and contrarie to the supper of Jesus Chryst, than gude hope have I, honorable audience and belovit brethrene, that the feir, love, and obedience of God, who in his scriptures hath spokin all veritie necessarie for oure salvatioun, sall move yow to gif place to the same. O Lord eternal! move and governe my toung to speak the veritie, and the hartis of thir pepill to understand and obey the same." MS. Letters, pp. 1, 2.

In proof of his position, he laid down and defended two syllogisms. The first is thus stated: "All wirschipping, honoring, or service inventit by the brane of man in the religioun of God, without his awn expres commandement, is idolatrie: the mes is inventit by the brane of man, without any commandement of God: thairfoir it is idolatrie." The second syllogism is thus framed: "All honoring or service of God, whairunto is addit a wickit opinioun, is abominatioun: unto the mes is addit a wickit opinioun: thairfoir it is abominatioun." Pp. 3, 21. In support of the major proposition of his first syllogism, he argues from 1 Sam. xiii. 11-14; xv. 22, 23. Deut. iv. 2; xii. 8, 32. 1 Cor. xi. 23. Take the following as a specimen:—"We may not think ws so frie nor wyse that we may do unto God, and unto his honour, what we think expedient. No: the contrarie is commandit by God, saying, 'Unto my word sall ye ad nothing, nothing sall ye deminische thairfrome, that ye might observe the preceptis of your Lord God.' Whilk wordis ar not to be understand of the decalogue and law moral onlie, but of statutis, rytes, and ceremonyis; for equall obedience of all his lawis requyreth God. And in witnis thairof, Nadab and Abihu offiring strange fyre, whairof God had geven unto thame na charge, wer instantlie, as thay offirit, punissit to death by fyre.—In the punisment of theis two afoirsaid is to be observit, that Nadab and Abihu wer the principal priestis nixt to Aron thair father, and that they were comprehendit neither in adulterie, covetusnes, nor desyre of warldlie honor, but of a gud zeall and simpill intent wer making sacrifice, desyreing no profit of the pepill thairby, but to honor God, and to metigate his wraith. And yit in the doing of this self same act and sacrifice wer they consumit away with fyre; whairof it is plane, that nether the preeminence of the persone or man that maketh or setteth up any religioun without the express commandement of God, nor yet the intent whairof hie doith the same, is acceptit befoir God: for nothing in his religioun will hie admit without his awn word, but all that is addit thairto doith hie abhor, and punisseth the inventoris and doeris thairof, as ye haif hard in Nadab and Abihu." Pp. 6, 7.

The following extracts will exemplify the irony with which he treated the Popish tenets:—"Jesus Chryst sayeth, 'I will lay upon yow none other burdene than I haif alreadie;' and, 'that whilk ya haif observe diligentlie.' O God eternal! hast thow laid none uther burdene upon our backis than Jesus Chryst laid be his word? Then who hath burdenit ws with all theis ceremonyis? prescrybid fasting, compellit chastitie, unlawfull vowis, invocatioun of sanctis, and with the idolatrie of the mes? The divill, the divill, brethrene, inventit all theis burdenis to depres imprudent men to perditioun," p. 10. Speaking of the canon of the mass, he says, "I will preve, that thairin is indigest, barbarous, folischc congestioun of wordis, imperfectioun of sentences, ungodlie invocationis, and diabolicall conjurationis. And this is that holie canon whois autoritie precelleth all scriptures! O! it was so holie it might not be spoken planclie as the rest, but secreitlie it behoved to be whisperit! That was not evil devysit; for yf all men had hard it, sum wold have espyit the vanitie thairof.—They say, *Hoc est enim corpus meum.* I pray thame schew, whair find thay *enim*? O! heir mak thay a great matter; and heir lyeth a secreit misterie, and hid operatioun! For in fyve wordis conceaved the virgin Marie, say thay, when sche conceavit the Sone of God. What yf sche had spokin sevin, ten, or twentie words? or what yf sche had not spokin in thrie? Suld thairby the determinat consalle been impeidit? But, O papists! is God a juglar? Useth he certane noumer of wordis in performing his intent?" pp. 18, 19.

Quintin Kennedy, abbot of Crossraguel, in an Oration, composed by him in 1561, made some remarks on Knox's book against the Mass. "Shortly," says he, "will we call to remembrance ane notable syllogisme (or argument) sett furth be ano

famouss preachour, callit John Knox, in his sermon againis the mess, in manner as efter followis." And having quoted the first syllogism, as already expressed in this note, he answers: As to the first part of his syllogisme, quhar he dois affirme all worschipping of God inuentit be the brayne of manne without express command of God to be ydolatrie, it is als falss as Goddis wourd is trew; for quhy? did not Abel, Abraham, Noe, and diuerse vtheris of the aulde fatheris, inuent meanis and ways to the worschipping of God, without expres commande of God, and wes acceptable to the Lord God, as the Aulde Testament techis ws? Did not Cornelius centurio in likewise inuent meanis and ways to the worschipping of God, without expres commande of God, quhilk wes acceptable to God, as the New Testament plainly teachis ws? Thus ma we clearlie persaue that this wickit syllogisme aboue rehersit is express againis the Scripture of Almychtie God, bayth Aulde Testament and New. Secundlie, to preve his fals and wicket syllogisme, impropirlie callis he to remembrance the Scripture of Almychti God, quhare mentione is maid how King Saule made sacrifice onto God of his owne brayne, and wes nocht acceptable to the Lorde God. Mark this place of the Scripture, and it salbe easely persavit that it is all wayis impropirlie appliit; for quhy, his syllogisme makis mentione of the worschipping of God inuentit be the brayne of manne, without expres commande of God; and this place of Scripture testifeis plainly of the worschipping of God inuentit be the brayne of manne, express contrar to the commande of God. And sua may we clearlie vnderstand that this first part of his syllogisme differis far fra the testimonie of Scripture, adducit be him for confirmatione of the samin; bicaus thair is ane grete difference betuix the worschipping of God inuentit be manne, without expres commande of God, and the worschipping of God inuentit be manne, express contrar to the commande of God; the ane may neuer stand with the Scripture; the vther aggreis with the Scripture, bayth Aulde Testament and New, as I haif all reddy declarit." In fine, the abbot insists that Saul "committit na ydolatrie," for "albeit the Scripture dois affirme that stubborness is as the wicketnes of ydolatrie, nochtheles stubbornes is nocht ydolatrie." Ane Oratioune set furth be Master Quintine Kennedy, Commendatour of Corsraguell, ye zeir of Gode 1561, p. 5—8. Edinburgh, 1812.

Note Q, p. 43.

Changes on the English Liturgy.

In the Communion Book, as set forth in 1548, the words pronounced by the minister at delivering the bread were, "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul into everlasting life;" and at the delivery of the cup, "The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve," &c. As altered in the corrected Prayer Book of Edward VI. the words pronounced were, "Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee; and feed on him in thy heart by faith—Drink this in remembrance Christ's blood was shed for thee, and be thankful." A rubric was also added, to be read at the celebration of the communion, declaring, that, although the posture of kneeling was retained to signify our humble and grateful acknowledgment of the benefits of Christ, and to prevent profanation and disorder; yet "no adoration is intended or ought to be done, either to the sacramental bread and wine there bodily received, or unto any corporal presence of Christ's natural flesh and blood; for the bread and wine retained their natural substances, and Christ's natural body was in heaven, and could not be in more places than one at the same time." Collier, ii. 310; Records, No. 70.

In the settlement of religion, at the commencement of Elizabeth's reign, the old form of words at delivering the elements was superinduced upon the new, which, like the patching of old and new cloth in a garment, marred the whole, and pleased neither Protestants nor Papists; and the rubric, explanatory of kneeling, was thrown out. At the restoration of Charles II. "the Church thought fit," says Collier, "to condescend so far as to restore the rubric of King Edward's reign," to please "some people either of weak judgments or contentious humours;" a piece of condescension with which the historian pretty plainly intimates his dissatisfaction. In the liturgy which was attempted to be imposed upon the Scottish Church

in 1637, all the qualifications and explications in the last prayer-book of Edward VI. were completely excluded, and various expressions, postures, and gestures, favourable to the Popish notions and superstition, were unblushingly borrowed from the mass-book. But the rulers of the Church in the three kingdoms were then posting fast to Rome, when they were overturned in their mad career.

Note R, p. 53.

Sentiments of English Reformers respecting the Government and Worship of the Church.

I shall endeavour to compress the body of evidence which can be produced for the conformity between the private sentiments of the English reformers respecting worship and church government, and those of Knox, along with the reformers of Switzerland and Geneva. Hooper, in a letter dated Feb. 8, 1550, informs Bullinger that "the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Rochester, Ely, St David's, Lincoln, and Bath, were sincerely bent on advancing the purity of doctrine, agreeing IN ALL THINGS with the Helvetic churches." Burnet, iii. 201. Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, in a letter to Gualter, Feb. 4, 1573, fervently exclaims, "O! would to God, would to God, once at last, all the English people would in good earnest propound to themselves to follow the Church of Zurich as the most absolute pattern." Strype's Annals, ii. 286, 342.

Cranmer expressed his opinion formally in writing, that "the bishops and priests were at one time, and were no two things, but both ONE OFFICE in the beginning of Christ's religion."—"The Bishop of St David's, my lord elect of Westminster, Dr Cox, Dr Redman, say, that at the beginning they were all ONE." Collier, ii. Records, No. 49. Burnet, i. Append. p. 223—225. Thirteen bishops, with a great number of other ecclesiastics, subscribed this proposition, "that in the New Testament there is no mention made of any degrees or distinctions in orders, but only deacons or ministers, and of priests or bishops." Burnet, *ut supra*, p. 324. Cranmer says, "In the New Testament, he that is appointed a bishop or a priest needed not consecration, by the Scripture, for election or appointment thereto is sufficient." And of the same judgment was the Bishop of St David's. Ibid. 228, 230. Latimer and Hooper maintained the identity of bishops and presbyters, by divine institution. Voetii Polit. Eccles. tom. ii. p. 837. This was also the opinion of Pilkington, Bishop of Durham. Treatise on the burning of St Paul's, apud Cald. Altare Damascenum, p. 204. Bishop Jewel assents to it in his answer to Harding, p. 121. And on the accession of Elizabeth, he expressed his hope that "the bishops would become pastors, labourers, and watchmen, and that the great riches of bishoprics would be diminished and reduced to mediocrity, that, being delivered from regal and courtly pomp, they might take care of the flock of Christ." Burnet, iii. 288. In the same year, Dr Aylmer addressed the right reverend bench in these terms: "Come off, you bishops, away with your superfluities, yield up your thousands, be content with hundreds, as they be in other reformed churches, where there be as great learned men as you are. Let your portion be priestlike and not princelike. Let the queen have the rest of your temporalities and other lands to maintain these warres which you procured, and your mistresse left her; and with the reste builde and found scholes thorow out the realme: that every parishe church may have his preacher, every city his superintendent, to live honestly and not pompously; which will never be onles your landes be dispersed and bestowed upon many which now feedeth and fatteth but one.—I would our countryman Wiclefe's boke which he wrote, *De Ecclesia*, were in print, and there should you see that your wrinches and cavillations be nothing worthie. It was my chaunce to happen of it in ones hand that brought it out of Bohemia." An Harborowe for Faithful and Trew Subjects, sig. O, 4. Cranmer expressed himself in a similar strain respecting the "glorious titles, styles, and pomps," which were come into the Church through the working of the spirit of Diotrephes, and professed his readiness to lay them aside. Strype's Cranmer, Append. p. 20. Burnet, iii. 105. Append. p. 88. In fact, the title of *bishop* was very generally disused in common speech during the reign of Edward VI., and that of *superintendent* substituted in its place. And this change of style was vindicated by Ponet, Bishop of Winchester, in an answer

which he published to a Popish writer. Strype's Memorials of the Reformation, ii. 444, 445.

It was proposed by Cranmer to erect courts similar to the kirk-sessions and provincial synods afterwards introduced into the Scottish Church. Burnet, iii. 214. Reformatio Leg. Eccles. cap. 8, 10. He ardently wished the suppression of prebendaries, "an estate," he said, "which St Paule, reckoning up the degrees and estates allowed in his time, could not find in the Church of Christ." Burnet, iii. Append. pp. 157, 158. All the Protestant bishops and divines in the reign of Edward VI. were anxious for the introduction of ecclesiastical discipline. Dr Cox (Oct. 5, 1552) complains bitterly of the opposition of the courtiers to this measure, and says, that, if it was not adopted, "the kingdom of God would be taken away from them." Latimer's Sermons, fol. cix. b. Lond. 1570. Strype's Memor. of the Reform. ii. 366. Repository of Orig. p. 150.

Cranmer and his colleagues were far from being satisfied with the purity of the last Common Prayer Book of Edward; and the primate had drawn up one which is said to have been "an hundred times more perfect." Troubles at Franckfort, p. 50. He and Ridley intended to procure an act for abolishing the sacerdotal habits; "for they only defended their lawfulness, but not their fitness." Burnet's Letters respecting Switzerland, &c., p. 52, Rotterdam, 1686. When Grindal was appointed to the bishopric of London, he "remained under some scruples of conscience about some things, especially the habits and certain ceremonies required to be used of such as were bishops. For the reformed in these times," says Strype, "generally went upon the ground, that, in order to the complete freeing of the Church of Christ from the errors and corruptions of Rome, every usage and custom practised by that apostate and idolatrous Church should be abolished,—and that the service of God should be most simple, stript of all that show, pomp, and appearance that had been customarily used before, esteeming all that to be no better than superstitious aad anti-christian." Life of Grindal, p. 28. Horn and others had the same views and scruples. "By the letters," says Bishop Burnet, "of which I read the originals [in the archives of Zurich], it appears that the bishops preserved the habits rather in compliance with the queen's inclinations than out of any liking they had to them; so far were they from liking, that they plainly expressed their dislike of them." Burnet's Letters, *ut supra*, p. 51. Before they accepted the office, they endeavoured to obtain the abrogation of the ceremonies; and when the act enjoining them passed, they were induced to comply chiefly by their fears that Papists or Lutherans would be put into their places. Strype's Annals, i. 175. Burnet, ii. 376, and his Sermon on Psal. cxlv. 15, preached before the House of Commons, Jan. 1688. Cox writes to Bullinger, 5th May 1551, "I think all things in the church ought to be pure and simple, removed at the greatest distance from the pomps and elements of the world. But in this our church what can I do in so low a station?" Strype's Memor. of the Reform. ii. 305. Burnet, iii. 202. Jewel, in a letter to Martyr, Nov. 5, 1559, calls the clerical habits "a stage dress" (*vestis scenica*), to which those alone were attached who "had nothing else to recommend them to the people but *a comical dress*,"—"stipites sine ingenio, sine doctrina, sine moribus, veste saltem comica volebant populo commendari." He engages that no exertions of his should be wanting to banish utterly these *ridiculous trifles*, "ludicris ineptiis," and *relics of the Amorites*, as his correspondent (he says) had well designed them. And, at a period still later (Feb. 8, 1566), he writes to Bullinger that he "wished that the very slightest footsteps of Popery might be removed out of the church and minds of men; but the queen would at that time suffer no change in religion." Burnet, iii. Append. p. 291; ii. Append. p. 351. Strype's Annals, i. 174. Grindal and Horn wrote to Zurich that they did not approve of, but merely suffered, kneeling in the eucharist, and signing with the cross in baptism, with some other ceremonies, hoping that they would speedily obtain their abrogation. Burnet, ii. 310, 314. As to Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, Pilkington of Durham, and Sands of Worcester, the non-conformists bear testimony that these prelates discovered the greatest zeal in endeavouring to procure their abrogation. Ibid. iii. 316. The most respectable of the clergy in the lower house were of the same sentiments with the bishops on this subject. In the year 1562, the abrogation of the most offensive ceremonies was, after long reasoning, put to the vote in the convocation, and carried by a majority of those present; but, when the proxies were included, there was found a majority of ONE for retaining them. The arguments

used by Archbishop Parker's chaplains to prevail upon the house to agree to this, derived their chief force from their being understood to be the sentiments of the queen. Burnet, ii. Append. pp. 319, 320. Strype's Annals, i. 298—300.

From these facts (and a collection much more ample could easily be made) the reader will see who were the first puritans, and how very different the sentiments of the English reformers were from those of their successors. Those good men who had the direction of ecclesiastical affairs in the reign of Edward VI. thought it most prudent to proceed gradually and slowly in removing the abuses, and correcting the evils, which had overspread the Church; and to indulge the people for a season with those external forms to which they had been habituated, that they might draw them more easily from their superstitious notions and practices, and in due time perfect the reformation to the satisfaction of all. The plan was plausible; but its issue was very different from what was intended by those who proposed it. Nor was this unforeseen by persons who wished well to the Church of England. After the bishops had resolved to rest satisfied with the establishment which they obtained, and felt themselves disturbed by the complaints of the puritans (as they were afterwards called), they endeavoured to engage the foreign divines on their side; and having by partial representations, and through the respect entertained for the government of England, obtained letters from them somewhat favourable to their views, they employed these to bear down such as pleaded for a more pure reformation. Whitgift made great use of this weapon in his controversy with Cartwright. Bishop Parkhurst wrote to Gualter, a celebrated Swiss divine, cautioning him on this head, adding, that he had refused to communicate some of Gualter's letters to Whitgift; because, "if any thing made for the ceremonies, he presently clapped it into his book and printed it." Strype's Annals, ii. 286, 287. But these divines had formerly delivered their unbiassed judgment, disapproving of such temporising measures. Cranmer having signified to the Genevese reformer, that he "could do nothing more profitable to the Church than to write often to the king," Calvin wrote a letter to the archbishop in 1551, in which he lamented the procrastination used, and expressed his fears that "a long winter would succeed to so many harvests spent in deliberation." Epist. p. 62: Oper. tom. ix. Strype's Cranmer, p. 413. Peter Martyr, in June 1550, gave it as his opinion, that "the innumerable corruptions, infinite abuses, and immense superstition, could be reformed only by a simple recurrence to the pure fountain, and unadulterated original principles." And the prudential advice, that as few changes as possible should be made, he called "a device of Satan, to render the regress to Popery more easy." Burnet, iii. Append. p. 200. Gualter, in a letter dated Jan. 16, 1559, says, that such advices, though "according to a carnal judgment full of modesty, and apparently conducive to the maintenance of concord," were to be ascribed to "the public enemy of man's salvation;" and he prophetically warns those who suffered abuses to remain and strengthen themselves in England, that "afterwards they would scarcely be able to eradicate them by all their efforts and struggles." Ibid. iii. 273. Append. p. 265.

Fuller says that the English reformers "permitted ignorant people to retain some fond customs, that they might remove the most dangerous and destructive superstitions; as mothers, to get children to part with *knives*, are content to let them play with *rattles*." Very good; but if children are suffered to play too long with rattles, they are in great danger of not parting with them all their days.

Note S, p. 53.

Edward VI.'s Reformation—and John A Lasco.

A plan of improvements in the English Church, which Edward VI. drew with his own hand, may be seen in Strype's Memorials of the Reformation, ii. 341—343. He was desirous of the establishment of ecclesiastical discipline, but sensible that the incumbent bishops were in general of such a description as to be unfit for its exercise. "Some for papistry," says he, "some for ignorance, some for their ill-name, some for all these, are men unable to execute discipline." Accordingly, he adds, "As for discipline, I would wish no authority given generally to all bishops; but that commission be given to those of the best sort of them to

exercise it in their dioceses." King Edward's Remains. Burnet, ii. Records, p. 69.

Omitting other proofs of his intentions, I shall produce the decisive one of his conduct towards the foreign churches settled in London under the inspection of John A Lasco. A Lasco was a Polish nobleman, who had forsaken his native country from love to the reformed religion. In his youth he enjoyed the friendship of Erasmus, who, in one of his letters, passes a high encomium on him. "Senex, juvenis convictu, factus sum melior; ac sobrietatem, temperantiam, verecundiam, linguæ moderationem, modestiam, prudentiam, integritatem, quam juvenis a sene discere debuerat, a juvene senex didici." Erasmi Epist. lib. 28, ep. 3. He was offered two bishoprics, one in his native country, and another in Hungary; but he rejected both, and, retiring into Friesland, became pastor of a Protestant congregation at Embden. Gerdes. Hist. Reform. iii. 145—150. The Protestant churches in the Low Countries being dissipated in consequence of the troubles produced by the *Interim*, he came to England at the pressing invitation of Cranmer, and was chosen superintendent of the German, French, and Italian congregations erected in London, which consisted of between three thousand and four thousand persons. Strype's Cranmer, p. 234—241. Gerdes. *ut supra*, pp. 150, 235.

A Lasco afterwards published an account of the form of government and worship used in these congregations, which greatly resembled that which was introduced in Scotland at the establishment of the Reformation. The affairs of each congregation were managed by a minister, ruling elders, and deacons; and each of these offices was considered as of divine institution. *Ut infra*, fol. i. 6, b. 11. The inspection of the different congregations was committed to a superintendent, "who was greater only in respect of his greater trouble and care, not having more authority than the other elders, either as to the ministry of the word and sacraments, or as to the exercise of ecclesiastical discipline, to which he was subject equally with the rest."—"Cestuy est appellé, au preuilege du Roy, Superintendant, lequel est plus grand que les autres, seulement en ce qu'il a plus de peine et de soing que tous les autres, non seulement au gouuernement de toute l'Eglise, mais aussy a la defendre cõtre les effortz de tous ses aduersaires, et a retenir vn consentement vnanime de tous, aux differens de la doctrine. D'avantage il n' a point plus d'autorité que les autres Anciẽs, au Ministere de la parolle, et des sacremens, et en l'usage de la discipline de l'Eglise, a la quelle il est subiect cõme tous les autres. Et comme il a soing des autres au cause de son Ministere, pareillement il se soubmet au soing des autres, en l'obeissance de la parolle de Dieu, et obseruation de la discipline." *Ut infra*, fol. i. b. It is proper, however, to mention that A Lasco, although he allows no superiority of office or authority to superintendents, considers that they were of divine appointment, and that Peter held this rank among the apostles. "Premierement que la Ministere de Superintendant, ou Inspecteur, est vne ordonnance diuine en l'Egliss de Christ, instituée du Seigneur Iesus Christ ẽtre les Apostres mesmes: quãd il commanda a Pierre specialement, de confirmer ses autres freres en la foy. Et non pas qu'il luy ait donné autorité sus les autres Apostres: comme le Pape de Rome songe: mais qu'il failloit retenir en l'Eglise vne puissance egalle de tous les Apostres, auec Pierre per vng certain ordre d'une solicitude, des vns pour les autres: aiusy que tres bien l'enseigne sainct Ciprian martyr. Et aussy nous voyons manifestement, qu'un mesme Ministere est egalement attribué a tous les Anciens de l'Eglise, qui sont nommez Inspecteurs, et en Grec Euesques. Nous entendons aussy Iean et Iaques auoir tel honneur que Pierre en l'Eglise de Ierusalem. Mais a fin qu'il y ait quelque ordre, en vn mesme gouuernement Ecclesiastique, entre tous les Anciens, et que tout soit faict par ordre et honnestement, il le faut commencer a vn. Or pour ce qu'il y a bien a faire de quelz, on doit cõmencer lé gouuernement en toute l'Eglise; ores que tous les Anciens ayent vne mesme puissance." Toute la forme et maniere de Ministere Ecclesiastique en l'Eglise des estrãgers, dressée a Londres en Angleterre. Par M. Jean a Lasco, Baron de Polonie. Traduit de Latin en Francois et imprimé par Giles Ctematius. 1556, fol. 8, b. 9, a. Imposition of hands was used in the ordination of superintendents, ministers, ruling elders, and deacons. Ibid. fol. 27, 31, 35. The communicants sat at the Lord's table, and A Lasco spends a number of pages in proving that this posture is preferable to kneeling. Fol. 80—88. In fine, he says, "We have

laid aside all the relics of Popery, with its mummeries, and we have studied the greatest possible simplicity in ceremonies." Ibid. fol. 79, b.

Notwithstanding these sentiments, and these pieces of disconformity to the practice of the Church of England, A Lasco was held in the greatest esteem, and warmly patronised, not only by Cranmer, but also by the young king, who granted him letters patent, erecting him and the other ministers of the foreign congregations into a body corporate. The patent runs in these terms: "Edward, &c. We being specially induced, by great and weighty considerations, and particularly considering how much it becomes Christian princes to be animated with love and care of the sacred gospel of God, and apostolical religion, begun, instituted, and delivered by Christ himself, without which policy and civil government can neither subsist long, nor maintain their reputation, unless princes and illustrious persons, whom God hath appointed for the government of kingdoms, do first of all take care that *pure and uncorrupted religion* be diffused through the whole body of the commonwealth, and that a Church, instituted in *truly Christian and apostolical doctrines and rites*, be preserved, &c., with this intent and purpose, that there may be an uncorrupted interpretation of the holy gospel, and administration of the sacraments, *according to the word of God, and apostolical observance*, by the ministers of the Church of the Germans, &c., we command and strictly charge the mayor, &c., that they permit the said superintendent and ministers, freely and quietly to enjoy, use, and exercise their own peculiar ecclesiastical discipline, notwithstanding that they do not agree with the rites and ceremonies used in our kingdom," &c. The patent may be seen at large in Burnet, ii. Records, p. 202.

But the ulterior design which the king intended to accomplish by the incorporation of this church, is what I have particularly in view. This is explicitly stated by A Lasco, in a book which he published in 1555. In his dedication of it to Sigismund, King of Poland, he says, "When I was called by that king [Edward VI.], and when certain laws of the country stood in the way, so that the public rites of divine worship used under popery could not immediately be purged out (which the king himself desired); and when I was earnest for the foreign churches, it was at length his pleasure, that the public rites of the English churches should be reformed by degrees, as far as could be got done by the laws of the country; but that strangers, who were not strictly bound to these laws in this matter, should have churches granted unto them, in which they should freely regulate all things *wholly according to apostolical doctrine and practice*, without any regard to the rites of the country; that by this means the English churches also might be excited to embrace the apostolical purity, by the unanimous consent of all the estates of the kingdom. Of this project, the king himself, from his great piety, was both the chief author and the defender. For, although it was almost universally acceptable to the king's council, and the Archbishop of Canterbury promoted it with all his might, there were not wanting some who took it ill, and would have opposed it, had not his Majesty checked them by his authority, and the reasons which he adduced for the design." Again, in the Appendix to the same book, p. 649, he says, "The care of our Church was committed to us chiefly with this view, that in the ministration thereof we should follow the rule of the divine word and apostolical observance, rather than any rites of other churches. In fine, we were admonished, both by the king himself and his chief nobility, to use this great liberty granted to us in our ministry, rightly and faithfully, not to please men but for the glory of God, by promoting the reformation of his worship." The following are the original words of the author:—"Cum ego quoque per Regem illum vocatus essem: et leges quædam patriæ obstarent, quominus publici potissimum cultus divini ritus sub papismo usurpati (pro eo ac rex ipse cupiebat) repurgari protinus possunt. Ego vero peregrinorum ecclesiis sedulo instarem, ita demum placuit, ut ritus publici in Anglicis Ecclesiis per gradus quosdam (quantum per leges patrias omnino liceret) repurgarentur: Peregrinis vero hominibus (qui patriis hac alioqui in parte legibus non usque adeo tenerentur) ecclesiæ concederentur in quibus omnia libere, et nulla rituum patriorum habita ratione (juxta doctrinam duntaxit atque observationem apostolicam) instituerentur, ita enim fore, ut Anglicæ quoque ecclesiæ ad puritatem apostolicam amplectendam unanimi omnium regni ordinum consensu excitarentur. Ejus vero consilii rex ipsemet (pro sua pietate) præcipuus non autor tantum, sed

etiam propugnator fuit. Etsi enim id in senatu regio omnibus propemodum placeret, ipseque Cantuariensis archiepiscopus rem omnibus modis promoveret; non deerant tamen qui id moleste ferrent, adeoque et reluctaturi fuerint huic instituto regio, nisi rex ipse, non tantum authoritate sua restitisset: sed productus etiam instituti hujus rationibus conatus eorum repressisset." De Ordinatione Ecclesiarum peregrinarum in Anglia. Epist. Dedic. et p. 649. Larger extracts from this work may be seen in Voetii Politica Ecclesiastica, tom. p. i. 420—422.

Had Mr Gilpin been acquainted with these facts, he would have spoken with a little more moderation and respect concerning this accomplished reformer than he has done in the following passage: "By the favour of Edward VI. he was allowed to open a church for the use of his own persuasion. But he made only a bad use of this indulgence; interfering very impertinently in the controversies then on foot." Gilpin's Lives of Latimer and Gilpin, p. 243, Lond. 1780. Writers who, like Gilpin, deal in abridgments, should be very cautious and sparing in the reflections which they make on characters, as they are apt to mislead their readers, without furnishing them with the facts which would serve to correct their mistakes.

Note T, p. 54.

Chaplains of Edward VI.

The following account of the freedom used by the chaplains of Edward VI. in reproving the vices of the courtiers is given by Knox, in his "Letters to the Faithful in London," &c. I quote from the MS.

"How boldlie thair synis wer rebukeit, even in thair faces, suche as wer present can witnes with me. Almost thair wes none that occupyit the place [pulpit] but he did prophesie, and planelie speake, the plaguis that ar begun, and assuredlie sall end. Mr Grindal planelie spak the deth of the kingis maieste, complayning on his houshald servandis and officeris, who neither eschameit nor feirit to raill aganis Godis trew word, and aganis the preacheris of the same. The godlie and fervent man, maister Lever, planelie spak the desolatioun of the commoun weill, and the plaguis whilk suld follow schortlie. Maister Bradfurde (whome God, for Chrystis his Sonis sake, comfort to the end) spared not the proudest, but boldlie declareit that Godis vengence suld schortlie stryke thame that than wer in autoritie, becaus they abhorrit and lothed the trew word of the everlasting God. And amangis many uther willit thame to tak exempill be the lait duck of Somerset, who became so cald in hering Godis word, that the yier befoir his last apprehensioun, hie wald ga visit his masonis, and wald not dingyie[1] himself to ga from his gallerie to his hall for hering of a sermone. God punnissit him (said the godlie preacher), and that suddanlie; and sall hie spair you that be dowbill mair wickit? No; hie sall not.[2] Will ye, or will ye not, ye shall drink the cupe of the Lordis wrath. Judicium domini! judicium domini!—the judgment of the Lord! the judgment of the Lord! lamentabillie cryit hie, with weipping teiris. Maister Hadden most learnedlie opinit the causis of the bypast plagis, affirmyng that the wors were to follow, unless repentance suld schortlie be found. Thir things, and mekill mair I hard planelie spokin, efter that the haill counsale had said, they wald heir no mo of thair sermonis; they wer but indifferent fellowis; ye, and sum of thame eschameit not to call them pratting knaves. But now will I not speik all that I knaw, for yf God continew my lyfe in this trubill, I intend to prepair ane dische for suche as than led the ring in the gospell; but now they haif bene at the scule of Placebo, and amangis laddis [ladies] hes learnit to dance, as the devill list to pype!" Pp. 120, 121.

With Knox's representation exactly agrees the affecting "Lamentation for the change of religion in England," composed in prison by Bishop Ridley, in which he names our countryman, along with Latimer, Lever, and Bradford, as distinguishing themselves by the faithfulness and boldness with which they censured the vices which reigned at court. I would willingly make extracts from it, but must refer the reader to the paper itself, which he will find inserted at large in the account of the bishop's trial and martyrdom, by Foxe, p. 1614—1620. Edit. anno 1596.

[1] *i. e.* deign: in the printed copies it is "disease himself."
[2] The printed copies are unintelligible here.

Grindal was an exile during the reign of Mary, and, under Elizabeth, was made successively Bishop of London, Archbishop of York, and Archbishop of Canterbury. Thomas Lever was a very learned man, and Master of St John's College, Cambridge. He was Knox's colleague at Frankfort. Upon the accession of Elizabeth, he was admitted to a prebend in the cathedral of Durham, but was afterwards deprived of it on account of non-conformity. He seems to have been allowed to preach through the country, and in 1577 died Master of Sherburn Hospital. Some of his sermons are in print. Troubles of Franckfort, p. 13—28. Strype's Parker, p. 212; App. 77. Grindal, 170. Annals, iii. 512—514. Hutchinson's Durham, ii. 594. John Bradford was in prison when Knox wrote the above account of him, and was soon after committed to the flames. James Haddon had been chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk, and went to Strasburg at the death of Edward VI. He was chosen, along with Knox, to be one of the ministers of the English Church at Frankfort, but declined accepting the office. Troubles of Franckfort, 13, 16, 23. Strype's Annals, ii. Append. p. 46.

Note U, p. 56.

Knox's Prayer on the Death of Edward VI.

The *Confession* or *Prayer* composed and used by Knox, after the death of Edward VI. and the accession of Mary, shows the state of his mind at that crisis, and refutes the unfounded charges of the Popish, and of some Episcopal writers, that he was guilty of stirring up rebellion against the queen. I extract it from his treatise on Prayer, printed in 1554, which is now exceedingly rare.

"Omnipotent and everlasting God, father of our Lorde Jesus Chryste, who be thy eternal providence, disposeth kingdoms as best seameth to thy wisdom, we acknowledge and confesse thy judgementis to be righteous, in that thou hast taken from us, for our ingratitude, and for abusinge of thy most holy word, our native king, and earthly comforter. Justly may thou poure forth upon us the uttermoste of thy plagues; for that we have not knowen the dayes and tymes of our merciful visitacion. We have contempned thy worde, and despised thy mercies. We have transgressed thy lawes: for deceitfully have we wrought everie man with our neighbours; oppression and violence we have not abhorred; charitie hath not appeared among us, as our profession requireth. We have little regarded the voices of thy prophets; thy threatnings we have esteemed vanitie and wynd: so that in us, as of ourselfis, restis nothing worthy of thy mercies. For all are found frutless, even the princes with the prophetes, as withered trees apt and mete toe be burnt in the fyre of thy eternal displeasure. But, O Lord, behold thy own mercy and goodness, that thou may pnrdge and remove the most filthy burden of oure most horrible offences. Let thy love overcome the severitie of thy judgmentis, even as it did in geving to the world thy onely Sonne Jesus when all mankynde was lost, and no obedience was lefte in Adam nor in his sede. Regenerate our hartes, O Lord, by the strength of the Holy Ghost. Convert thou us, and we shall be converted. Work thou in us unfeigned repentance, and move thou our hartes too obey thy holy lawes. Behold our trobles and apparent destruction; and stay the sword of thy vengeaunce, before it devoure us. Place above us, O Lord, for thy great mercies sake, such a head, with such rulers and magistrates, as feareth thy name, and willeth the glory of Christ Jesus to spred. Take not from us the light of thy euangely, and suffer thou no papistrie to prevail in this realme. Illuminate the harte of our soveraigne ladye, quene Marie, with prignant gifts of thy Holy Ghoste. And inflame the hartes of her counsayl with thy trew fear and love. Represse thou the pryde of those that wolde rebelle. And remove from all hartes the contempte of the worde. Let not our enemies rejoyce at our destruction; but loke thou too the honor of thy own name, O Lorde, and let thy gospell be preached with boldenes in this realme. If thy justice must punish, then punish our bodies with the rodde of thy mercy. But, O Lord, let us never revolte nor turne backe to idolatrie agayne. Mytigate the hartes of those that persecute us, and let us not faynte under the crosse of our Saviour; but assist us with the Holy Ghoste, even to the end."

NOTES TO PERIOD FOURTH.

Note V, p. 70.

Call and Invitation to Knox from the English Congregation at Frankfort.

"We haue receiued letters from oure brethren off Strausbrough, but not in suche sorte and ample wise as we looked for, wheruppon we assembled togethe in the H. Goaste we hope, and haue with one voice and consent chosen yow so particulerly to be one off the ministers off our congregation here, to preache vnto vs the most liuely worde off God, accordinge to the gift that God hathe giuen you, for as much as we haue here throughe the merciful goodnes off God a churche to be congregated together in the name off Christe, and be all off one body, and also beinge of one natiō, tonge, and countrie. And at this presente, hauing neede off suche a one as yow, we do desier yow, and also require yow in the name off God not to deny vs, nor to refuse theis oure requests, but that yow will aide, helpe, and assiste vs with your presence in this our good and godlie enterprise, which we haue taken in hand to the glorie off God and the profit off his congregation and the poore sheepe off Christ dispersed abroad, who, withe your and like presences, woulde come hither and be of one folde, where as nowe they wander abroad as loste sheepe, without anie gide. We mistruste not that yow will ioifully accepte this callinge. Fare ye well. From Franckford this 24 off September.

Your louinge brethern,

Iohn Bale
Edmond Sutton
Iohn Makebraie.

VVilliam VVhittingham	Thomas wood	Mighell Gill
Thomas Cole	Iohn Stanton	Iohn Samford
VVilliam VVilliams	VVilliam VValton	Iohn VVood
George Chidley	Jasper swyft	Thomas Sorby
VVilliam Hammon	Iohn Geofrie	Anthony Cariar
Thomas Steward	Iohn Graie	Hugh Alforde."

A Brieff Discours off the Troubles begonne at Franckford in Germany Anno Domini 1554. Abowte the Booke off Common prayer and Ceremonies. Pag. xix. xx. Printed M.D.LXXV.

Note W, p. 75.

Intemperate Language of the English Exiles.

Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes?

Knox was accused by the English exiles of high treason, because he charged Queen Mary with cruelty, and said that the Emperor was as great an enemy to Christ as Nero. But his accusers, it might easily be shown, used stronger language on this subject than ever he did. Mr Strype informs us that the Protestants who felt and outlived the persecution of Mary, used the very worst epithets in speaking of her character. Memorials of the Reform. iii. 472. We need no other proof of this than the Oration composed by John Hales, and pronounced by a nobleman before Queen Elizabeth, at her entrance upon the government. Speaking of the late persecutiou under Mary, the orator exclaims, "O cruelty! cruelty! far exceeding all crueltys committed by those ancient and famous tyrants, and cruel murderers, Pharaoh, Herod, Caligula, Nero, Domitian, Maximine, Diocleslan, Decius; whose names, for their cruel persecution of the people of God, and their

own tyranny practised on the people, have been, be, and ever shall be in perpetual hatred, and their souls in continual torments in hell." The late Queen he calls "*Athalia, malicious Mary, unnatural woman; no, no woman, but a monster, and the Devil of hell, covered with the shape of a woman.*" See Works of the Rev. Samuel Johnston, p. 144.

Nor did they speak in more civil terms of foreign princes. Take, for an example, the invective of Aylmer against the French king, Henry II. "Is he a king or a devil, a Christian, or a Lucifer, that bi his cursed confederacie so encourageth the Turke? Oh! wicked catife and firebrand of hell, which, for th' increasing of his pompe and vayn glory (which he shall not long enjoy), wil betray Christ and his cross, to his mortal enemy. Oh, foolish Germains! which see not their own undoing, which conspire not together with the rest of Christian princes to pull such a traytour to God, and his kingdom, by the eares out of France, and hang him against the sonne a-drying. The devill hath none other of his sede nowe but him, to maintain both the spiritual and the temporall antichryste, the Pope and the Turke. Wherefore seeing he hath forsaken God, lyke an apostata, and sold himself to the devil, let us not doubte but God will be with us against him, whensoever he shall seek to wrong us; and I trust he will now, in the latter age of the worlde, shew his myght in cuttynge of this proude Holofernes' head by the handes of our Judith. Oh! blessed is that man that loseth his lyfe against such a Termagaunt! Yea, more blessed shall they be that spend their lyves against him than against his great maister, the Turke: for the Turke never understode the cross of Christ; but this Turkish apostata is named a devellis name, *Christianissimus*, and is in the very heart of Christendome, and lyke a traiterous Saracene, is Christ's enemy." Harborowe for Faithfull Subjects, Q. 1. Strasborowe, 1559.

I do not find Collier, nor other high-church historians, quoting or commenting upon such language. On the contrary, Aylmer is praised by them for "his handsome pen," while every opportunity is taken to inveigh against the virulence of our Reformer. We may safely challenge them to prove that he ever indulged in language so intemperate, or so disrepectful to princes, as that which I have just quoted.

Note X, p. 82.

Canons of Scottish Councils.

"When a house is in flames," says Lord Hailes, "it is vain to draw up regulations for the bridling of joists or the sweeping of chimneys." Such was the situation of the Popish Church in Scotland, when the clergy began to speak of reforming abuses. The 21st canon of the council which met in 1549, ordains that there should be a reader of theology in each cathedral church, whose lectures should be attended by the bishop and canons, "si voluntas fuerit;" and also a lecturer on canon law. The 22d canon decrees that there should be a lecturer on theology in each monastery. Wilkins, Concilia, iv. 52. The 26th canon enjoins the rectors of universities to see that the students are well instructed in Latin grammar and in logic. The 28th appoints the ordinaries to call all the curates within their bounds before them, to examine them anew, and to reject those who are found insufficient for their office. The last eight canons were intended to regulate the consistorial courts. Ibid, pp. 53, 58, 59. To the 14th canon of the council which sat in 1551-2, we owe the establishment of our parochial registers of proclamation of banns and baptisms. After renewing former statutes against clandestine marriages, and in favour of proclamation of banns of marriage, the canon goes on to enact, "Ut singuli curati deinceps habeant registrum, in quo nomina infantum baptizatorum inscribantur, una cum nominibus personarum, quæ talium baptizatorum parentes *communiter habenter et reputantur*, nec non compatrum et commatrum, cum die, anno, mense, adscriptis etiam duobus testibus notent; quod etiam ipsum in bannorum proclamationibus servetur, quas præsens conventio in ecclesiis parochialibus tam viri quam mulieris respective, si diversarum fuerint parochiarum, fieri mandat; quæ equidem registra inter pretiosissima ecclesiæ jocalia conservari vult et præcipit, quodque decani in suis visitationibus desuper diligentem indaginem faciant, et defficientes ad commissarios referant, ut graviter in eosdem animadvertatur." Wilkins, *ut supra*, pp. 71, 72.

The 6th canon enacts regulations respecting testaments. On this subject, the following quotation, from the proceedings of a council in 1420, will serve to explain the canon which modified the exaction of mortuaries, mentioned in p. 311. The clergy of each diocese reported on oath to the council, "That the practice was first to pay the debts of the deceased, and then to divide his effects into three equal portions, whereof one was given to his widow, and one to his children: That the executors bestowed the remaining third in payment of legacies, and for the soul of the deceased (pro exequiis et anima defuncti): That of this third or *dead's part* (defuncti pars) the executors were wont to pay, or to compound with the ordinary, at the rate of five per cent for the expense of confirmation." Chartulary of Moray, apud Lord Hailes' Prov. Councils, p. 23. Besides the five per cent claimed by the bishop, we have already seen that the vicar had twenty per cent, even according to the mitigated arrangement, before any legacy was paid. No mention is made of the case of a person leaving neither wife nor children; and *there* it was, says Lord Hailes, "that the clergy reaped their harvest." He might have added the case of persons dying intestate, to whom the bishops had the power of naming executors. That was the golden age of the clergy, when they were under no necessity of instituting processes for augmentation from unexhausted teinds, or of count and reckoning to recover the use of funds destined to their support!

Note Y, p. 82.

Of the Catechism commonly called Archbishop Hamilton's.

Very different and discordant accounts have been given of this book. My account is taken from the catechism itself, compared with the canon of the council which authorised its use. The title is as follows:—

"The Catechisme, That is to say, ane cōmone and catholik instructioun of the christin people in materis of our catholic faith and religioun, quhilk na gud christin man or woman suld misknaw: set furth be ye maist reuerend father in God Johne Archbischop of sanct Androus Legatnait and primat of ye kirk of Scotland, in his prouincial counsale haldin at Edinburgh the xxvi. day of Januarie, the zeir of our Lord 1551, with the aduise and counsale of the bischoippis and other prelatis, with doctours of Theologie and Canon law of the said realme of Scotland present for the tyme.—S. Aug. libro 4 de trinitate, cap. 6.—Contra rationem nemo sobrius, contra scripturam nemo christianus, contra ecclesiam nemo pacificus senserit.—Agane reasone na sober man, agane scripture na christin man, agane the kirk na peaceabil or quiet man will iudge, or hald opinoun." On the back of the title are two copies of Latin verses, "Ad Pivm Lectorem." The title, preface by the archbishop, and "table of materis," are on thirteen leaves. The catechism begins on folio i. and ends on folio ccvi., after which there are three pages of errata, on the last of which is the following colophon: ☞ "Prentit at Sanct Androus, be the command and expēsis of the maist reuerend father in God, Johne Archbischop of sanct Androus, and primat of ye hail kirk of Scotland, the xxix. day of August, the zeir of our Lord M.D. lii."

The archbishop's epistle addressed to "Personis, Vicars, and Curattis," prefixed to the catechism, informs us of its design and use. "First to your awin erudition.—Secundly, According to the decreit maid in our prouincial counsale, our will is that ye reid ye samyn catechisme diligently, distinctly, and plainly, ilk ane of yow to your awin parochianaris for thair cōmon instructioun and spiritual edificatioun in the word of God, necessario of thame to be knawin." The canon of the council provides that it be read "omnibus dominicis et festivis," which is thus explained in the close of the archbishop's epistle: "Euerilk Sonday and principal halydai, quhen yair cummis na prechcour to thame to schaw thame the word of God, to haue yis catechisme usit and reid to yame in steid of preching, quhil [until] God of his gudnes prouide ane sufficient nowmer of catholyk and abil prechcouris, quhilk sal be within few yeiris as we traist in God."

As it is entitled a catechism, was printed in the vulgar language, is said to be designed for the instruction of the people, and no prohibition of its use is mentioned in the book itself, we might be apt to conclude that it was intended to be circulated among the people, and to be promiscuously read; and accordingly several

writers have represented the matter in this light. But that this was very far from being the design of those who approved and set it forth, is placed beyond all doubt by the directions which the council gave respecting it, both to the archbishop and to the clergy. "Cujus quidem libri exemplaria omnia, ubi excussa fuerint, præsentari ipse reverendismo mandat et ordinat præsens concilium, ut ipse singulas tam suis ecclesiasticis, quam aliis singulis locorum ordinariis, quot cuique diocesi pro rectorum, vicariorum, ac curatorum numero et multitudine sufficere videntur, eis tribuat; reliqua vero apud ipsum reverendissimum remaneant, et firma custodia serventur, prout tempus et necessitas postulaverint, dispertienda. Caveant vero ipsi rectores, vicarii, et curati, ne sua exemplaria secularibus quibusque indiscrete communicent, nice ex judicio, concilio, et discretione sui ordinarii; quibus ordinariis licebit nonnullis probis, gravibus, bonæ fidei, ac discretis viris laicis, ejusdem catechisme exemplaria communicare, et iis pottisimum, qui videbuntur potius suæ instructionis causa, quam curiositatis cujuscunque eadem expetere." Wilkins, Concilia, iv. 72. Lord Hailes had therefore reason for saying (in opposition to Mackenzie's tale of the archbishop allowing "the pedlars to take two pennies for their pains in hawking it abroad") that the council "uses as many precautions to prevent it from coming into the hands of the laity as if it had been a book replete with the most pestilent heresy." Provincial Councils, p. 36. It would have been imprudent to insert the prohibition in the book itself, copies of which, notwithstanding all their precautions, would come into the hands of improper persons ; but the canon of the council remained the rule for regulating the clergy in the use of it. Nor is there anything in the catechism which is inconsistent with the canon, or which implies that it was to come into the hands of the people. It is all along supposed that they were to be instructed by hearing, not by reading it. This is particularly evident from the concluding address: "O Christin pepil, we exhort yow with all diligence, heir, understand, and keip in your remembrance, the haly wordis of God, quhilk in this present catechisme ar trewly and catholykly exponit to your spiritual edification." And again : "Gif ye persaif be frequent heiring heirof your self spiritually instruckit mair than ye haue bein in tymes bygane, geue the thankis thairof only to God."

If any of the hearers presumed to move any controversy respecting the passage read from the catechism, they were to be delivered over to the inquisitors, and no clergyman was allowed to answer their questions, or to enter into any dispute with them on the subject, unless he had a written license for this from his bishop. "Hoc tamen proviso, ut non liceat cuiquam auditorum super lectis, aut modo quo supra recitatis, controversiam ipsi rectori seu vicario seu curato movere. Et si aliquis id attentare præsumpserit deferatur inquisitoribus hæreticæ pravitatis; nec vicissim licebit ulli rectori, vicario, seu curato, nisi ad hoc ipsum (specialiter habita consideratione ipsius qualificationis) fuerit ab ordinario loci ei facultas concessa in scriptis, ullis contraversias et quæstiones hujusmodi moventibus desuper respondere, aut disputationes ingredi, sed mox respondeatur, se hujusmodi disputationis resolutiones ad ipsos ordinarios remittere, et hoc sub pœna privationis ab hujusmodi officio seu beneficio." Wilkins, *ut supra*, p. 73.

The catechism consists of an explication of the ten commandments, the apostles' creed, the seven sacraments, the Lord's prayer, and the Ave Maria. Lord Hailes has animadverted on Keith for saying that the author shows "his wisdom and moderation in *handsomely eviting* to enter upon the controverted points;" and he has given extracts from it asserting the doctrine of transubstantiation, the propriety of withholding the cup from the laity, and of prayers to the saints. Prov. Councils, pp. 35, 36. I may add, that the use of images in worship, purgatory, prayers for the dead, the removal of original sin by baptism, the sinlessness of concupiscence after baptism, the mystical signification of the ceremonies practised in that ordinance—the exorcism, or blowing upon the child at the church door, and making the sign of the cross on its brow and breast, putting salt into its mouth, anointing its nostrils and ears with spittle, and its breast and back with oil, with the application of chrism to the forehead, the clothing of it with the *cude*, or white linen cloth, and putting a lighted torch or candle into its hand,—these, with other doctrines and ceremonies of the Popish Church, are all taught and vindicated. At the same time, while the opinions peculiar to Popery are stated and defended, there is an evident design of turning away the attention of the people from these controversies, by reminding them of their duty to "belief as the haly catholic kirk

beliefis;" and a great part of the book is occupied in declaring duties and general doctrines about which there was no dispute between Papists and Protestants. Considerable art is also used in introducing some of the most exceptionable articles of Popery under the cover of unquestionable truths. Thus, on the question, "Quhat things suld move us to belief the word of God?" the first reason which is given is, "Ye eternal and infallible veritie of God, fra whom na lesing may procede, na mair than myrknes may cum fra the cleir schenand sonne." But how gradually and artfully are the people led away from the Scriptures in what follows! "The secund thing that suld moue us to belief the word of God, and to knaw quhilk is the worde of God, quhilk are the haly bukis quharin the word of God is contenit, and quhat is the trew sense of the same bukis, is ye consent and authoritie of our mother the haly kirk, fra the apostils tyme hitherto, and specially quhen it is lawfully gadderit be the Haly Spirit in ane general counsel, quhairof sainct Augustine sais thus: 'I wald nocht gif credence to the euangel, except that the universal kirk warnis me sa to do.' And tharfor lair thir twa lessonis. The ane is, quhatsaeuir the haly spirit reuelis and schawis to us, other in the bukis of haly scripture, *or in ye determinatiouns and definitiouns of general counsellis*, lawfully gadderit for the corroboracion and maintenans of our faith, we suld belief ye same to be *trew word of God*, and thairto gyf ferme credence as to the veritie that is infallible. The second lesson, ye that ar simple and unleirnit men and wemen suld expressly belief al the artickils of your Crede, as for all uthir hie misteries and matteris of the scripture ye aucht to belief generally as the kirk of God beleiffis. And this faith is sufficient to yow, for the perfectioun of that faith quhilk ye are bund to haif." Fol. xiiii. b. xv. a. A specimen of the same kind occurs on the question, How is the true sense of the Scripture to be discerned? where, after being gravely taught the usefulness of collating one place with another, and attending to the connection of the passage, the people are told that this belongs to such as have the gift called *interpretatio sermonum*, and are then devoutly set down at the feet of the doctors of the Church, and taught implicitly to receive the decisions of councils. "Quharfor, he that will nocht heir, resaif, and obey ye deffinitionis and determinationis of lauchful general counsellis concerning materis of our faith, he is nocht to be accountit a trew Christin man, according to the wordis of our Salviour,—'Gif he will nocht heir the kirk, lat him be to the as ane infidele, unchristinit, and ane publican.' Thus ye haif quha is ane herityk, and how he brekis the first command." Fol. xviii. b. xix. b.

As all who question the infallible decisions of the Church are pronounced guilty of a breach of the first commandment, the Roman Catholics are, with no less ease, exculpated from a breach of the second, by the insertion of a convenient parenthesis. The reader will observe, that, according to a division of the law first countenanced by Augustine, and of which the Popish Church is extremely fond, the first and second commandments are thrown into one, and, to make up the number, the tenth is split into two; although the compilers of the catechism found it impracticable to keep to this last division in their explication. The following is their enunciation of the first commandment: "I am ye Lord thi God, quhilk hais brocht ye fra the land of Egypt, fra the house of bondage. Thow sall haif no other goddis but me, thou sal nocht make to thee (*as gods*) ony grauit ymage, nother ony similitude of ony thing that is in the heuin abone, or in ye erd beneth, nor of ony thing yat is in the watter under the erd. Thow sal nocht adorne yame, nor worschip yame (*as goddis.*)" Fol. xii. a. It is fair, however, to hear the explication which the authors of the catechism give respecting images. "Ar ymages aganis the first command?—Na, sa thai be weil usit. Quhat is the rycht use of ymages?—Imagis to be made na haly writ forbiddis (sais venerabil Bede) for the sycht of thame, specially of the crucifixe, giffis greit compunction to thame quhilk behaldis it with faith in Christ, and to yame that are unletterat, it geffis a quik remembrance of ye passion of Christ. Salomon in tyme of his wisdom, nocht without the inspiration of God, made ymages in ye temple. Mosyes the excellent prophet and trew seruand of God, made and ereckit a brassin ymage of a serpent (quhilk figurit the lifting vp of our Salwiour Jesus Christ vpon the crosse), and als, be the cōmand of God, causit mak the ymages of twa angellis callit cherubinis, quhilk thing thir twa sa excellēt men in wisedome wald neuir haif done, gif the makin of ymagis war aganis ye cōmand of God. Bot utterly yis command forbiddis to mak ymagis to that effect, that thai suld be adornit and wirschippit as goddis,

or with ony godlie honour, ye quhilk sentence is expremit by thir wordis: Non adorabis ea neq; coles. Thow sall nocht adore yame nor wirschip thame as goddis. Now we suld nocht gif goddis honour, or Christis honour to ony ymage, but to God allanerly, representit be ane ymage." Fol. xxiii. b.

In the explication of the fifth article of the Creed is a particular account of the four places in hell—*infernus damnatorum*, *puerorum*, *purgandorum*, et *patrum*. The following proof is given of our Saviour's descent into hell, to deliver the saints who had been confined in the last-mentioned place until the time of his death: "Also ye same deliuerāce was prophesit to the prophet Osee—Ero mors tua, o mors, ero morsus tuus o inferne. *O dede* (says our Saluiour) *I sal be thi dede—O hel I sal bite the.* The man yat bytes ony thing, he takis part to him, and lattis part remaine behind. Sa our Saluiour passand doune to hell, he fulfyllit this prophesye, takand part of saulis out fra hell with him, and leiffand part behind him. Quhom tuk he with him? bot thame that was holy and gud, quhilk was haldin thair as presonaris." Fol. cviii.

Upon the whole, this catechism has been written with great care, and the style is by no meaus bad. It is singular that it should have been so little noticed by the writers of that age, and that it does not appear who was its compiler. The provincial council describe it merely as "a certain book written in the vulgar and Scottish dialect,—librum quendam vulgari et Scotico idiomate conscriptum;" and having examined and approved of it, they commit to the archbishop, as primate, the care of seeing it printed. As it was printed at his expense, and as his name appears on the title-page and colophon, it has been usually called Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism. But there is not the least reason for thinking that the primate would have taken the trouble to compose a book consisting of 411 pages quarto, even although he had been in other respects qualified for the task. Bale, in his account of Scottish writers, mentions "Joannes Wouram, vel Wyrem," whom he calls "a canon regular in St Andrews;" and he ascribes to him "a catechism in his vernacular language, scripsit in vulgari sermone catechismum fidei." Scriptores M. Brytanniæ Post. Pars, p. 224. I have little doubt that John Winram, sub-prior of the abbey of St Andrew, and afterwards superintendent of Fife, is the person to whom Bale refers. Could he be the author of the catechism under consideration? Though early regarded as favourable to the reformed opinions, Winram did not leave the Popish Church until a very late period; and his conduct during the intermediate struggle was extremely ambiguous, and often contradictory. The clergy frequently availed themselves of his talents, and of his reputation with the people, to diminish the odium of their obnoxious measures, or to recommend their partial and inefficient plans of reform. He was employed to preach at the trial of Wishart, and was present at the trials of Wallace and Mill. Foxe, 1155, 1158, 1161, edit. 1596. He was a member of the provincial council which met in 1549, and is styled in the register, "ecclesiæ metrop. primitialis, S. Andreæ *canonicus regularis*, supprior, theologiæ doctor." Wilkins, *ut supra*, p. 46. That council employed him to draw up the canon intended to settle the ridiculous dispute, which had been warmly agitated among the clergy, whether the *Pater Noster* should be said to the saints, or to God alone. Comp. Foxe, 1161, with Wilkins, 57, 58. And in the council which sat in 1559, he was nominated one of the six persons to whose examination and admonition the Archbishops of St Andrews and Glasgow submitted their private conduct. Wilkins, p. 209.[1]

Spotswood seems to have confounded this catechism with a smaller treatise called by the people *The twa-penny Faith*. History, p. 92. This last was set forth by the council which met in 1559. Knox, Historie, pp. 109, 110. The following extracts from the proceedings of that council may, perhaps, throw some light on the history of this publication. The Roman Catholic Remonstrants, in their representations to the council, required "yat yar be an godlie and fruitfull declaration set forth in Inglis toung, to be first shewin to the pepill at all times, quhen the sacrament of the blissit body and blud of Jesus Christ is exhibit and distribut, and sicklyke, when baptism and marriage are solemnizit, in face of halie kirk; and yat it be declarit to yaim yat assist at the sacraments quhat is the effect yarof, and yat it be spirit at yam be ye prist ministrant, gif yai be reddy to resave

[1] In a list of books belonging to the University of St Andrews, Winram's Catechism is entered as a work distinct from that of Hamilton. Life of Andrew Melville, chap. iv.

the samen ; with sick utheris interrogatories, as ar necessar for instructing of the poynts of men's salvation, and requires to be answerit unto be all yai that wald be participant, etc., and yir things to be done before ye using of ye ceremony of haly kirk," etc. Wilkins, *ut supra*, pp. 207, 208. The following canon of the council seems to contain the answer to this petition : " Insuper ut populus Christianus sacramentorum ecclesiæ verum effectum, vim ac usum facilius ac commodius intelligere valeat, statuit hoc præsens concilium *quasdam catholicas exhortationes*, easque *succinctas declarationes* sacramentorum baptismi, sacrosanctæ eucharistiæ, extremæ unctionis, matrimonii, auctoritate hujus concilii edendas, et inferius inserendas, quas singuli parochi, vel alii presbyteri eorundem sacramentorum legitimi ministri, ipsa sacramenta ministraturi, singulis suam propriam et debitam exhortationem præmittant, et publice et distincte recitent, et legant singuli curati et vicarii, dum sacræ missæ sacrificium diebus dominicis et aliis majoribus festis sunt celebraturi, infra scriptam exhortationem ; et ejusdem sacrificii declarationem publice in ecclesia similiter legant, quo populus christianus majori pietatis effectu rebus divinis assistat, et intersit, &c. Wilkins, *ut supra*, p. 213. These Exhortations and Declarations were not inserted in the MS. from which Wilkins copied. I am inclined to think that they were published, and that they formed what was called, in derision, The two-penny Faith. Comp. Buchanani Oper. i. 312.

Note Z, p. 95.

Knox's Letter to the Protestants of Scotland during his absence.

In the first edition I printed this letter in the Appendix as an unpublished paper. I have since discovered a printed copy ; but as it is exceedingly rare, and as the letter itself is so valuable, I shall insert it in this place.

" To his brethren in Scotland efter hie had bene quyet among thame. The comfort of the Halie Gaist for salutatioun.

" Not sa mekill to instruct you as to leave with you, dearlie belovit brethren, sum testimony of my love, I have thought gude to communicate with you, in theis few lynis, my weak consall, how wald ye suld behave yourselves in the middis of this wickit generatioun, tuiching the exercis of Godis maist hailie and sacred word, without the whilk, nether sall knawledge incres, godlines apeir, nor fervencie continew amang yow. For as the word of God is the begyning of lyfe spirituall, without whilk all flesche is deid in Godis presence, and the lanterne to our feit, without the bryghtnes whairof all the posteritie of Adame doith walk in darknes, and as it is the fundament of faith, without the whilk na man understandeth the gud will of God, sa is it also the onlie organe and instrument whilk God useth to strenthin the weak, to comfort the afflictit, to reduce to mercie be repentance sic as have sliddin, and finallie to preserve and keip the verie lyfe of the saule in all assaltis and temptationis, and thairfoir yf that ye desyr your knawledge to be incressit, your faith to be confirmit, your consciencis to be quyetit and comfortit, or finallie your saule to be preservit in lyfe, lat your exercis be frequent in the law of your Lord God ; despys not that precept whilk Moses (who be his awn experience had learnit what comfort lyeth within the word of God), gave to the Isralitis in theis wordis : 'Theis wordis whilk I command the this day salbe in thi hart, and thou sal exercis thi children in thame, thou sal talk of thame when thou art at home in thi hous, and as thou walkest be the way, and when thou lyis doun, and when thou rysis up, and thou sall bind thame for a signe upon thi hand, and thay salbe paperis of rememberance betwene thi eis, and thou sall write thame upon the postis of thi hous and upon thi gatis.' And Moses in another place commandis thame to ' remember the law of the Lord God, to do it, that it may be weill unto thame, and with thair children in the land whilk the Lord sall gif thamo ;' meanyng that, lyke as frequent memorie and repetitioun of Godis preceptis is the middis whairby the feir of God, whilk is the begynning of all wisdome and filicitie, is keipit recent in mynd, sa as negligence and oblivioun of Godis benefitis ressavit the first grie of defectioun fra God. Now yf the law, whilk be reasone of our weakness can wirk nathing but wraith and anger, was sa effectual that, rememberit and rehersit of purpois to do, it brought to the pepill a corporall benedic-

tioun, what sall we say that the glorious gospell of Chryst Jesus doith wirk, so that it be with reverence intreatit! St Paule calleth [it] the sueit odour of lyfe unto thois that suld resaif lyfe, borrowing his similitude fra oderiferous herbis or precious unguementis, whais nature is the mair thay be touchit or moveit to send furth their odour mair pleasing and delectabill: even sic, deir brethren, is the blissit evangell of oure Lorde Jesus; for the mair that it be intreatit, the mair comfortable and mair plissant is it to sic as do heir, read, and exercis the sam. I am not ignorant that as the Isralitis lothit manna because that everie day thay saw and eat but ane thing, sa sum thair be now a dayis (wha will not be haldin of the worst sort) that efter anis reading sum parcellis of the Scriptures do convert thame selves altogether to prophane autors and humane letteris, becaus that the varietie of matteris thairin conteanyit doith bring with it a daylie delectatioun, whair contrairwys within the simpill scriptures of God, the perpetuall repititioun of a thing is faschcous and werisome. This temptatioun I confess may enter in Godis verie elect for a tyme, but impossibill is it that thairin thay continew to the end: for Godis electioun, besydis othir evident signis, hath this ever joynit with it that Godis elect ar callit from ignorance (I speik of thois that ar cumin to the yeiris of knawledge) to sum taist and feilling of Godis mercie, of whilk thay ar never satisfeit in this lyfe, but fray tyme to tyme thay hunger and thay thrist to eat the breid that descendit fra the heavin, and to drink the watter that springeth into lyfe everlasting, whilk thay can not do but be the meanis of faith, and faith luketh ever to the will of God revealit be his word, sa that faith hath baith her begynning and continewance be the word of God; and sa I say that impossibill it is that Godis chosin children can despys or reiect the word of their salvatioun be any lang continewance, nether yit loth of it to the end. Often it is that Godis elect ar haldin in sic bondage and thraldome that they can not have the breid of lyfe brokin unto them, neither yit libertie to exercis thame selves in Godis halie word, but then doith not Godis deir children loth but maist gredilie do thay covet the fude of thair saulis; then do thay accuse thair former negligence, then lament and bewaill thay the miserable afflictioun of thair brethren, and than cry and call thay in thair hartis (and opinlie whair thay dar) for frie passage to the gospell. This hungir and thrist doith argue and prufe the lyfe of thair saulis. But gif sic men as having libertie to reid and exercis thame selves in Godis halie scripture, and yet do begin to wearie because fra tyme to tyme thay reid but a [one] thing, I ask, why weirie thay not also everie day to drink wyne, to eat bread, everie day to behald the bryghtnes of the sone, and sa to use the rest of Godis creatures whilk everie day do keip thair awn substance, cours, and nature? Thay sall anser, I trust, because sic creatures have a strenth as oft as thay ar usit to expell hungir and quenche thrist, to restoir strenth, and to preserve the lyfe. O miserabill wreachis, wha dar attribut mair power and strenth to the corruptible creatures in nurisching and preserving the mortall karcass, than to the eternall word of God in nurissment of the saule whilk is immortal! To reasone with thair abominable unthankfulnes at this present it is not my purpois. But to yow, deir brethrene, I wryt my knawledge, and do speik my conscience, that sa necessarie as meit and drink is to the preservation of lyfe corporall, and so necessarie as the heit and bryghtnes of the sone is to the quicknyng of the herbis and to expell darknes, sa necessarie is also to lyfe everlasting, and to the illuminatioun and lyght of the saule, the perpetuall meditation, exercis, and use of Godis halie word.

"And thairfoir, deir brethrene, yf that you luke for a lyfe to cum, of necessitie it is that ye exercise yourselves in the buke of the Lord your God. Lat na day slip over without sum comfort ressavit fra the mouth of God. Opin your earis, and hie will speak evin pleasing thingis to your hart. Clois not your eis, but diligentlie let thame behald what portionn of substance is left to yow within your fatheris testament. Let your toungis learne to prais the gracious gudness of him wha of his meir mercie hath callit you fra darkness to lyght and fra deth to lyfe. Neither yit may ye do this sa quyetlie that ye will admit na witnessis; nay, brethren, ye are ordeynit of God to reule and governe your awn housis in his trew feir, and according to his halie word. Within your awn housis, I say, in sum cassis ye are bishopis and kingis, your wyffis, children, and familie ar your bishoprik and charge; of you it sal be requyrit how cairfullie and diligentlie ye have instructit thame in Godis trew knawledge, how that ye have studeit in thame to plant vertew and to repress vyce. And thairfoir, I say, ye must mak thame partakeris in reading, exhorta-

tion, and in making commoun prayeris, whilk I wald in everie hous wer usit anis a day at leist. But above all things, deir brethren, studie to practis in lyfe that whilk the Lord commandis, and then be ye assurit that ye sall never heir nor reid the same without frute: and this mekill for the exercises within your housis.

"Considdering that St Paul callis the congregatioun the bodie of Chyrst, wheirof everie ane of us is a member, teaching ws thairby that na member is of sufficience to susteane aud feide the self without the help and support of any uther, I think it necessarie that for the conferrence of scriptures, assemblies of brethren be had. The order thairin to be observit is expressit be sanct Paule, and thairfoir I need not to use many wordis in that behalf; onlie willing that when ye convene (whilk I wald wer anis a week), that your begynning suld be fra confessing of your offences, and invocatioun of the spreit of the Lord Jesus to assist yow in all your godlie interprysis; and than lat sum place of scripture be planelie and distinctlie red, samekill as sall be thocht sufficient for a day or tyme, whilk endit, gif any brother have exhortation, interpretatioun, or dout, lat him not feir to speik and move the same, sa that he do it with moderatioun, either to edifie or be edifeit. And heirof I dout not but great profit sall schortlie ensew, for first be heiring, reiding, and conferring the scriptures in the assemblie, the haill bodie of the scriptures of God sal becum familiar, the judgement and spreitis of men salbe tryit, thair pacience and modestie sallbe knawin, and finallie thair giftis and utterance sall appeir. Multiplicatioun of wordis, perplext interpretatioun, and wilfulnes in reasonyng is to be avoydit at all tymes and in all places, but chieflie in the congregatioun, whair nathing aucht to be respectit except the glorie of God, and comfort or edificatioun of our brethrene. Yf any thing occur within the text, or yit arys in reasonyng, whilk your judgementis can not resolve, or capacities aprehend, let the same be notit and put in wryt befoir ye depart the congregatioun, that when God sall offir unto yow any interpreter your doutis, being notit and knawin, may have the mair expedit resolutioun, or els that when ye sall have occasion to wryt to sic as with whome ye wald communicat your judgementis, your letteris may signifie and declair your unfeaned desyre that ye haue of God and of his trew knawledge, and thay, I dout not, according to thair talentis, will endeuour and bestow thair faithfull labors, [to] satisfie your godlie petitionis. Of myself I will speak as I think, I will moir gladlie spend xv houris in communicatting my judgement with yow, in explainyng as God pleasis to oppin to me any place of scripture, than half ane hour in any other matter besyd.

"Farther, in reading the scripture I wald ye suld joyne sum bukis of the ald and sum of the new Testament together, as genesis and ane of the evangelistis, exodus with another, and sa furth, euer ending sic bukis as ye begyn (as the tyme will suffer), for it sall greitly comfort yow to heir that harmony and weiltunit sang of the halie spreit speiking in oure fatheris frome the begyning. It sall confirme yow in theis dangerous and perrellous dayis, to behald the face of Christ Jesus his loving spous and kirk, from Abell to him self, and frome him self to this day, in all ageis to be ane. Be frequent in the prophetis and in the epistillis of St Paul, for the multitude of matteris maist comfortable thairin conteanit requyreth exercis and gud memorie. Lyke as your assemblis aucht to begyn with confessioun and invocatioun of Godis halie spreit, sa wald I that thay wer never finissit without thanksgiving and commoun prayeris for princes, rulers, and maiestratis, for the libertie and frie passage of Chrystis evangell, for the comfort and delyverance of our afflictit brethrene in all places now persecutit, but maist cruellie now within the realme of France and Ingland, and for sic uther thingis, as the spreit of the Lord Jesus sal teache unto yow to be profitable ether to your selues, or yit to your brethrene whairsoeur thay be. If this, or better, dear brethrene, I sall heir that ye exercise your selues, then will I prais God for your great obedience, as for thame that not onlie haue ressavit the word of grace with gladnes, but that also with cair and diligence do keip the same as a treasure and jewell maist precious. And becaus that I can not expect that ye will do the contrarie, at this present I will vse na threatenyngis, for my gud hoip is, that ye sall walk as the sonis of lyght in the middis of this wickit generatioun, that ye salbe as starris in the nyght ceasone, wha yit ar not changeit into darknes, that ye salbe as wheit amangis the kokill, and yit that ye sall not change your nature whilk ye haue ressavit be grace, through the fellowschip and participatioun whilk ye haue with the Lord Jesus in his bodie and blud. And finallie, that ye salbe of the novmber of the prvdent virginis, daylie renewing your lampis with oyle, as thai that pacienthe abyd the glorious aparitioun and cuming

of the Lord Jesus, whais omnipotent spreit rule and instruct, illuminat and comfort your hartis and myndis in all assaltis, now and euer. Amen. The grace of the Lord Jesus rest with yow. Remember my weaknes in your daylie prayeris, the 7 of July 1557.

"Your brother vnfeaned, Johnne Knox."

MS. Letters, p. 352—359.

NOTES TO PERIOD FIFTH.

Note AA, p. 97.

William Whittingham.

William Whittingham, the successor of Knox at Geneva, was the son of William Whittingham, Esq. of Holmeside, in the county of Chester. He was born anno 1524, and educated at Oxford, where he was held in great reputation for his learning. On the accession of Queen Mary, he went first to Frankfort, and afterwards to Geneva, where he married Catherine, the sister of John Calvin. He was one of the translators of the Geneva Bible, and composed several of the metrical psalms published at the same time, which have his initials prefixed to them. He fell under the displeasure of Queen Elizabeth, on account of a commendatory preface which he wrote to Christopher Goodman's book on Obedience to Superior Powers, in which, among other free sentiments, female government was condemned. But he enjoyed the protection of some of her prineipal courtiers. In 1560 he accompanied the Earl of Bedford on an embassy to France, and in 1562 and 1563 acted as chaplain to the Earl of Warwick, during the defence of Havre-de-Grace. That brave nobleman was at a loss for words to express his high esteem of him. In a letter to Cecil, Nov. 20, 1562, Warwick writes: "I assure yow, we may all here thinck our selves happy in having soch a man amongest us as Mr Whyttingham is, not only for the greate vertues in him, but lykewise for the care he hath to serve our mistris besydes: wherfore, in my opynion, he doth well deserve grete thankes at her majesties handis." And in a letter written by him, July 24, 1563, when he was in daily expectation of an assault by the French, he says to his brother, Lord Robert Dudley, afterwards Earl of Leicester: "My deare brother, for that I had, in my letter to the quene's majesty, forgot my humblest thancks for the behalff of my deare frinde Mr Whittingam, for the great favour it hath pleased her to shew him for my sake: I besetch yow therefore do not forget to render them unto her majesty. Farewell, my deare and loving brother, a thousand tymes, and the Lord send you well to do." Forbes, State Papers, ii. 207, 418, 487.

In 1563 Whittingham was made Dean of Durham, which seems to have been the favour for which Warwick was so grateful to Elizabeth. I have already mentioned (p. 28) that an unsuccessful attempt was made to invalidate the ordination which he had received at Geneva. On that occasion, Dr Hutton, Dean of York, told Archbishop Sandys, that Whittingham "was ordained in a better manner than even the archbishop himself;" and the Lord President said, he could not in conscience agree to "allow of the Popish massing priests in our ministry, and to disallow of ministers made in a Reformed Church." Whittingham never conformed fully to the English Church, and died in 1579. Hutchinson's History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham, ii. 143—152, 378.

Note BB, p. 109.

Aylmer's Sentiments respecting the English Constitution.

The view which Aylmer has given of the English constitution is very different from that which Mr Hume has laboured to establish, by dwelling upon some arbi-

trary measures of the house of Tudor. As his work is seldom consulted, I may be excused for inserting a few extracts from it on this subject. It will be seen that he carefully distinguishes between the principles of the constitution, and those proceedings which were at variance with them. "But if this be utterly taken from them [women] in this place, what maketh it against their government in a politike weale, where neither the woman nor the man ruleth (if there be no tyrants), but the laws. For, as Plato saith, *Illi civitati paratum est exitium ubi magistratus legibus imperat, et non leges magistratui*—that city is at the pit's brinke, wherein the magistrate ruleth the lawes, and not the lawes the magistrate." And a little afterwards: "Well; a woman may not reigne in Englande. Better in Englande, than any where, as it shall wel appere to him that, with out affection, will consider the kind of regimen. Whyle I confer ours with other (as it is in itselfe, and not mained by usurpacion), I can find none either so good or so indifferent. The regemente of Englande is not a mere monarchie, as some for lacke of consideracion thinke, nor a mere oligarchie nor democracie, but a rule mixed of all these, wherein ech one of these have or should have like authoritie. The image whereof, and not the image, but the thinge in dede, is to be sene in the parliament hous, wherein you shall find these 3 estats; the king or quene which representeth the monarche, the noblemen which be the aristocratie, and the burgesses and knights the democratcie.—If the parliament use their privileges, the king can ordain nothing without them; if he do, it is his fault in usurping it, and their fault in permitting it. Wherefore, in my judgment, those that in king Henry the VIII.'s daies would not grant him that his proclamations should have the force of a statute, were good fathers of the countrie, and worthy commendacion in defending their liberty. Wold God that that court of late daies had feared no more the farceness of a woman, than they did the displeasure of such a man. Then should they not have stouped, contrary to their othes and alledgeaunce to the crowne, against the privilege of that house, upon their marye bones to receive the devil's blessenge brought unto them by Satan's apostle, the cardinal. God forgeve him for the doing, and them for obeying! But to what purpose is all this? To declare that it is not in England so daungerous a matter to have a woman ruler, as men take it to be.—If, on thother part, the regement were such as all hanged upon the king's or quene's wil, and not upon the lawes written; if she might decre and make lawes alone, without her senate; if she judged offences according to her wisdom, and not by limitation of statutes and laws; if she might dispose alone of war and peace; if, to be short, she wer a mer monarch, and not a mixed ruler, you might peradventure make me to fear the matter the more, and the less to defend the cause." Harborowe for Faithfull and Trew Subjects. H. 2 & 3.

Note CC, p. 111.

Female Supremacy.

"Our countryman, John Knox, has been much censured for want of civility and politeness to the fair sex; and particularly for sounding a first and second 'blast of the trumpet against the monstrous regiment of women.' He was indeed no milksop courtier, who can sacrifice the public weal to the punctilios of politeness, or consider the interests of nations as a point of gallantry. His reasons for the abolition of all female government, if they are not entirely convincing, may be allowed at least to be specious, and might well be indulged as a harmless speculative opinion in one who was disposed as he was to make no bad use of it in practice, and to give all dutiful respect to whomsoever the will of God and the commonwealth had assigned the sovereign power. But though the point may be conceded in regard to secular government, in ordering of which the constitutions and customs and mere pleasure of communities may be allowed to establish what is not morally evil, it will not follow that the essential order and positive law of the spiritual kingdom may also be sported with, and subverted. Let the English, if they please, admit a weak, fickle, freakish, bigoted, gallantish or imperious woman, to sway the sceptre of political dominion over millions of men, and even over her own husband in the crowd, to whom at the altar she had previously vowed obedience, they shall meet with no opposition from the Presbyterians—provided they do not

also authorise her to lord it, or lady it, over their faith and consciences, as well as over their bodies, goods, and chattels.

"By the laws of the Romish Church, no female can be admitted to a participation of clerical power. Not so much as the ancient order of deaconesses now remains in her. Her casuists have examined and debated this thesis, Whether a woman may have the degree of doctor of divinity conferred upon her; and have determined it in the negative.[1] But of the philosophical dignity they are not quite so jealous. Helen Lucrecia Piscopia Cornaca, of famous memory, once applied for her degree in divinity in an Italian university; but Cardinal Barbarigo, Bishop of Padua, was far from being disposed to grant it; so that this learned lady was obliged to content herself with a doctorate in philosophy, which, with universal applause, was actually conferred upon her, June 25, 1678.[2] But the English climate savours nothing of this Italian jealousy; nor are the divines in it so niggardly of their honours. We do not hear, indeed, that they have formally matriculated any ladies, in the universities, or obliged them by canon, or act of parliament, to take out degrees, either in law, in philosophy, or divinity, to qualify them for ecclesiastical preferment (even the highest pinnacle of it); though their laws hold males utterly unqualified for holding any lucrative place in the church, or in ecclesiastic courts, without these: Nor can a man be admitted to the lowest curacy, or be fellow or student in a university, until he have learned and digested all the articles, homilies, canons, rubrics, modes, and figures of the Church of England, as he cannot even be sergeant or exciseman, till he understand perfectly the superior devotion of kneeling above sitting. But it is very possible, though they do not bear the learned titles, the ladies may know as much of learning and divinity as those who do. And though they may not receive ordination on Ember-week for the inferior orders, yet it is enacted and provided, that one of their number may be raised at once *per saltum*, not only above all the peers and peeresses, but over all the graduates, reverend dignitaries, and mitred heads in the kingdom. This solemn inaugurating unction once applied, then *cedite Romani, doctores, cedite graij*. Henceforward, as the Queen of Sheba came from the uttermost end of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon, and to have every enigma and hard question solved, so must every master, doctor, heads of universities, every diocesan and metropolitan, however wise, have recourse to their queen, by reference or appeal, with every difficult question, and every learned and deep controversy, and be responsible to her for their every decision. How flattering a constitution this to womankind—if they be indeed so very fond of precedence and rule, as is commonly said! She must have an unreasonable and unbounded ambition indeed whom this will not content; though she should not be also further told in plain terms, that she is a goddess, and in her office superior to Christ, as some court clergymen have ventured to affirm of their visible head."—A Historico-Politico-Ecclesiastical Dissertation on the Supremacy of Civil Powers in Matters of Religion, particularly the Ecclesiastical Supremacy annexed to the English Crown; by Archibald Bruce, Minister of the Gospel, p. 46—50. Edinburgh, 1802.

Note DD, p. 112.

Of the Form of Prayer used in Scotland at the beginning of the Reformation.

It is natural to inquire here what is meant by the "buik of comon prayeris," which the Protestants in 1557 agreed to use, or which was afterwards followed in their public worship. Was it the common prayer-book of Edward VI.? or was it a different one? This question was keenly canvassed, after the Revolution, by the Scottish Episcopalians and Presbyterians. Mr Sage, the most able champion of the Episcopalians, insisted that it was the English liturgy, and endeavoured to prove that this was, during "at least seven years, in continued practice in Scotland,"—*i. e.*, from 1557 to 1564. Fundamental Charter of Presbytery Examined, p. 95—101, 349, 2d edit. Lond. 1697. Mr Anderson, minister of Dumbarton, who was the

[1] Carol. Rinaldinij. *Matth. Analit. art. pars 3tia.*
[2] *Nouvell. de la Republ. de Lett.* 1685.

most acute advocate of Presbytery, answered this part of the Fundamental Charter, and adduced a number of arguments to prove that it was the liturgy, not of Edward VI., but of the English Church at Geneva, of which Knox was minister, which was used in Scotland from the time that Protestant congregations were formed in this country. The Countreyman's Letter to the Curat, p. 65—77, printed in 1711. I shall state a few facts, without entering into reasoning. Mr Anderson says, that he had in his possession a copy, in Latin, of the liturgy used in the English Church at Frankfort, the preface of which bears date the 1st of September 1554. He adds, that this had been translated from English into Latin, and that the prayers in it are exactly the same with those which are found in the Order of Geneva, afterwards adopted by the Scottish Church; only there are some additional prayers in the latter accommodated to the circumstances of Scotland. Ibid., p. 64. This must have been the form of worship agreed on by the exiles immediately after their arrival at Frankfort. Troubles of Franckford, p. 7. Before the end of that year, the form of worship observed by the Genevan Church was printed in English. Ibid., p. 27. In the beginning of the following year, the form afterwards used by the English Church at Geneva was composed, which differed very little from that which was first used at Frankfort. Ibid., p. 37. This was printed in the beginning of 1556. Dunlop's Confessions, ii. 401. It is not unlikely that Knox, in his visit to Scotland in 1555, would carry with him copies of the two former liturgies, and that he would send copies of the latter on his return to Geneva. After all, I think it extremely probable that copies of the liturgy of Edward VI. were still more numerous in Scotland at that time, and that they were used by some of the Protestants at the beginning of the Reformation. This appears from a letter of Cecil to Throkmorton, 9th July 1559. "The Protestants be at Edynborough. They offer no violence, but dissolve religiose howsees; directyng the lands thereof to the crowne, and to ministery in the chirch. The parish churchees they delyver of altars and imagees, and have receved the service of the Church of England, accordyng to King Edward's Booke." Forbes's State Papers, i. 155. Another thing which inclines me to think that the English liturgy was in the eye of those who made the agreement in December 1557 is, that they mention the reading of "the *lessonis* of the New and Auld Testament, *conforme* to the ordour of the Buik of Commoun-Prayeris." Anderson gives a quotation from the preface to the Frankfort liturgy, in which the compilers vindicate themselves against the objection, that they had omitted the reading of the gospels and epistles, by saying that they read in order not only these, but all the books of Scripture. And he insists that by the "lessonis of the New and Auld Testament," our reformers meant no more than the reading of the Scriptures in general. This reply does not appear to me satisfactory.

But though the Scottish Protestants, at that time, agreed to make use of the prayers and Scripture lessons contained in the English liturgy, it cannot be inferred from this that they approved of it without limitations, or that they meant to bind themselves to all its forms and ceremonies. The contrary is evident. It appoints lessons to be read from the Apocrypha; but they expressly confined their reading to "the lessons of the New and Old Testament." A great part of the English liturgy can be read by a priest only; but all that they proposed to use could be performed by "the most qualifeit in the parochin," provided the curate refused, or was unqualified. I need scarcely add, that, if they had adopted that liturgy without qualification, their invitation to Knox must have come with a very bad grace. It must have been to this purpose (to use Mr Anderson's words), "Pray, good Mr Knox, come over and help us; and for your encouragement against you come, you shall find the English liturgy, against which you preached in Scotland, against which you declared before the counsel of England, for opposing which you were brought in danger of your neck at Frankfort—this English liturgy you shall find the authorised form of worship, and that by an ordinance of our making." The Countreyman's Letter, *ut supra*, p. 69.

We can trace back the use of the Book of Common Order (or Order of Geneva), by the Church of Scotland, from the year 1564. The General Assembly, December 26, 1564, ordained "that everie minister, exhorter, and reader sall have one of the Psalme Bookes latelie printed in Edinburgh, and use the order contained therein in prayers, marriage, and ministration of the sacraments." Keith, 538. This refers to the edition of the Geneva Order and Psalms, which had been printed

during that year by Lekprevik. "In the generall assemblie convened at Edinr. in Decr. 1562, for printing of the psalmes, the kirk lent Rob. Lickpriviek, printer, tva hundredth pounds, to help to buy irons, ink, and papper, and to fie craftesmen for printing." Reasons for continuing the use of the old metrical Version of the Psalms, p. 232, of a MS. (written in 1632) belonging to Robert Græme, Esq., advocate. But although this was the first edition of the book printed in this country, it had been previously printed both at Geneva and in England, and was used in the Church of Scotland. For in the assembly which met in December 1562, it was concluded, "that an uniforme Order sould be keeped in ministration of the sacraments, solemnization of marriages, and burial of the dead, according to the Booke of Geneva." Keith, 519. Petrie, part ii., p. 233. Nor was it then introduced for the first time; for the Abbot of Crossraguel, in a book set forth by him in 1561, mentions it as the established form of prayers at the time he wrote. "I will call to remembrance," says he, "the sayings of quhilkis ar written to the redar, in *thair buke* callit *the forme of prayeris*, as eftir followis, viz., 'As for the wourdis of the Lordis supper, we rehers thaim nocht bicaus thai sulde change the substance of the breid and wine, or that the repetione tharof, with the entent of the sacrificear, sulde make the sacraments (as the papists falslie belevis.)" Ane Oratioune be Master Quintine Kennedy, p. 15, Edin. 1812. The passage quoted by Kennedy is in the Book of Common Order. Dunlop, ii. 454. The First Book of Discipline, framed in 1560, expressly approves of the Order of Geneva, which it calls "*our* Book of Common Order," and mentions its being "used in some of our churches" previous to that period. Dunlop's Confessions, ii. 520, 548, 583. From these facts it is evident that, although the Scripture lessons and the prayers in the English liturgy were at first used by some of the Scottish Protestants, yet they never received that book as a whole; that the Order of Geneva was introduced among them before the establishment of the Reformation; and that it became the universal form of worship as soon as a sufficient number of copies of it could be procured. If any other evidence of this were necessary, I might produce the testimony of Sir Francis Knollys, the English ambassador. When Queen Mary fled into England, in 1568, she feigned her willingness to give up with the mass, and to adopt the English Common Prayer Book, provided Elizabeth would assist her in regaining her crown. Lord Herries having made this proposal in her name, Sir Francis replied, "that, yf he meant thereby to condempne the form and order of common prayer now used in Skotland, agreeable with divers well reformed churches,—or that he meant to expel all the learned preachers of Skotland, yff they would not return back to receave and wayr cornered capes and typpets, with surpless and coopes, which they have left by order contynually since their first receavyng of the gospel into that realme; then he myght so fyght for the shadow and image of religion that he myght bring the body and truth in danger." Anderson's Collections, vol. iv., part i. pp. 110, 111.

As this subject has been introduced, I may make an observation or two respecting the form of prayers used in the Church of Scotland at the beginning of the Reformation. What has been called Knox's Liturgy was the Book of Common Order, first used by the English Church at Geneva. It contains forms of prayers for the different parts of public worship; and this is the only resemblance which it bears to the English liturgy. But there is this important difference between the two: in the English, the minister is restricted to the repetition of the very words of the prayers; in the Scottish, he is left at liberty to vary from them, and to substitute prayers of his own in their room. The following quotations will exemplify the mode of the latter: "When the congregation is assembled at the houre appointed, the minister useth one of these two confessions, *or like in effect.*"—"The minister after the sermon useth this prayer following, *or such like.*" Similar declarations are prefixed to the prayers to be used at the celebration of Baptism and of the Lord's Supper. And at the end of the account of the public service of the Sabbath this intimation is subjoined: "It shall not be necessarie for the minister daylie to repeat all these things before mentioned, but, beginning with some manner of confession, to proceed to the sermon, which ended, he either useth the prayer for all estates before mentioned, or else prayeth as the Spirit of God shall move his heart, framing the same according to the time and matter which he hath entreated of." Knox's Liturgy, pp. 74, 83, 86, 120. Edin. 1611. Dunlop's Confessions, ii. 417, 421, 426, 443, 450. And at the end of the Form of Excommunication, it is signi-

fied, "This order may be enlarged or contracted as the wisdome of the discreet minister shall think expedient; for we rather shew the way to the ignorant, than prescribe order to the learned that cannot be amended." Dunlop, ii. 746. The Scottish prayers, therefore, were intended as a help to the ignorant, not as a restraint upon those who could pray without a set form. The readers and exhorters commonly used them; but even they were encouraged to perform the service in a different manner. Knox's Liturgy, p. 189. Dunlop, ii. 694.

Note EE, p. 115.

Petitions presented by the Protestants to the Queen-Regent.

The petition which Sir James Sandilands presented, in the name of his brethren, contained five requests. 1. That, as by the laws of the land, they had, after long debate, obtained liberty to read the Scriptures in their native language, it should also be lawful for them to use, publicly or privately, "comoun prayaris in our vulgar toung." 2. That if, in the course of reading the Scriptures in their assemblies, any difficulty occurred, it should be lawful for any "qualifeit persone in knawledge" to explain it, subject to the judgment of "the maist godlie and maist learnit within the realme." 3. "That the holy sacrament of baptisme may be used in the vulgar toung," accompanied with instruction to the parties and to the Church. 4. "That the sacrament of the Lordis Supper, or of his most blessed body and blude, may likewise be ministrate in the vulgar toung, and in both kindis." And lastly, "That the wicket, slanderous, and detestabill lyif of Prelatis, and of the stait ecclesiastical, may be so reformed that the pepill by thame have not occasioun, as of mony dayis they have had, to contempe their ministrie and the preiching, whairof they sould be messengers;" and to remove suspicion of interested motives in making this request, they add, "We ar content that not only the reulles and preceptis of the New Testament, but also the wryttings of the ancient Fatheris, and the godly approved lawis of Justimiane, decyde the controversie that is betwix us and thame." Knox, Historie, pp. 120, 121. Spotswood, (p. 119) omits the article respecting baptism, and introduces another: "that the election of ministers should be according to the manner used in the primitive Church." See also Buchanani Operæ, i. 311.

This petition discovers great moderation on the part of the Protestants. Historians differ as to the precise time at which it was presented. Spotswood (p. 108) places his account of it after the martyrdom of Mill. And the writer of the Historie of the Estate of Scotland from 1559 to 1566 (p. 1) says that it was presented in July 1558. On the contrary, Knox (pp. 120, 122) places it before the death of Mill. It is highly probable that the Protestants petitioned the queen-regent both before and after that event, and that on both occasions they employed Sir James Sandilands as their representative. In this light I have represented the matter in the text. But I am inclined, upon the whole, to consider Knox's statement as the most correct. He had the best opportunity of ascertaining the fact. This was the part of his history which was first written by him soon after his arrival in Scotland, when the transaction must have been fresh in the recollection of all his associates. There is no reference in the petition to the illegal execution of Mill, which would scarcely have been omitted, if it had previously taken place. The objection urged by Keith, from the clause in the petition which supposes that the queen was married, does not appear to have great weight. The parliament, in December 1557, had agreed to the solemnisation of the marriage; their commissioners had sailed for France, in February, to be present at the ceremony, which was appointed to take place on the 24th of April. In these circumstances the Protestants might, without any impropriety, request that they should be allowed liberty to use the common prayers in the vulgar tongue, to the end that they might "be induced, in fervent and oft prayers, to commend unto God—the queen our soverane, hir honorabill and gracious husband," &c. Keith is wrong when he says that Knox has fixed the execution of Mill "to the 8th of April, which was above two weeks before the queen's marriage." History, p. 80, note. Knox says he was put to death "the twentie aucht day of Aprylle," which was four days after the marriage. Historie, p. 122.

After the martyrdom of Mill, the Protestants renewed their application to the regent, with a warm remonstrance against the cruelty of the clergy. Knox, Historie, p. 122. As the parliament, held in November 1558, was approaching, they delivered another petition to her, desiring that it should be laid before the meeting of the Estates. In this they requested that the laws, by which the clergy justified their severe and cruel proceedings against them, should be abrogated, or suspended until the present controversies in religion were regularly determined; or, if this could not be granted, that the clergy should not act as judges, but be obliged to sustain the character of accusers before a temporal judge, and that the same mode of defence should be granted to persons accused of heresy as in other criminal processes. Being persuaded by the promises of the regent to desist from laying this petition before that meeting of parliament, they substituted a protestation; in which they declared that, having waived urging their petitions from regard to the state of public affairs, they should not be liable to any penalties for using that liberty to which they had a just title, and for which they had frequently petitioned, and that, if any tumult was excited by religious differences, or by violent attempts to reform those abuses in religion which were become intolerable, this should not be imputed to them, who had always requested an orderly reformation of these abuses, but to the persons who had resisted every attempt of this kind. Ibid. p. 122—125. Spotswood, pp. 119, 120.

NOTES TO PERIOD SIXTH.

Note FF, p. 121.

Dissimulation of the Queen-Regent.

I am sensible that my account of the conduct of the queen-regent to the Protestants differs from that which has been given by Dr Robertson. He imputes her change of measures entirely to the overruling influence of her brothers, and seems to acquit her of insincerity in the countenance which she had shown, and the promises which she had repeatedly made, to the Protestant leaders. In any remarks which I shall make upon this account, I wish to be understood as not detracting in the slightest degree from the merit of his able, accurate, and luminous statement of the plans conceived by the princes of Lorraine. Having mentioned the first symptoms of the regent's alienation from the reformers, Dr Robertson says: "In order to account for this, our historians do little more than produce the trite observation concerning the influence of prosperity to alter the character and corrupt the heart." I do not know the particular historians to whom he may refer, but those of the Protestant persuasion whom I have consulted, impute her change of conduct, not to the above cause, but to the circumstance of her having accomplished the great objects which she had in view, upon which she no longer stood in need of the assistance of the reformers. Accordingly, they charge her with duplicity in her former proceedings with them. Knox, 96, 110, 122, 125. Buchanan, i. 312. Spotswood, 117, 119, 120. I think they had good reasons for this charge. At a very early period, she gave a striking proof of her disposition and talent for the deepest dissimulation. I refer to her behaviour in the intercourse which she had with Sir Ralph Sadler in 1543, on which occasion she acted a part not less important than Cardinal Beatoun himself, threw the ambassador into the greatest perplexity, and completely duped the English monarch. Sadler, i. 84—88, 100, 111—113, 249—253. The governor wanted not reason to say, "as she is both subtle and wily, so she hath a vengeable engine and wit to work her purpose." It is impossible to read the account of her smooth conduct to the reformers, without perceiving the art with which she acted. There is also reason for thinking that she was privy to the execution of Walter Mill, and had encouraged the Archbishop of St Andrews to take that step. Indeed, in his letter to the Earl of Argyll, written a few weeks before that event, the archbishop expressly says, that she murmured heavily

against him because he did not use severe measures to check the progress of heresy; and Argyll, in his answer, does not call this in question. Knox, 103, 108.

I do not doubt that the regent was precipitated into the most violent measures which she adopted by the counsels of her brothers; and that she remonstrated against the impolicy of these is attested by Castelnau, to whom Dr Robertson refers as one of his authorities. But I think that she had altered her conduct to the Protestants, and declared her resolution to abet the measures of the clergy against them, previous to the time that she is said to have received these strong representations from France. This appears even from the narrative of Castelnau, who has connected the advice given by the princes of Lorraine with the mission of La Brosse and the Bishop of Amiens, who did not arrive in Scotland until September 1559, after the civil war was kindled. Jebb, ii. 246. Keith, 102. Sadler, i. 470. But it will be still more apparent, from an examination of the testimony of Sir James Melvil, the other authority to whom Dr Robertson appeals. Melvil says that, after the treaty of Chateau-Cambresis was concluded, Bettancourt was sent into Scotland to procure the ratification of it by the queen-regent; and that he was charged by the Cardinal of Lorraine to inform her that the popish princes had agreed to join in extirpating heresy, and to require that she should immediately take steps for suppressing the Scottish Protestants. Melvil adds, that these instructions, mixed with some threatenings, having been received, the regent "determined to follow them. She therefore issued out a proclamation, *a little before Easter*, commanding every man, great and small, to observe the Roman Catholic religion." Melvil's Memoirs, pp. 23, 24. Lond. 1683. The proclamation to observe Easter in the Catholic manner is mentioned by all our historians as the decisive declaration of the queen's change of measures. Now, the treaty of Chateau-Cambresis was not concluded until the 2d of April 1559. Forbes, i. 68, 81. But Easter fell that year on the 29th of March, six days before Bettancourt could undertake his journey to Scotland. The proclamation respecting the observance of that festival must, therefore, have been issued some weeks before Bettancourt's arrival. Nay, we know from other evidence, that the breach between the queen-regent and the Protestants had taken place on the 6th of March, for this is the date from which the act of oblivion afterwards granted is reckoned. Keith, 141, 151. There is, therefore, a glaring anachronism in Melvil's narrative; and whatever influence Bettancourt's embassy had in instigating the regent to more violent measures, she had previously taken her side, and declared her determination to oppose the progress of the Reformation.

There are several other mistakes which Sir James Melvil has committed in his narrative of the transactions of this period. Even in the account of his own embassy into Scotland in the reign of Henry II., and of the speech which the Constable Montmorency made to him on that occasion, he has introduced the constable as mentioning, among his reasons, the shipwreck of the Marquis d'Elbeuf, which did not happen till some months after, when the French king was dead. Memoirs, p. 31. Sadler, i. 417. In my humble opinion, all our historians have given too easy credit to Melvil, both in his statements of fact and in his representations of character.

Note GG, p. 122.

Trial of the Reformed Preachers.

July 7, 1558. Item, the said day, to David Lindsay, Rothesay herauld, passand of Edinburgh, with letteris, to summond George Luvell, David Fergusone, and certain utheris personis within the burt of Dunde, to tak sourte of thame that thai sall compeir befoir the justice and his deputies in the tolbuith of Edinburgh, the xxviii day of Julii instant, for thair wrongus using and resting of the Scripture, and disputting upoun erroneous opinions, and eiting of flesche in Lenterone and utheris forbidding tymes, contrair the actis of parliament, iijli vs. (Compot. Thesaur.)

Feb. 9, 1558-9. Proclamation to St Andrews, Cowper, Dundee, Montrose, Aberdeen, charging all and sundrie or soverane ladies liegis, that nane of thame tak upoun hand to commit, attempt, or do any injurie or violence, disturbe the service usit in the kirkis, strike manneis, or bost priestis, or to eit flesche in Lenterone,

under the pane of deid. — Also to Linlithgow, Glasgow, Irvine, Ayr, with sielike letteris. (Compot. Thesaur.)

Curia Justiciarie S D N regis et regine, tenta et inchoata in pretorio burgi de Striueling, x° die mensis Maij, anno, &c. lix°, per Henricum Levingstoun, prepositum de Striueling, Justiciarium deputatum.

Quo die, Georgius Luvell, burgeñ de Dunde, per literas S D N regis et regine sepe voca^t^ ad intrand. Paulum Methwen, Joannes Erskin de Dvne sepe voca^t^ ad intrand. fratrem Joannem Cristesoun, Patricius Murray de Tibbermuir sepe voca^t^ ad intrand. Willielmum Harlaw, et Robertus Campbell de Kinzeclen^t^ sepe voca^t^ ad intrand. Joannem Willok coram justiciario S D N regis et regine, ejusue deputatis, dictis die et loco ad subeund legem pro vsurpatione auctoritatis ministerij ecclesie ad manus suas proprias ipso in ministrum eiusdem minime legitime admisso existeñ in festo Pasche, viz. xxvj^to^ die mensis Martij vltimo elapso et quotidie per spatium trium dierum hujusmodi festum immediate precedeñ atque abhinc continuo suo more sacramentum altaris pluribus S D N regis et regine subditis infra burgos de Dunde, Monthros, aliisque diversis partibus et locis infra vicecomitatus de Foirfare et Kynkardin, eisdem adjaceñ, a diuino et laudabili vsu fidelis ecclesie catholice longe diuerso et differente administrando, necnon pro conventione et congregatione hujusmodi subditorum infra burgos et bondas predic^t^ temporibus suprascript^t^ ipso minime per locorum ordinarios admisso seu approbato etiam absque earundem licentia dictis subditis sermocinañ et predicañ atque per suos sermones illos ad suas errabiles et seditiosas doctrinas et scismata perswadeñ et seduceñ auctoritatem S D N regis et regine inde vsurpañ atque inter suos subditos antedict. seditiones et tumultus faciеñ contra tenorem literarum proclamationis de super confec^t^ vt in hujusmodi literis criminalibus latius continetur. Et non compareñ amerciatus fuit dictus Georgius Luvell pro nonintroitu prefati Pauli Methwen in pena xl^li^. Et judicium redditum fuit quod ipse Paulus ad cornu S D N regis et regine denunciatur et quod omnia bona sua mobilia suis vsubus applicabantur tanquam fugitiuus a lege pro dictis criminibus.

Eodem die, Joannes Erskin de Dvne, per literas S D N regis et regine sepe voca^t^ ad intrand. fratrem Joannem Cristesoun coram dicto justiciario deputato ad subeund. legem, pro vsurpatione auctoritatis ministerij ecclesie ad manus suas proprias, [&c. *ut supra,*] quod dictus frater Joannes ad cornu S D N regis et regine denunciatur, &c.

Dicto die, Patricius Murray de Tibbermuir sepe voca^t^ per literas S D N regis et regine ad intrand. Willielmum Harlaw coram dicto justitiario deputato ad subeund. legem pro criminibus immediate prescriptis. Et non compareñ amerciatus fuit dictus Patricius, pro non introitu dicti Willielmi Harlaw in pena xl^ta^ lib. Et judicium redditum fuit quod ipse Willielmvs ad cornu S D N regis et regine denunciatur. Et quod omnia bona sua mobilia suis usibus applicantur tanquam fugitiuus a lege pro dictis criminibus.

Prefato die, Robertus Campbell de Kinzeclueh per literas S D N regis et regine sepe voc^t^ ad intrand. Joannem Willok coram dicto justitiaro deputato, dictis die et loco ad subeund. legem pro vsurpatione auctoritatis ministerij ecclesie ad manus suas proprias ipso ie ministrum eiusdem minime legitime admisso existeñ in festo Pasche, viz. xxvj^to^ die mensis Martij ultimo elapso et quotidie per spatium trium dierum hujusmodi festum immediate precedeñ, &c. Et judicium redditum fuit quod dictus Joannes Willok ad cornu S D N regis et regine denun^r^. Et quod omnia bona sua mobilia suis vsubus applicantur tanquam fugitiuus a lege pro dictis criminibus.

Eodem die, prefati Paulus Methwen, frater Joannes Cristesoun Willielmus Harlaw et Joannes Willok denunciati fuerunt rebelles S D N regis et regine, et ad cornu eorundem positi fuerunt per publicam proclamationem apud cruecm foralem burgi de Striueling, per Joannem Duncane, seriandum et officiarium dicte curie demandato prefati justitiarij deputati, coram his testibus, Roberto Forrester de Calzemuke, Alexandro Forrester alias Carrik signifero, Willielmo Symth, et Joanne Grahame, notario publico, cum diuersis aliis. [Justiciary Records. Book extending from 14th February 1558, to 22d May 1559.]

Note HH, p. 133.

Lamentation over the Demolition of the Religious Houses.

"Truely, among all their deeds and devises, the casting doune of the churches was the most foolish and furious worke, the most shreud and execrable turne that ever *Hornok* himself culd have done or devised. For out of al doubt that great grandfather of Calvine, and old enemie of mankind, not only inspired every one of those sacrelegious hellhounds with his flaming spirit of malice and blasphemie, as he did their forefathers Luther and Calvine: bot also was then present as maister of worke, busily beholding his servands and hirelings working his wil and bringing to pass his long desired contentment.—They changed the churches (which God himself called his house of prayer) into filthie and abominable houses of sensual men, yea, and of unreasonable beasts: when as they made stables in Halyrudhous, sheep-houses of S. Antone, and S. Leonard's chapels, tolbooths of S. Gillis, &c., which this day may be seene, to the great griefe and sorrow of al good Christians, to the shame and confusion of Edinburgh, and to the everlasting damnation of the doers thereof, the sedicious ministers, Knox and his complices." After weeping over the ruins of "Abbirbroth," the writer returns to St Giles, and represents our Saviour as lamenting its profanation by the setting up of "the abomination of desolation," the courts of justice, within that holy ground. "How wold he say, if he were now entering in at S. Giles, and looking to bare wals, and pillars al cled with dust, sweepings and cobwebs, instead of painting and tapestrie; and on every side beholding the restless resorting of people treating of their worldly affaires, some writing and making of obligations, contracts and discharges, others laying countes or telling over sowmes of money, and two and two walking and talking to and fro, some about merchandise or the lawes, and too many, alas! about drinking and courting of woeman, yea, and perhaps about worse nor I can imagine, as it is wont to be done al the day long in the common Exchanges of London and Amsterdam, and other great cities? And turning him farther towards the west end of the church, which is divided in a high house for the Colledge of Justice, called the Session or Senat-house, and a lower house called the low Tolbooth, where the balives of the town used to sit and judge common actions and pleas in the one end thereof, and a number of harlots and scolds for flyting and whoredom, inclosed in the other. And these, I mean, if our Saviour were present to behold such abominable desolation, that where altars were erected, and sacrifices, with continual praises and praiers, were wont to be offered up to the Lord, in remembrance of that bloody sacrifice of Christ on the crosse, there now are holes for whores, and cages for scolds, where nothing is hard bot banning and swearing, and every one upbraiding another: O what grieve and sorrow wold our Lord tak at the beholding of such profanation and sacrilege!" Father Alexander Bailie's True Information of the unhallowed offspring, progress, and impoison'd fruits of our Scottish-Calvinian Gospel and Gospellers, pp. 24, 25, 27, 28. Wurtzburg, 1628.

Note II, p. 135.

Alleged Excesses of the Reformers.

It would be endless to enter into an examination of the exaggerated accounts which have been given of the "pitiful devastation" committed by the reformers. I shall content myself with stating a few facts, which may satisfy the candid and considerate that no such great blame is imputable to them. The demolition of the monasteries, with their dependencies, will be found to comprehend the sum of what they can be justly charged with. And yet again, I would ask those who are most disposed to blame them for this, What purpose could the allowing of these buildings to stand have served, if not to cherish the hopes and excite the desires of the Catholics to regain possession of them? To what use could the reformers possibly have converted them? Is it to be supposed that they could form the idea of preserving them for the gratification of a race of antiquaries, who were to rise up in the eighteenth

and nineteenth centuries? Have these gentlemen, with all their zeal, ever testified their regard for these sacred monuments, by associations and subscriptions to preserve the mouldering remains from going to their original dust? The reformed ministers had enough to do in exciting the nobility and gentry to keep the parish churches in decent repair, without undertaking the additional task of supporting huge and useless fabrics. But enough of this—Let not any distress themselves by supposing that the costly furniture of the monasteries and churches was all consumed by the flames. Fanatical as the reformers were, they "reservit the best part thairof unburnt," and converted it into money, some of which went into the public purse, but the greater part into the private pockets of the nobles. Winget, apud Keith, Append. 245. The idols and images were indeed committed to the flames without mercy; but considering the example that their adversaries had set them of consigning the living images of God to this fate, the retaliation was certainly moderate; and that these were the only sacrifices which they offered up, we have the testimony of a popish writer. Leslæus, de Reb. Gest. Scotorum, lib. x., p. 537, edit. 1675.

The act of privy council for demolishing idolatrous houses did not extend to cathedrals or to parish churches. Spotswood, pp. 174, 175. In the First Book of Discipline, indeed, cathedral churches, if not used as parish churches, are mentioned among the places to be suppressed; but so far was this case from occurring, that it was found necessary to employ many of the chapels attached to monasteries, and collegiate churches, as places for the Protestant worship. That, in the first effervescence of popular zeal, some of the cathedrals and other churches should have suffered, is not much to be wondered at. "What you speak of Mr Knox preaching for the pulling down of churches," says Mr Baillie, in his answer to Bishop Maxwell, "is like the rest of your lies. I have not heard that in all our land above three or foure churches were cast down." Historical Vindication of the Government of the Church of Scotland, p. 40. Mr Baillie had the historical collections of Calderwood in his possession when he composed that work. This statement is confirmed by the testimony of Cecil in the letter quoted above (p. 355). The churches were merely to be stripped of monuments of idolatry and instruments of superstition; and in carrying this into effect, great care was ordered to be taken that the buildings should not be injured. Lord James Stuart (afterwards Earl of Moray) was the person to whom the execution of the act in the northern part of the kingdom was committed; and we have an authentic document of the manner in which he proceeded, in an order issued by him, and written with his own hand, for purging the cathedral church of Dunkeld.[1] The following is an exact copy of that order:—

"To our traist friendis, the Lairds of Arntilly and Kinvaid.

"Traist friendis, after maist harty commendacion, we pray yow faill not to pass incontinent to the kyrk of Dunkeld, and tak doun the haill images thereof, and bring furth to the kyrkzayrd, and burn thaym oppinly. And sielyk cast down the altaris, and purge the kyrk of all kynd of monuments of idolatrye. And this ze faill not to do, as ze will do us singular empleseur; and so committis you to the protection of God. From Edinburgh, the xii. of August, 1560.

"Faill not, bot ze tak guid heyd that neither the dasks, windocks, nor durris, be ony ways hurt or broken————eyther glassin wark or iron wark."

(Signed)

"Ar. Ergyll.

"James Stewart.

"Ruthven."

We may take it for granted that the same caution was used in the rest of the commissions. If it be asked, how it happened that the cathedrals, and many other churches, fell into such a ruined state, the following quotations may serve for an answer; they are taken from a scarce work written by Robert Pont, commissioner of Moray, and one of the lords of Session: "Yet, a great many, not onely of the raskall sorte, but sundry men of name and worldly reputation, joyned themselves with the congregation of the reformers, not so much for zeale of religion, as to reape some earthly commoditie, and to be enriched by spoyle of the kirkes and abbey places. And when the preachers told them that such places of idolatrie should be

[1] Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. xx. p. 422.

pulled down, they accepted gladly the enterprise; and rudely passing to worke, pulled down all, both idoles and places where they were found. Not making difference betweene these places of idolatrie, and many parish kirks, where God's word shuld have bin preached in many parts where they resorted, as in such tumultes and suddainties useth to come to passe; namelye, among such a nation as we are. Another thing fell out at that time, which may be excused by reason of necessitie; when as the lordes, and some of the nobilitie, principall enterprysers of the Reformation, having to do with the Frenchmen, and many their assisters of our owne nation, enemies to these proceedings, were forced, not onely to ingage their owne landes, and bestowe whatsoever they were able to furnishe of their own patrimonie, for maintenance of men of warre, and other charges, but also to take the lead and belles, with other jewelles and ornaments of kirkes, abbayes, and other places of superstition, to employ the same, and the prises thereof, to resist the enemies. The most parte of the realme beand in their contrarie. This, I say, cannot be altogether blamed." Against Sacrilege, Three Sermons preached by Maister Robert Pont, an aged Pastour in the Kirk of God. B. 6, 7. Edinburgh, 1599. Comp. Keith, p. 468.

But what shall we say of the immense loss which literature sustained on that occasion? "Bibliothecks destroied, the volumes of the fathers, councells, and other books of humane learning, with the registers of the Church, cast into the streets, afterwards gathered in heaps, and consumed with fire." Spotswood's MS. Keith, Historie, p. 508. Does not such conduct equal the fanaticism of the Mahometan chieftain who deprived the world of the invaluable Alexandrine library? As every one is apt to deplore the loss of that commodity upon which he sets the greatest value, I might feel more inclined to join in this lamentation, were I not convinced that the real loss was extremely trifling, and that it has been compensated ten thousand fold. Where and of what kind were these bibliothecks? *Omne ignotum magnificum.* The public was long amused with the tale of a classical library at Iona, which promised a complete copy of Livy's works, not to be found in all the world beside; a miracle which Mr Gibbon, in the abundance of his literary faith, seems to have been inclined to admit. Danes, and Reformers, and Republicans, were successively anathematised, and consigned to the shades of barbarism, for the destruction of what (for aught that appears) seems to have existed only in the brains of antiquarians. It has been common to say that all the learning of the times was confined to monasteries. This was true at a certain period; but it had ceased to be the fact in the age in which the Reformation took place. Low as literature was in Scotland at the beginning of the sixteenth century, for the credit of my country I trust that it was not in so poor a state in the universities as it was in the monasteries. Take the account of one who has bestowed much attention on the monastic antiquities of Scotland. "Monkish ambition terminated in acquiring skill in scholastic disputation. If anything besides simple theology was read, it might consist of the legends of saints, who were pictured converting infidels, interceding for offenders, and overreaching fiends; or of romances, recording the valour of some hardy adventurer, continually occupied in wars with pagans, or in vanquishing giants, foiling necromancers, and combating dragons. Some were chronielers; and books of the laws might be transcribed or deposited with monks. Some monks might be conversant in medicine and the occult sciences." Dalyell's Cursory Remarks, prefixed to Scottish Poems, i. 17, 18.

But we are not left to conjecture, or to general inferences, concerning the state of the monastic libraries. We have the catalogues of two libraries—the one of a monastery, the other of a collegiate church—which may be deemed fair specimens of the condition of the remainder in the respective ages to which they belonged. The former is the catalogue of the library of the Culdean monastery at Lochleven in the twelfth century. It consisted of only seventeen books, all of them necessarily in manuscript. Among these were a pastoral, gradual, and missal, books common to all monasteries, and without which their religious service could not be performed; the Text of the Gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles; an Exposition of Genesis; a Collection of Sentences; and an Interpretation of Sayings. The rest seem to have consisted of some of the writings of Prosper, and perhaps of Origen and Jerome. Jamieson's Historical Account of the Ancient Culdees, p. 376—378. It may be granted that this collection of books was by no means despicable in that age; but certainly it contained nothing the loss of

which has been injurious to literature. I have no doubt that, if a copy of the Gospels, with the Lochleven seal or superscription (whether authentic or fictitious), were to occur, it would, with antiquarians, give as high a price as a polyglot, without the smallest regard to its utility in settling the original text. From the twelfth to the sixteenth century, the monastic libraries did not improve. The catalogue of the library at Stirling exhibits the true state of learning at the beginning of the last-mentioned period. It contained, indeed, a copy of the gospels and epistles in manuscript, most probably in Latin; the remainder of its contents was purely monkish. There were four missals, two psalters, four antiphonies, three breviaries, two legends, four graduals, and ten processionals. Dalyell's Fragments of Scottish History, p. 77.

I have occasionally met, in the course of my reading, with notices of volumes of the Fathers being in the possession of the Scottish monasteries, but nothing from which I could conclude that they had complete copies of any of their writings. The Abbot of Crossraguel, indeed, speaks of his being in possession of a large stock of this kind (Keith, Append. 193), which some writers have been pleased to calculate at "a cart-load." It does not appear, however, that they belonged to the monastery over which he presided. But whatever books of this kind were to be found in them, the reformers would be anxious to preserve, not to destroy. The chartularies were the most valuable writings deposited in monasteries; and many of these have been transmitted to us. The reformers were not disposed to consume these records, and we find them making use of them in their writings. Knox, Historie, pp. 1, 2, 3. The mass-books were the most likely objects of their vengeance; and I have little doubt that a number of these were committed to the flames, in testimony of their abhorrence of the popish worship. Yet they were careful to preserve copies of them, which they produced in their disputes with the Roman Catholics. Ibid. p. 261.

But whatever literary ravages were committed, let them not be imputed exclusively to the tumultuary reformation of Scotland, to the fanaticism of our reformers, or the barbarous ignorance of our nobles. In England the same proceedings took place to a far greater extent, and the loss must have been far greater. "Another misfortune," says Collier, "consequent upon the suppression of the abbeys, was an ignorant destruction of a great many valuable books. The books, instead of being removed to royal libraries, to those of cathedrals, or the universities, were frequently thrown in to the grantees, as things of slender consideration. Their avarice was sometimes so mean, and their ignorance so undistinguishing, that when the covers were somewhat rich, and would yield a little, they pulled them off, threw away the books, or turned them to waste paper."—"A number of them which purchased these superstitious mansions," says Bishop Bale, "reserved of those library books, some to serve their jacks, some to scour their candlesticks, and some to rub their boots, and some they sold to the grocers and soap-sellers, and some they sent over the sea to bookbinders, not in small numbers, but at times *whole ships full*. Yea, the universities are not clear in this detestable fact; but cursed is the belly which seeketh to be fed with so ungodly gains, and so deeply shameth his native country. I know a merchant man (which shall at this time be nameless) that bought the contents of two noble libraries for forty shillings price; a shame it is to be spoken. This stuff hath he occupied instead of grey paper by the space of more than these *ten years*, and *yet hath he store enough for as many years to come*." Bale's Declaration: Collier's Eccles. Hist. ii. 166.

Note KK, p. 142.

Aversion of Queen Elizabeth to the Scottish War.

The personal aversion of Elizabeth to engage in the war of the Scottish Reformation, has not, so far as I have observed, been noticed by any of our historians. It is, however, a fact well authenticated by state papers, whether it arose from extreme caution at the commencement of her reign, from her known parsimony, or from her high notions respecting royal prerogative. Cecil mentions it repeatedly in his correspondence with Throkmorton. "God trieth us," says he, "with many difficulties. The queen's majestie never liketh this matter of Scotland; you knowe

what hangeth thereuppon: weak-hearted men and flatterers will follow that way.—I have had such a torment herin with the queen's majestie, as an ague hath not in five fitts so much abated." Forbes, i. 454, 455. In another letter he says, "What will follow of my going towardes Scotlande, I know not; but I feare the success, quia, the queen's majestie is so evil disposed to the matter, which troubleth us all." Ibid. 460. It was not until her council had presented a formal petition to her that she gave her consent. Ibid. 390. Even after she had agreed to hostilities, she began to waver, and listen to the artful proposals of the French court, who endeavoured to amuse her until such time as they were able to convey more effectual aid to the Queen-Regent of Scotland. Killigrew, in a letter to Throkmorton, after mentioning the repulse of the English army, in an assault on the fortifications of Leith, says: "This, together with the bishopes [of Valance] relation unto the queen's majestie, caused her to renew the opinion of Cassandra." Ibid. 456. This was the principal cause of the suspension of hostilities, and the premature attempt to negotiate, in April 1560, which so justly alarmed the lords of the Congregation: an occurrence which is also passed over in our common histories. Sadler, i. 719, 721. The Scottish Protestants were much indebted to Cecil and Throkmorton for the assistance which they obtained from England. A number of the counsellers, who had been in the cabinet of Queen Mary, did all in their power to foster the disinclination of Elizabeth. Lord Gray, in one of his despatches, complains of the influence of these ministers, whom he calls Phillipians, from their attachment to the interest of the King of Spain. Haynes, p. 295.

Note LL, p. 145.

Loyalty of the Scottish Protestants.

The hostile advance of the regent against Perth first drove the lords of the Congregation to take arms in their own defence. Her reiterated infraction of treaties, and the gradual development of her designs, by the introduction of French troops into the kingdom, rendered the prospect of an amicable and permanent adjustment of differences very improbable, and dictated the propriety of strengthening their confederation, that they might be prepared for a sudden and more formidable attack. These considerations are sufficient to justify the posture of defence in which they kept themselves during the summer of 1559, and the steps which they took to secure assistance from England. If their exact situation is not kept in view, an accurate judgment of their conduct cannot be formed, and their partial and temporary resistance to the measures of the regent will be regarded as an avowed rebellion against her authority. But whatever be the modern ideas on this subject, they did not consider the former as necessarily implying the latter, and they continued to profess not only their allegiance to their sovereign, but also their readiness to obey the queen-regent in everything not inconsistent with their security, and the liberties of the nation; nay, they actually yielded obedience to her, by paying taxes to the officers whom she appointed to receive them. Knox, p. 176. Private and confidential letters are justly considered as the most satisfactory evidence as to the intentions of men. Our Reformer, in a letter to Mrs Locke, written on the 25th of July 1559, says, "The queen is retired unto Dunbar. The fine [end] is known unto God. We mean no tumult, no alteration of authority, but only the reformation of religion, and suppression of idolatry." Cald. MS. i. 429. At an early period, indeed, she accused them of a design to throw off their allegiance. When the Prior of St Andrews joined their party, she industriously circulated the report that he ambitiously aimed at the sovereignty, and that they intended to confer it upon him. Knox, 149. Forbes, i. 180. It was one of the special instructions given to Sir Ralph Sadler, when he was sent down to Berwick, that he should "explore the very trueth" as to this report. Sadler, i. 731. In all his confidential correspondence with his court, there is not the slightest insinuation that Sadler had discovered any evidence to induce him to credit that charge. This is a strong proof of the Prior's innocence, if it be taken in connection with what I shall immediately state; not to mention the testimony of Sir James Melvil. Memoirs, p. 27.

When the Earl of Arran joined the Congregation, the queen-regent circulated

the same report respecting him. Knox, p. 174. So far as the Congregation were concerned, this accusation was equally unfounded as the former. Ibid. p. 176. But there are some circumstances connected with it which deserve attention, as they set the loyalty of the Scottish Protestants in a very clear light. The Earl of Arran, and not the Prior of St Andrews, was the favourite of the English court. Messengers were appointed by them to bring him from the Continent; and he was conducted through England into Scotland, to be placed at the head of the Congregation. Forbes, i. 164, 166, 171, 216. Sadler, i. 417, 421, 437, 439. There is also good evidence that the ministers of Elizabeth wished him to be raised to the throne of Scotland, if not also that they had projected the uniting of the two crowns by a marriage between him and Elizabeth. "The way to perfait this assuredly," says Throkmorton to Cecil, "is, that the erle of Arraine do as Edward the IV. did, when he landed at Ravenspurg, [he pretended to the duchy of York, and having that, he would not leave till he had the "diademe"], for then of necessitie th' erle of Arran must depend upon the devotion of England, to maintein and defend himself. I feare all other devises and handelings will prove like an apotecary his shop; and therefore I leave to your discretion to provyde by all meanes for this matter, both there and in Scotland." And again: "Methinks, the lord of Grange, Ledington, Balnaves, and the chief doers of the Congregation (which I wold wish specially to be done and procured by the Prior of St Andrewes), should be persuaded to set forward these purposes before: for there is no way for them to have any safety or surety, oneles thei make the earl of Arran king; and as it is their surety, so it is also ours. In this matter there must be used both wisdome, courage, and sped." Forbes, i. 435, 436. Throkmorton, it is to be observed, was at this time the most confidential friend of Cecil, and, in his despatches from France, pressed the adoption of those measures which the secretary had recommended to the queen and council. Had not the Congregation been decidedly averse to any change of the government which would have set aside their queen, it seems highly probable that this plan would have been carried into execution. The report of an intended marriage between Elizabeth and Arran was general at that time: and whatever were the queen's own intentions, it seems to have been seriously contemplated by her ministers. Forbes, i. 214, 215, 282, 288. This accounts for the recommendation of this measure by the Scottish Estates, after the conclusion of the civil war. Keith, 154.

Note MM, p. 150.

Authorities for the Statement of Knox's Political Principles.

The following extracts from his writings relate to the principal points touched in the statement of his political sentiments:—

"In few wordis to speik my conscience; the regiment of princes is this day cum to that heap of iniquitie, that no godlie man can bruke office or autoritie under thame, but in so doing hie salbe compellit not only aganis equitie and justice to oppress the pure, but also expressedlie to fycht aganis God and his ordinance, either in maintenance of idolatrie, or ellis in persecuting Godis chosin childrene. And what must follow heirof, but that ether princeis be reformit and be compellit also to reform their wickit laws, or els all gud men depart fra thair service and companie." Additions to the Apology of the Parisian Protestants: MS. Letters, p. 477. Dr Robertson has ascribed to Knox and Buchanan an "excessive admiration of ancient policy;" and he says, their "principles, authorities, and examples were all drawn from ancient writers," and their political system founded "not on the maxims of feudal, but of ancient republican government." History of Scotland, vol. i. b. ii. p. 391. Lond. 1809. These assertions need some qualification. If republican government be opposed to absolute monarchy, the principles of Knox and Buchanan may be denominated republican; but if the term (as now commonly understood) be used in contradistinction to monarchy itself, it cannot be shown that they admired or recommended republicanism. They were the friends of limited monarchy. It is the excellence of the government of Britain, that the feudal maxims which once predominated in it have been corrected, or their influence counteracted, by others borrowed from republican constitutions. And it is not a little to the credit of these great men, and evinces their good sense and moderation, that,

notwithstanding all their admiration of ancient models of legislation, in comparison with the existing feudal monuments, they contented themselves with recommending such principles as tended to restrain the arbitrary power of kings, and secure the rights of the people. Nor were all their authorities and examples drawn from ancient writers, as may be seen in Buchanan's dialogue *De Jure Regni apud Scotos.*

In a letter written by him to the queen-dowager, a few days after her suspension from the regency, Knox says, "My toung did bothe perswade and obtein, that your authoritie and regiment suld be obeyed of us in all things lawfull, till ye declair yourself opin enemie to this comoun welthe; as now, allace! ye have done." Historie, p. 180. This declaration is justified by the letters which he wrote to his brethren before his arrival in Scotland. The following extract from a letter addressed to the Protestant nobility, December 17, 1557, is a specimen: "But now, no farder to trubill you at the present, I will onlie advertis you of sic bruit as I heir in thir partis, uncertainlie noysit, whilk is this, that contradictioun and rebellioun is maid to the autoritie be sum in that realme. In whilk poynt my conscience will not suffer me to keip back from you my consall, yea, my judgment and commandement, whilk I communicat with yow in Godis feir, and by the assurance of his trueth, whilk is this, that nane of you that seik to promot the glorie of Chryst do suddanlie disobey or displeas the establissit autoritie in things lawful, neither yet that ye assist or fortifie such as, for their awn particular caus and warldlie promotioun, wald trubill the same. But, in the bowallis of Chryst Jesus, I exhort yow, that, with all simplicitie and lawfull obedience, with beldness in God, and with opin confessioun of your faith, ye seek the favour of the autoritie, that by it (yf possible be) the cause in whilk ye labour may be promotit, or, at the leist, not persecutit: Whilk thing, efter all humill request, yf ye can not atteane, then, with oppin and solemp protestation of your obedience to be given to the autoritie in all thingis not planelie repugnying to God, ye lawfullie may attemp the extreamitie, whilk is, to provyd (whidder the autoritie will consent or no) that Chrystis evangell may be trewlie preachit, and his haly sacramentis rychtlie ministerit unto yow and to your brethren, the subjectis of that realme. And farder ye lawfully may, yea, and thairto is bound, to defend your brethrene from prosecutioun and tiranny, be it aganis princes or emprioris, to the uttermost of your power; provyding alwayis (as I have said) that nether your self deny lawfull obedience, nether yit that ye assist nor promot thois that seik autoritie and pre-eminence of warldlie glorie." MS. Letters, pp. 434, 435.

In a conversation with Queen Mary at Lochleven, we find him inculcating the doctrine of a mutual compact between rulers and subjects. "It sall be profitabill to your majesty to consider quhat is the thing your grace's subjects luiks to receave of your majesty, and quhat it is that ye aucht to do unto thame by mutual contract. They ar bound to obey you, and that not bot in God; ye ar bound to keip lawes unto thame. Ye crave of thame service; they crave of you protectioun and defence against wicked doars. Now, madam, if you sall deny your dewty unto thame, (quhilk especially craves that ye punish malefactors), think ye to receave full obedience of thame?" Historie, p. 327. This sentiment was adopted by his countrymen. The committee appointed by the Regent Moray to prepare overtures for the parliament which met in December 1567 (of which committee our Reformer was a member), agreed to this proposition,—"The band and contract to be mutuale and reciprous in all tymes cuming betwixt the prince and God, and his faithfull people, according to the word of God." Robertson's Records of Parliament, p. 796. This was also one of the articles subscribed at the General Assembly in July preceding; and their language is still more clear and express,—"Mutual and reciproque in all tymes coming betwixt the prince and God, and also betwixt the prince and faithful people." Buik of the Universall Kirk, p. 34, Advocates' Library. Keith. 582. See also the proclamation of the king's authority, in Anderson's Collections, vol. ii. p. 205. Keith, 441. The right of resistance was formally recognised in the inscription on a coin stamped soon after the coronation of James VI. On one of the sides is the figure of a sword with a crown upon it; and the words of Trajan circumscribed, *Pro me; si mereor, in me;—i.e.,* Use this sword for me; if I deserve it, against me. Cardonell's Numismata Scotiæ, plate ix. p. 101. Our Reformer's Appellation may be consulted for the proof of what has been asserted (pp. 151, 152) as to his endeavours to repress aristocratical tyranny, and to awaken the mass of the people to a due sense of their rights. See also his Historie, p. 100. The effect of the Reformation

in extending popular liberty was very visible in the parliament which met in August 1560, in which there were representatives from all the burghs, and a hundred lesser barons, "with mony otheris baronis, fre-halderis, and landit men." Keith informs us that, during a space of no less than seventy-seven years preceding, "scarcely had one of the inferior gentry appeared in parliament. And therefore," adds he, "I know not but it may be deemed somewhat unusual, for a hundred of them to jump all at once into the parliament, especially in such a juncture as the present was." History, pp. 147, 148. The petition presented by the lesser barons for liberty to sit and vote in the parliament has this remarkable clause in it: "Otherwise we think that whatsomever ordinances and statutes be made concerning us and our estate, we not being required and suffered to reason and vote at the making thereof, that the same should not oblige us to stand thereto." Robertson's History of Scotland, Append. No. 4.

Liberal principles respecting civil government accompanied the progress of the Reformation. Knox had the concurrence of English bishops in his doctrine concerning the limited authority of kings, and the lawfulness of resisting them. See above, Note BB, and Note III. And he had the express approbation of the principal divines in the foreign churches. Historie, 363, 366. In the seventeenth century, some of the French reformed divines, in their great loyalty to the *Grand Monarque*, disclaimed our Reformer's political sentiments, and represented them as proceeding from the fervid and daring spirit of the Scottish nation, or adapted to the peculiar constitution of their government. Riveti Castig. in Balzacum, cap. xiii. §14: Oper. tom. iii. p. 539. Quotations from other French authors are given by Bayle, Dict., art. Knox, Note E. In the controversy occasioned by the execution of Charles I. our Reformer's name and principles were introduced. Milton appealed to him, and quoted his writings in defence of that deed. One of Milton's opponents told him that he could produce in his support only a single Scot, "whom his own age could not suffer, and whom all the Reformed, especially the French, condemned in this point." Regii Sanguinis Clamor ad Cœlum, p. 129. Hagæ-Comit. 1625; written by Pierre du Moulin, the son. Milton, in his rejoinder, urges with truth that Knox had asserted that his opinions were approved of by Calvin, and other eminent divines of the reformed churches. Miltoni Defensio Secunda, p. 101.

Long before the controversy respecting the execution of Charles, Milton had expressed himself in terms of high praise concerning our Reformer. Arguing against the abuses committed by licensers of the press, he says, "Nay, which is more lamentable, if the work of any deceased author, though never so famous in his lifetime and even to this day, come to their hands for license to be printed or reprinted, if there be found in his book one sentence of a venturous edge, uttered in the height of zeal (and who knows whether it might not be the dictate of a divine spirit?) yet, not suiting with every low decrepit humour of their own, though it were KNOX himself, the reformer of a kingdom, that spake it, they will not pardon him their dash: the sense of that great man shall to all posterity be lost for the fearfulness, or the presumptuous rashness of a prefunctory licenser. And to what an author this violence hath bin lately done, and in what book of greatest consequence to be faithfully publisht, I could now instance, but shall forbear till a more convenient season." Prose Works, vol. i. p. 311. The tract from which this quotation is made was first published in 1644, the year in which David Buchanan's edition of Knox's History appeared; and Milton evidently refers to that work.

NOTES TO PERIOD SEVENTH.

Note NN, p. 168.

Early Practice of the Church of Scotland.

I shall, in this note, add some particulars respecting the early practice of the Reformed Church of Scotland, under the following heads:—

Of Doctors.—The doctrine of the Church of Scotland, and indeed of other reformed churches, on this head, has not been very uniform and decided. The First Book of Discipline does not mention doctors, but it seems to take for granted what has been stated respecting them in the Book of Common Order, where they are declared to be "a fourth kind of ministers left to the Church of Christ," although the English Church at Geneva could not attain them. Knox's Liturgy, p. 14. Dunlop's Confessions, ii. 409, 410. In the Second Book of Discipline, the office of doctor is expressly mentioned as "ane of the twa ordinar and perpetual functions that travel in the world," and "different from the pastor, not only in name, but in diversity of gifts." The doctor is to "assist the pastor in the government of the kirk, and concur with the elders his brethren in all assemblies," but not "to minister the sacraments or celebrate marriage." Dunlop, ii. 773, 774. The Book of Common Order and Second Book of Discipline agree in comprehending, under the name and office of a doctor, "the order in schooles, colledges, and universities." Ibid. The fact seems to be, that there never were any doctors in the Church of Scotland, except the teachers of divinity in the universities. "Quamvis ecclesia nostra," says Calderwood, "post primam reformationem, quatuor agnoscat ministrorum genera, pastorum, doctorum, presbyterorum, et diaconorum, tamen doctores alios nondum habuit quam scholarchas." De Regimine Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ Brevis Relatio, pp. 1, 2. Anno, 1618. Some writers have asserted, that it was as doctors that Buchanan and Andrew Melville sat, and sometimes presided, in the church courts. The Episcopalians having objected that the Church of Scotland admitted persons to act as moderators in her assemblies who were in no ecclesiastical office, and having appealed to the instances of the two persons above mentioned, Mr Baillie gives this answer: "Mr Melvil was a doctor of divinity, and so long as episcopal persecution permitted, did sit with great renowne in the prime chair we had of that faculty: George Buchanan had sometimes, as I have heard, been a preacher at St Andrews: after his long travells he was employed by our church and state to be a teacher to King James and his family: of his faithfulnesse in this charge he left, I believe, to the world good and satisfactory tokens: the eminency of this person was so great, that no society of men need be ashamed to have been moderated by his wisdome." Historical Vindication, pp. 21, 22. The report which Mr Baillie had heard of Buchanan having been a preacher, probably originated from the divinity lectures which Calderwood informs us he read with great applause in the university of St Andrews. "Buchanan and Mr Melvill were doctors of divinity," says Rutherford, in his Lex Rex, pref. p. 5. Lond. 1644.

Of Readers.—Those employed as readers appear to have often transgressed the bounds prescribed to them, and to have both solemnised marriage and administered the sacraments. Different acts of Assembly were made to restrain these excesses. The General Assembly, in October 1576, prohibited all readers from administering "the holie sacrament of the Lord, except such as hes the word of exhortation." The Assembly which met in July 1579, inhibited them from celebrating marriage, unless they were found meet by "the commission, or synodal assembly." At length, in April 1581, the order was suppressed. "Anent readers: Forsamekle as in assemblies preceding, the office thereof was concludit to be no ordinar office in the kirk of God, and the admission of them suspendit to the present assemblie, the kirk in ane voyce hes votit and concludit farder, that in na tymes coming any reider be admitted to the office of reider, bo any having power within the kirk." Buik of the Universall Kirk, in loc.

Of Superintendents.—The Church of Scotland did not consider superintendents

as ordinary or permanent office-bearers in the Church. They are not mentioned in the Book of Common Order. The First Book of Discipline explicitly declares, that their appointment was a matter of temporary expedience, for the plantation of the Church, and on account of the paucity of ministers. Its words are, "Because we have appointed a larger stipend to them that shall be superintendents than to the rest of the ministers, we have thought good to signifie to your honours such reasons as moved us to make difference betwixt teachers at this time." And again: "We consider that if the ministers whom God hath endowed with his singular graces amongst us should be appointed to several places, there to make their continual residence, that then the greatest part of the realme should be destitute of all doctrine; which should not onely be the occasion of great murmur, but also be dangerous to the salvation of many. And therefore we have thought it a thing most expedient at this time, that from the whole number of godly and learned men, now presently in this realm, be selected ten or twelve, (for in so many provinces we have divided the whole), to whom charge and commandment should be given, to plant and erect kirkes, to set, order, and appoint ministers, as the former order prescribes, to the countries that shall be appointed to their care where none are now." First and Second Books of Discipline, p. 35, printed anno 1621. Dunlop's Confessions, ii. 538, 539. Archbishop Spotswood has not acted faithfully, if his History has been printed, in this place, exactly according to his manuscript. He has omitted the passages above quoted, and has comprehended the whole two paragraphs from which they are extracted in a short sentence of his own, which is far from being a full expression of the meaning of the compiler. History, p. 158. Lond. 1677. This is the more inexcusable, as he says that, for "the clearing of many questions which were afterwards agitated in the Church," he "thought meet word by word to insert the same [the First Book of Discipline], that the reader may see what were the grounds laid down at first for the government of the Church." Ibid. p. 152. He could not be ignorant that the grounds of the appointment of superintendents formed one of the principal questions agitated between him and his Anti-Episcopal opponents. I have examined the copy of the First Book of Discipline, inserted in an old MS. copy of Knox's Historie, and find that it exactly agrees with the quotations which I have made from the editions published in 1621, and by Dunlop. Dr Robertson has been misled by the archbishop. "On the first introduction of his system," says he, "Knox did not deem it expedient to depart altogether from the ancient form. Instead of bishops, he proposed to establish ten or twelve superintendents in different parts of the kingdom." As his authority for this statement, he refers solely to the mutilated account in Spotswood. Hist. Scot. ii. 42, 43. Lond. 1809. Mr Laing, from an examination of the original documents, has given a more accurate account, and pronounced the appointment of superintendents to have been a "temporary expedient." History of Scotland, vol. iii. pp. 17, 18. Lond. 1804.

The superintendents were elected and admitted in the same manner as other pastors. Knox, 263. They were equally subject to rebuke, suspension, and deposition as the rest of the ministers of the Church. In the examination of those whom they admitted to the ministry, they were bound to associate with them the ministers of the neighbouring parishes. They could not exercise any spiritual jurisdiction without the consent of the provincial synods, over which they had no negative voice. They were accountable to the General Assembly for the whole of their conduct. The laborious task imposed upon them is what few bishops have ever submitted to. "They must be preachers themselves;" they are charged to "remain in no place above twenty daies in their visitation, till they are passed through their whole bounds." They "must thrice everie week preach at the least." When they return to their principal town of residence, "they must likewise be exercised in preaching;" and having remained in it "three or foure monthes at most, they shall be compelled (unless by sicknesse they be retained) to re-enter in visitation." Dunlop, ii. 542. De Regimine Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ Brevis Relatio, pp. 5. 6. Epistolæ Philadelphi Vindiciæ contra calumnias Spotswodi: Altare Damascenum, p. 724—727. Ludg. Batav. 1708. In the last-mentioned tract (of which Calderwood was the author) the difference between the Scottish superintendents and Anglican bishops is drawn out under thirteen heads. Spotswood's treatise is entitled, Refutatio Libelli de Regimine Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ. Lond. 1620.

The *Visitors*, or *Commissioners* of provinces, exercised the same power as the

superintendents; the only difference between them was, that the former received their commission from one Assembly to another. Altare Damascenum, p. 727. But these commissions appear sometimes to have been granted for a longer period; for one of Robert Pont's titles was Commissioner of Moray. Perhaps, in this case, a commissioner differed from a superintendent, merely in not being obliged to have his stated residence within the bounds of the province committed to his inspection.

Of the weekly Exercise, or *Prophesying.*—This was an exercise on the Scriptures, intended for the improvement of ministers, the trial of the gifts of those who might afterwards be employed in the service of the Church, and the general instruction of the people. It was to be held in every town "where schools and repaire of learned men are." For conducting the exercise, there was an association of the ministers, and other learned men, in the town and vicinity, called "the company of interpreters." They alternately expounded a passage of Scripture; and others who were present were encouraged to deliver their sentiments. After the exercise was finished, the constituent members of the association retired, and delivered their judgment on the discourses which had been delivered. Books of Discipline, *ut supra,* p. 60—62. Dunlop, ii. 587—591. After the erection of regular presbyteries, this exercise formed an important part of their employment; and at every meeting, two of the members by turns were accustomed to expound the Scriptures. De Regimine Eccl. Scot. Brevis Relatio, p. 3. Until lately, traces of this ancient practice remained, and there is reason to regret that it has generally gone into desuetude among Presbyterian bodies. Associations of the same kind were formed in England. From 1571 to 1576 they spread through that kingdom, and were patronised by the Bishops of London, Winton, Bath and Wells, Litchfield, Gloucester, Lincoln, Chichester, Exon, St David's, by Sandys, Archbishop of York, and by Grindal, Archbishop of Canterbury. Several of the courtiers, as Sir Walter Mildmay, Sir Francis Knollys, and Sir Thomas Smith, greatly approved of them; and, at a future period, they were recommended to King James by Lord Bacon. But they were suppressed by an imperious mandate from Elizabeth. Some interesting particulars respecting their number, regulations, and suppression, may be seen in Strype's Annals, ii. 90—95, 219, 220, 318—324, 486. Life of Grindal, 219—227, 230, 299, 300. Life of Parker, 460—462. They were formed on the model of the Scottish Exercises, and in their regulations, the very words of the First Book of Discipline are sometimes used. A species of ecclesiastical discipline was joined with them in some dioceses. I also observe a striking resemblance between the directions given by Bishop Scambler for the celebration of the Lord's Supper, and the mode which was then used in Scotland, particularly as to the circumstances of two communions or ministrations on the same day, and the early hour of the service. Strype's Annals, ii. 91, compared with Scott's History of the Scottish Reformers, p. 192.

Keith has given a quotation from the MS. copy of Spotswood's History, in which the archbishop signifies, that at the time of the compilation of the First Book of Discipline, several of the reformed ministers wished to retain the ancient polity, after removing the grosser corruptions and abuses, but that Knox overruled this motion. Keith, 492. But there is no trace, in the authentic documents of that period, of any diversity of opinion among the Scottish reformers on this head. The supposition is contradicted by Row (see above, p. 165), and by their own language. Dunlop, iii. 518. Knox's Historie, 282. It is probable that the archbishop's story had its original at a later period, when the design of conforming the Church of Scotland to the English model began to be entertained. I am not inclined to give much more credit to another tale of Spotswood, respecting a message which Archbishop Hamilton is said to have sent to Knox by John Brand. History, 174. Keith, 495.

Note OO, p. 170.

Sentiments of the Reformed Ministers respecting Tithes and the Property of the Church.

These are laid down in the First Book of Discipline, chaps. v. and viii. Dunlop, ii. 533—538, 562—568. Considerable light is also thrown upon them by the private

writings of that period. The reformed ministers did not regard tithes as of divine right, nor think that it was sacrilegious in every case to apply to secular purposes those funds which had been originally set apart to a religious use. But they held that, by the Christian as well as the Jewish law, a competent subsistence was appointed to be made for the ministers of religion; that it is incumbent on a nation which has received the true religion to make public provision for the outward maintenance of its ordinances; that the appropriation of the tenth part of property for this purpose is at least recommended by primeval usage, by the sanction of divine wisdom in the Jewish constitution, and by the laws and practice of Christian empires and kingdoms; that property which had been set apart and given for religious ends could not justly, or without sacrilege, be alienated, as long as it was needed for these purposes; and that though many of the donors might have had the support of superstitious observances immediately in their eye, still it was with a view to religion that they made such gifts. In as far as it should appear that the ecclesiastical revenues were superabundant and unnecessary, they were willing that the surplus should be applied to the common service of the state. To illustrate their sentiments on this subject, and the manner in which they complained of the alienation of church property, I shall add a few extracts from some of their writings which are not commonly consulted.

My first extracts shall be from Ferguson's sermon, to which our Reformer set his hand a little before his death. Having given an account of the law of Moses, the ordinance of the New Testament, and the practice of the primitive church, he adds, "Ye se, then, that the ministers of the primitive kirk (that levit befoir princes wer Christianes and nurishers of the kirk, as it was propheseit), wer na beggaris, suppois they wer no lordis that aboundit in superfluous welth, as the papis bischoppis did; bot had sufficient as weill for the necessitie of thair owin families, as for the help of uther Christianes that now and then, as occasiones servit, repairit to thair housis. Quhen the tyme come foirspokin bi David (Psal. lxviii. and cii.) that kingis and empereouris, and thair kingdomes, suld serve the Lord, and bring giftes unto him," they, "following his example that only is wyse, ordainit be thair authoritie, that the tiendis sulde serve to the same use in the tyme of the gospell." —"Our youth aucht also to be nurischit and maintenit at the schuillis, and thairoutof efterward might spring preicheris, counsellouris, physiciounis, and all other kinds of learnit men that we have neid of. For the scheulis are the seid of the kirk and common welth, and our childrene are the hope of the posteritie, quhilk being neglectit, thair can nathing be luikit for bot that barbarous ignorance sall overflow all. For suppois God has wonderfullie, at this time, steirit up priecheris amang us, even quhen darkness and ignorance had the upperhand, he will not do sa heirefter, seeing we have the ordinarie meane to provide them, quhilk gif we contempne, in vane sall we loke for extraordinary proviscioun. Israel was miraculusslie fed in the wildernes with manna, bot how soon thay did eit of the corne of the land of Canaan, the manna ceissit, nouther had they it ony moir, bot levit efterward on the frute of the ground, ordinarilie labourit with thair handis. I speik to prudent men that may understand and judge quhat I say." After deploring the decayed state of the churches and schools, and the poverty of the ministers, he adds, "I am compellit to speik this, thocht I be als plane as pleasant, and appear to yow as the greatest fule of the rest to stand up heir to utter that quhilk other men thinkis. Weill; let me be countit a fule for speiking the treuth. I regard not; nouther may I spair to speik it, thocht I suld be judgeit in our awin cause to be carryit away with a particular affectioun; following heirin the exampil of our prophet Malachie."—"Ye marvel, I doubt not, quhy ye have not prevailit aganis yone throtcutteris and unnaturall murtherers within the towne and castell of Edinburgh, specially ye heving a maist just actioun, being ma in number, and mair vailyeant men, and nathing inferiour to thame in wisdome, circumspectioun, or ony gud qualiteis, outher of body or mynd. Bot ceis to marvel; for the caus quhy that ye have not prevailit aganis thame long or now, amang mony uther your sinnis quhairwith ye are defylt, is this, that the spuilyie of the pure is in your housis; ye invaid that quhilk our forbearis gave of gude zeil to Goddis honour, and the commoun welth of the kirk; ye spuilye to your awn private usis, without outher ryme or resoun, nouther will ye be controllit. This, this, I say, is the chief caus that nathing prosperis in your handis. I grant that our fatheris, of immoderate

zeill (besyde the teindis and necessarie rentis of the kirk), gave thairunto superfluously, and mair nor aneuch. Quhat then is to be done? but that the preicheris of God's word be reasonablie sustenit, seing thair is eneuch and over mekil to do it, the schullis and the pure be weill provydit, as they aucht, and the tempellis honestly and reverently repairit, that the pepill, without injurie of wynd or wedder, may sit and heir Goddis word, and participat of his haly sacramentis. And gif thair restis ony thing unspendit quhen this is done (as na dout thair wil), in the name of God, let it be bestowit on the nixt necessarie affairis of the commoun welth, and not to any mannis private commoditie." Ane Sermon preachit befoir the Regent and Nobilitie—be David Fergussono. B. iv. v. C. Lepruik, 1572.

The following extracts are taken from Sermons against Sacrilege by Robert Pont. "From the yeare of our Lorde 1560, unto this present time, the greatest study of all men of power of this land, hes bene, by all kinde of inventions, to spoyle the kirk of Christ of her patrimonie, by chopping and changing, diminishing of rentals, converting of victual in small sumes of money: setting of fewes within the availe, long tackes uppon tackes, with two or three liferentes, with many twentie yeares in an tack, annexationes, erectiones of kirk-rents in temporall livings and heritage, pensiones, simple donationes, erecting of new patronages, union of teindes, making of new abattes, commendataries, priors, with other papistical titles, which ought to have no place in a reformed kirk and countrie: with an infinite of other corrupt and fraudfull waies, to the detriment and hurte of the kirke, the schooles, and the poore, without any stay or gaine-calling.

"Treuth it is, parliaments have been conveened, and acts have bene made, for providing ministers of competent livinges; for reparaling of parish kirkes, for trayning up the youth in schooles of theologie. It hath bene also promised and subscribed in writte, by a great parte of the nobilitie, that the poore labourers of the grounde should have an ease and reliefe of the rigorous exacting of their teindes: and many other good thinges have been devised, tending to the advancement of the glorie of God, and establishing of Christ his kingdome. Amongst us, namely, in time of the governemente of that good regente (whome for honoures cause I name) who, although he could not doe all that hee would have done (having so manie hinderances and enemies), yet his dooings might have been a perfite patterne of godlinesse to the reste of the nobilitie, to make thame bene content to live uppon their owne rentes, and to cease from robbing and spoyling the patrimonie of the kirke." Having proposed the objection, that the Levitical law of Moses is abrogated, and that therefore his authorities from the Old Testament had no force under the gospel, he adds: "I aunswere concerning these lands or annual rentes, out of landes delated and given to the kirke, that although the Leviticall lawe, with the ceremonies thereof, concerning the outwarde observation, hath taken an ende, and is fulfilled in Christ; yet the substance of the policie, concerning interteinment of the service of God, and uphold of religion, still remaines. And it is no lesse necessarie that the ministerie of God amongst us be mainteined; and that sufficient provision be made to serve other godlie uses, whereunto the kirke-rentes ought to be applyed, nor it was that the priestes and levites shoulde bene upholden in the time of the olde law. And as to the holinesse or unholines of these landes and revenues: albeit in their owne nature (as I said in the former sermon) they be like other earthly possessiones; yet, in so far as they were applyed to an holy use, they may wel be called holy possessions and rents, as the kirk is holy, to whose use they are appointed. I will not deny but the teindes might be possibly changed, in other meanes of sufficient provision for the kirke, if such godly zeale were now amongst men, as was of olde time. But in so farre as we see the plane contrarie, that men are now readier to take away than ever our predecessors were to give; it were a foolish thing to loose the certaine for the uncertaine, and that which is never likely to come to passe." Pont's Sermons against Sacrilege. B, 8. C, 2. C, 8. E, 6. Waldegrave, 1599.

It appears from the following extract that Pont undertook this work at the desire of the General Assembly. "July 3, 1591. Mr Robert Pont is ordained to writ against sacrilege, and show his travells to the next assembly." Matthew Crawfurd's MS. History of the Church of Scotland, vol. i. p. 161.

Note PP, p. 171.

Of John Row, and the introduction of Hebrew Literature into Scotland.

The following notices of Row's employment at Rome are furnished by a very curious and valuable manuscript in the possession of Thomas Thomson, Esquire. Besides papal bulls relating to bishoprics and benefices in Scotland about the middle of the sixteenth century, it contains a number of important documents as to the correspondence between the Scottish primate and the Roman court, together with accounts of receipts and disbursements by the agent at Rome for the Earl of Arran, governor of Scotland, John Hamilton, Archbishop of St Andrews, and Gavin and Claud Hamilton. John Row was employed as their procurator. In "Ane Recollectioun of my lord of Sanct Andros missives to my lord of Kilwinning," (MS., p. 324), is the following article:—

"And is content M. Johne Row was put in charge of his l[ordship's] affairs in Rome, xi. Martii, 1554."

In "Ane memoir of all things left wᵗ M. Johne Row be Gavin, commendator of Kilwinning, at his departing of Rome, 20 mēssis Martii, 1555" (MS., p. 240), is the following:—

"Item, appointed wᵗ M. Johne Row for the provestrie of Kirkfield, and caus M. Alexʳ Forres send his mandat to ratify the xxˡⁱ pension reservit to the said M. Jhone."

In a variety of letters to the pope, "concerning my lord duckis bairnis, my lord archbishope of Sanctandros, bischope Argile, my lord Kilwinning self, and utheris thair frends," to cardinal Sermonet, "regni Scotiæ promotori," and to other members of the sacred college, from John, Archbishop of St Andrews, Gavin, coadjutor to the archbishop, James Earl of Arran, and Mary dowager queen and regent of the kingdom; written during the years 1555 and 1556, and inserted in the same manuscript, John Row is recognised and recommended as "procurator for the see of St Andrews." At the close of the book is a table of ciphers, with an explanation, to which this title is prefixed, "Ciphre send be my l. of Sanct andros of Edʳ xiij May 1555, to M. Johne Row in Rome."

One great object of the negotiation with Rome, in which Row was employed, was the obtaining of a confirmation and extension of the powers formerly granted to the Archbishop of St Andrews as primate and *legatus natus* of Scotland, from which Gavin Dunbar, late Archbishop of Glasgow, had procured an exemption. In support of his claim, the primate urges, that "there had always been a great number of heretics in the diocese of Glasgow;" that its proximity to England "gave easy ingress and egress to persons of bad manners and opinions;" that various scandals and enormities, such as "the burning of the images of God and the saints, the contempt of prelates, the beating of priests and monks, and the eating of forbidden meats," were committed within its bounds, and that the archbishop could not suppress these evils in his diocese, and at the same time hindered the primate from exerting his power for this purpose. The following passage, in one of the informations presented to the court of Rome, throws light on the fate of two individuals whom we have already (pp, 80, 322) had occasion to mention. "Insuper cum magna pars dioc̄ Glasgueñ nuper fuerat heresibus infecta, et tam durante vita dicti quondam Gavini vltimi archiepiscopi Glasgueñ quam sede vacante, maxima scandala contra Catholicam fidem perpetrabantur. nec in potestate sedis Glasgueñ et suorum suffraganeorum erat eorem potentie resistere. Sed D. Archiepiscopus Sancti andree modernus metropolitano ac jure prouinciali eandem diocesin visitavit, et repurgavit malis hominibus heresiarchis. In cuius testimonium ipse sua propria persona expugnavit locum de Ochiltre, et inde inuito domino ejusdem detrusit ad carceres et vincula *quendam apostatam nomine Macbraire* heresiarcham, et eiusdem fautores gravibus penis mulctauit. Et similiter alterum *Vallasium* nuncupatum in sua heresi perseuerantem in eadem diocesi Glasgueñ natum hereticas opiniones profitentem publica omnium regni ordinum prelatorum conuentione *de heresi conuictum et condemnatum* curie traditit seculari ad *comburendum*. Et ita curavit heresis pestem puniri quod sedes Glasgueñ minime potuit facere, que res

cum sic notissima probationi vlteriori non multum indigens que si esset necessaria omnibus Scotis Rome satis innotescit." MS. fol. 179, comp. fol. 185—187.

Row left Rome on the 20th of May, and arrived in Scotland on the 29th of September 1558. The following is the account of his conversion from popery given by his son. Being in Cleish, the house of the gentleman who had detected the imposture at Musselburgh (see p. 158), the young man who was said to have been cured of blindness was brought into his presence, where he "played his pavie," by "flyping up the lid of his eyes and casting up the white." While Row was confounded at this discovery, the gentleman addressed him very seriously: "Weill, Mr John Row, ye are a great clergyman, and a great linguist and lawyer, but I charge you, as you must answer to the great God at the last day, that ye do not now hold out any light that God offers you, but that ye will, as soon as ye come to your study, close the door upon you, and take your Bible, and seriously pray to God that ye may understand the Scriptures.—Read the 2d chap. of the 2d epistle to the Thessalonians; and if ye do not see your master, the pope, to be the great antichrist who comes with lying wonders to deceive the people of God (as now he and his deceiving rabble of clergy in Scotland have done lately at Musselburgh), ye shall say Squire Meldrum has no skill." Row, Historie of the Kirk, p. 356; copy of the MS. transcribed in 1726. After conference with several of the reformed ministers, and particularly Knox, he made formal abjuration of popery. "Ipse Nuncius," says his grandson, "nassa evangelii irretitus, ejus pura, pia, pathetica prædicatione inescatus, pontificiis syrtibus, famigerati Knoxi opera, extractus est." Hebreæ linguæ Institutiones, a M. Joa. Row, epist. dedic. A 3, b. Glasguæ, 1644. In the beginning of the year 1560 he was admitted minister of Kilconquhar in Fife, where he married Margaret Beatoun, a daughter of the laird of Balfour. Row's Historie, *ut supra*. Before the end of that year he was translated to Perth. Knox, 236. Keith, 498. His son informs us that he was born at Row, a place situated between Stirling and Dunblane, and which belonged to the family. That he was an author appears from the testament of Thomas Bassinden, printer in Edinburgh, who died on the 18th of October 1577, and the inventory of whose goods contains the following line: "Item, ane M. Johne Rowis signes of the sacramentis, price xijd."

During his residence in Italy, Row had acquired the knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew languages. The latter was at that time almost entirely unknown in Scotland, and he immediately began, at the recommendation of his brethren, to teach it. The grammar school of Perth was then the most celebrated in the kingdom, and noblemen and gentlemen were accustomed to send their children thither for their education. Many of these were boarded with Row, who instructed them in Greek and Hebrew. As nothing but Latin was spoken by the boys in the school and in the fields, so nothing was spoken in Row's house but French. The passages of Scripture read in the family before and after meals, if in the Old Testament, were read in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, and English; if in the New Testament, they were read in Greek, &c. His son John, when he was between four and five years old, was taught the Hebrew characters, before he knew the English letters; and at eight years of age he read the Hebrew chapter in the family. When he went to the newly erected university of Edinburgh, his uncommon acquaintance with the Hebrew language attracted the particular notice of the learned and amiable Principal Rollock. Row's Historie, 372—375. Hebreæ Ling. Institut. *ut supra*. Row gave instructions to the master of the grammar school in the Greek tongue, by which means it came to be afterwards taught in Perth. And in 1637 his grandson, John Row, became rector of that school, in which he taught Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. This produced the following encomiastic verses by John Adamson, principal of the college of Edinburgh:—

Perthana quondam Latialis linguæ schola
Laude cluebat, fueratque unius labri;
Nunc est trilinguis, Latio jungens Græciam,
Et huic Palæstinam; omnium linguis loquens.
O ter beatam te nunc Perthanam scholam!
O ter beatum Rollum rectorem tuum!
Per quem juventus, barbariæ procul habitu,
Rudis et tenella primulis labellulis
Solymas, Atheuas, et Romam scite sonat.

About the year 1567, James Lawson (afterwards Knox's successor at Edinburgh) returned from the Continent, where he had studied Hebrew. The professors of St Andrews prevailed on him to give lessons in that language in their university. Life of Lawson, p. 2, in Wodrow's MS. Collections, vol. i. Bibl. Coll. Glas. As he was made sub-principal in the university of Aberdeen in 1569, it is to be presumed that he would also teach that language there. Lawson, after his settlement in Edinburgh, patronised the interests of literature in this city. It was chiefly by his exertions that the buildings for the high school were completed in 1578. His intentions were to have it erected into a university, or at least to make it *schola illustris*, with classes of logic and philosophy. The books destined for the library were kept in his house, previous to the foundation of the college. Crawfurd's History of the University of Edinburgh, pp. 19, 20. It is unnecessary to say anything here of the influence which Andrew Melville exerted on the promotion of Oriental literature in this country. Thomas Smeton, who succeeded Melville as principal of the university of Glasgow, was a Hebrew scholar, as appears from his answer to Hamilton's Dialogue. Those who held the situation of principal in the universities at that time were accustomed to teach such branches of learning as were most neglected.

Note Q Q, p. 171.

George Buchanan.

As everything relating to this scholar must be interesting to the learned, I shall add a few notices of him which have been hitherto overlooked.

The following entries in the Treasurer's Accounts refer to the period during which he was tutor to James Stuart, abbot of Melrose and Kelso, an illegitimate son of James V.

"Anno 1536. Item, the xvi day of februar, be the kingis gracis precept and speciale cōmand, to Maister George Balquhanan and Andro Mylin, seruandis to lord James, to be thame twa gownis, xi elnis pareis blak, price of the elne xxxij^{s}. Sum̄a, xvij^{li} xij^{s}, &c., &c.

"Augt 1537. Item, to Maist^{r} George Buchquhanan, at the king's command, xx^{li}.

[July 1537.] "Item, for vi elnis paris blak to be Maister George Balquhanan ane gown, price of the elne xxxvi^{s}. Sum̄a, x^{li} xvi^{s}." [Compot. Thesaur.]

From the manuscript belonging to Thomas Thomson, Esq., quoted in the preceding note, it appears that an absolution was procured at Rome for George Buchanan, by the Regent Arran and the Archbishop of St Andrews; and that his brother Patrick was appointed tutor to the regent's children at Paris. In an accompt entitled "The archden of Sanctandros memo^{le} of expenses in Rome" (MS. p. 141), is the following article:—

[1553.] "Item, for M. George Balquhañanes absolution, crowns 9."

In the papers of Gawen, commendator of Kilwinning (MS. pp. 204, 206, 235, 325), are the following articles:—

"Item, given to M. Patric Balquhannan to ane gud compt, 24 July 1554, v^{c} franks.

"And I haif left with M. Patric Balquhannan in ane steil box v^{c} crownis, 1 Rois nobilis, and xiiij Hary nobilis. Parisiis, 28th July 1554.

"Memoir of the geir left with Maister Patrik Bawquhenan the xxvii day of July, anno liiij^{o}, at my departyng to Chattelleraut, &c.

"And to tak sikernes at M. Patric Balquhanan suld serve my lordis bairnis, and quitclame his pension quhen he war benefitit 26. 1554."

The following extracts from the Treasurer's Accounts refer to the year 1568, when Buchanan accompanied the Regent Moray to England, to justify the charges against Mary Queen of Scots:—

"Item, the said day [27 May] to ane boy passand of Stirriling, w^{t} clois writtings of my lord regent g. to the lard of Buchquhannane and Maister George Buchquhannane, being baith in Sanctandr. iiij.

"June 26th. Item, the said day to ane boy passand of Edinburgh to Sanctandrois w^{t} ane clois writting of my lord regent g. to Maister George Buchquhannane, v^{s}.

"Item, the said xxvij day of August, be my lord regentis grace speciale command, to Maister George Buchquhanane, v elns ij quarteris of fyne blak veluote, ye eln vij^{li}. Sum̃a, xxxviij^{li} x^{s}.

"Item, to him ane sleik of chamlot of silk, xxij^{li}.

"Item, ij elnis ij quarteris of Londoun claith, the eln iiij^{li} x^{s}. Summa, xij^{li} vij^{s} vjd." [Compt. Thesaur.]

As his imprisonment in Portugal, and his release from confinement, have been imperfectly related, I shall here insert two accounts of them, which have escaped the notice of his biographers. Principal Smeton's account, which was most probably derived from Buchanan himself, is the following: "Vivit adhuc," says he in his answer to Hamilton, "te utinam diu vivat, orbis terrarum, non Scotiæ tantum, decus GEORGIUS BUCHANANUS; quem inepte facerem, si a rabidi canis latratu defendere conarer, extra omnem ingenii aleam omnium judicio constitutum. Quod de abjurata ab eo hæresi adscribis, impudentissimum est mendacium, Hamiltoni. Duplici quidem de causa in veræ religionis suspicionem in Lusitania venit; tum quod Seraphici ordinis mysteria in Franciscano suo apertius reuelasset: tum quod in priuato colloquio discipulis quibusdam dixisset, videri sibi Augustinum transubstantiationis figmento non prorsus fauere. In carcerem coniectus causam capitis perorauit. Franciscanum se regis sui iussu scripsisse; nec quicquam in eo esse quod vllum fidei Christianæ dogma conuellat. Versus quosdam memoriter pronuntiare iussus (nam nemo ibi libellum habebat) memoriæ iacturam causatus est. De transubstantione respondit; non alia se quam Augustini verba recitasse, ex cap. 16. lib. 3. de Doctrina Christiana. Quæ sic habent. 'Si præceptiua locutio est, aut flagitium aut facinus vetans, aut vtilitatem aut beneficentiam iubens, non est figurata: Si autem flagitium aut facinus videtur iubere, aut vtilitatem aut beneficentiam vetare, figurata est. Nisi manducaueritis, inquit, carnem filij hominis et sanguinem biberitis, non habebitis vitam in vobis: facinus vel flagitium videtur iubere. Figura est ergo, præcipiens passioni DOMINI esse communicandum, et suauiter atque vtiliter recondendum in memoria, quod pro nobis caro eius crucifixa et vulnerata sit.' Hæc, inquit, si hæresim sapiunt, prius Augustinum damnate; quod vt feceritis, haud æquum tamen erit, vt ego alinæ culpæ pœnas luam. Ergo cum nec ratione, nec testimonio cuiusquam conuinci posset, iudicum calculis absolutus in Galliam redijt; tanto bonarum litterarum damno, vt ipsemet postea Lusitaniæ Rex amantissimis eum scriptis reuocarit. Sed frustra. Summo enim DEI beneficio ex crudelissimis inquisitorum manibus liberatus, in discrimen se iterum conijcere noluit: cum in Gallia præsertim, omnium quæ sub sole sunt regionum humanitate, optimarum artium studijs et doctorum numero prima, opimæ illi, et admodum honorificæ conditiones deferrentur. Sed BUCHANANUM singularis animi candor, et in omni genere perspecta virtus satis per se defendet." Smetoni Responsio ad Virulentum Arch. Hamiltonii Dialogum, Edinburgi, 1579, pp. 89, 90.

I shall add the account which Archibald Hamilton gives of this affair, in his reply to Smeton, although the judicious reader will be of opinion that no credit is due to such a writer, especially when his testimony is flatly contradicted by that of Smeton, and of Buchanan himself. "Tam illud quidem contra regis Scotorum integritatem, quam hoc contra *Hyspanorum nunquam satis laudatam in examinandis hæreticis severitatem*, malitiose confictum, et utrumque longe falsissimum est. Neque enim Jacobus Quintus, in tenenda atque asserenda fide Catholica princeps nulli omnium secundus, tam impuro et procaci pasquillo, auctorem se unquam dedisset: neq; theologorum gravissima censura, tam impiam athei poetæ dicacitatem impune abire permisisset: et ut prioris mendacii falsitas illustrium dominorum Askein et Levingston publico testimonio evicta tunc fuit: quando legatione apud Gallos functi, regis nomine hæreseos convictum Buchananum Hyspanorum legato detulerunt: Ita ducentorum qui non disputationem sed supplicem lachrymantis deprecationem audiverunt, sententiis, alterius illius figmenti venitas coargui potest. sin illæ non satis fortiter premunt quod longe a nobis absint, et nostrorum hominum, quod rei gestæ non interfuerunt narratio digna fide minus videatur: Publicè tamen urbis commentarii, in quos res gestæ referri solent, auctoritate vacare non debent, qui aperte adhuc testabuntur non Augustini testimonio. cap. 17. libri tertii de doctrina Christiana, sed Psalmographi versum, psalmo vigesimo quarto, subsidio ei tunc fuisse: dum ad Cardinalis pedes provolutus, flebili voce, verba ista proferebat (delicta juventutis meæ et ignorantias ne memineris Domine) eam recantationis formulam, ab eo tunc temporis usurpatum, ad eum sane finem obiter attigi, ut

tandem Scotia intelligeret, quam gravem et constantem nunc patriarcham in religione sequitur: dum levis poetæ et abjurati hæretici paradoxa omnia pro certissimis spiritus sancti oraculis habet." Calvinianæ Confusionis Demonstratio.—per Archibaldum Hammiltonium, p. 252, b. 253 a. Parisiis, 1581.

Note RR, p. 172.

David Ferguson, and the Cultivation of the Scottish Language.

I have said in the text, that the reformers, while they exerted themselves to revive the knowledge of the learned languages, did not neglect the improvement of their native tongue; and that, among others, David Ferguson, minister of Dunfermline, distinguished himself in this department. It appears, from a document already produced (Note GG), that he belonged originally to Dundee. Though "not graduated in a college," he was very far from being illiterate, and was much admired for the quickness of his wit and good taste, as well as for his piety—"elegantis ingenii et magnæ pietatis virum," says Smeton, Responsio ad Hamilt. Dialog. p. 92. Row's Coronis to his Historie, p. 314 of copy in Divinity Lib. Edin. The sermon which he preached at Leith before the regent and nobility, and afterwards published (see above, p. 266), is a proof of this; and, had it not been a sermon, would most probably have been republished before this time, as a specimen of good Scottish composition. Extracts from it may be seen in Note OO. John Davidson, then one of the regents at St Andrews, celebrated the success of the author in refining his vernacular language, in the following Latin lines, which are prefixed to the sermon:—

Græcia melifluo quantum det nestoris ori,
Aut Demostheneo debeat eloquio;
Ipsi facundo quantum (mihi crede) parenti
Attribuat linguæ turba togata suæ;
Nos tibi, Fergusi, tantum debere fatemur,
Scotauam linguam qui reparare studes.
Sermonem patriam ditas; inculta vetustas
Horret qua longe barbariemque fugas;
Adde etiam, neque abest facundis gratia dictis,
Respondet verbis materia apta tuis.
Quod satis ostendit nobis tua concio præsens,
Qua nihil in lucem doctius ire potest.

Besides this sermon, Ferguson was the author of a collection of Scottish Proverbs, and of an Answer to the Rejoinder, which the Jesuit Tyrie made to Knox. That abusive writer, James Laing, calls this last work "a barbarous, and Scotican epistle, and rails against its author as an *ignorant sutor* and *glover*, who knew neither Hebrew, nor Greek, nor Latin. As for himself, although a Scotsman, Laing tells us that he thought it beneath him to write in a language which was fit only for barbarians and heretics. "Tres sunt linguæ elegantes et ingenuæ, Hebraica, Græca, et Latina, quæ nobilibus principibus—sunt dignæ: cæteras linguas, cum sint barbaræ, barbaris et hæreticis tanquam propriis relinquo." De Vita Hæreticorum, Dedic. p. ult. et p. 31. Paris, 1581. Notwithstanding this writer's boasting of his literature, and the opportunities which he takes to display it, he did not know the top from the bottom of a Hebrew letter, if we may judge from his book, p. 94, b. Laing's objection to the literature of Ferguson may, however, be thought as solid as that which another popish writer has brought against his morals, by accusing him of *using pepper instead of salt to his beef:* "At hi quibus carnem accendant irritentque, novas artes quotidie excogitant;" and on the margin he says, "Exemplo est David Ferguson ad macerandas carnes bubulas pipere pro sale utens." Hamilton, De Confusione Calvinianæ Sectæ, p. 76. But to do justice to Hamilton, it is proper to mention that pepper was at that time so high priced as to be a morsel only for a pope or a cardinal, and very unfit for the mouths of barbers, cobblers, &c., of which rank, he tells us, the reformed preachers generally were. Principal Smeton, after saying that Ferguson had reared a numerous family on a very moderate stipend, adds: "Undenam ergo illi, amabo te, tantum piperis ad carnes quotannis macerandas quantum sexcentis apud nos aureis nummis nemo

unquam compararit?" Smetoni Responsio ad Hamilt. p. 95. The truth is, there was too much salt and pepper in the writings of Ferguson for the Papists.

A number of Ferguson's witty sayings are recorded by his son-in-law, John Row. James VI., who resided frequently at Dunfermline, used to take great delight in his conversation. "David," said James to him one day, "why may not I have bishops in Scotland as well as they have in England?"—"Yea, Sir, replied Ferguson, "ye may have bishops here; but remember ye must make us all bishops, else will ye never content us. For if ye set up ten or twelve lowns over honest men's heads (honest men will not have your antichristian prelacies), and give them more thousands to debaueh and misspend than honest men have hundreds or scores, we wil never al be content. We ar Paul's bishopis, Sir, Christ's bishopis; ha'd us as we are." "The d—l haid aills you," replied James, "but that ye would all be alike; ye cannot abide ony to be abone you."—"Sir!" said the minister, "do not ban." Row's Coronis to his Historie of the Kirk, p. 314. Ferguson seems to have amused himself with some of those incidents which were generally reckoned ominous. The king having once asked him, very seriously, what he thought was the reason that the Master of Gray's house shook during the night, he answered, "Why should not the devil rock his awin bairns?" Having met at St Andrews along with other commissioners of the church, to protest against the inauguration of Patrick Adamson as archbishop of that see, one came in and told them that there was a crow "crouping" on the roof of the church. "That's a bad omen," said he, shaking his head, "for inauguration is from *avium garritu*, the raven is omnimodo a black bird, and it cries *corrupt, corrupt, corrupt.*" Row's Historie, p. 40.

It may not be improper to insert here the inscription on the tomb of John Row, the historian to whom I have so often been indebted, who was third son of the learned minister of Perth, and married Grizzel, daughter to David Ferguson of Dunfermline. It is on his monument in the churchyard of Carnock.

"Hic jacet M. Jo. Row, Pastor hujus Ecclesiæ fidelissimus. Vixit acerrimus veritatis et fœderis Scoticani assertor, Hierarchiæ pseudo-episcopalis, et Romanorum rituum, eordicitus osor, in frequenti symmystarum apostasia eubi instar constantissimus.—Duxit Gricellidam Fergusonam, cum qua annos 51 conjunctissime vixit. Huic ecclesiæ annos 54 praefuit. Obiit Junij 26to, anno domini 1646. Ætatis 78. Obiit et illa Januarij 30mo, 1659."

Note SS, p. 172.

Order of Procedure at the first Meetings of the General Assembly.

The first appointment of a moderator was in December 1563. "It was proponit to the haill assemblie yat ane moderator suld be appointit for avoyding confusioun in reasoning." Buik of the Universall Kirk, p. 8. The Assembly which met at Perth, August 1572, ordained, as a perpetual law, that no person, of whatever estate, take in hand to speak without licence asked and given by the moderator, that moderation should be kept in reasoning, and silence when commanded by the moderator, under pain of removal from the Assembly, and not to re-enter during that convention. Ibid. p. 55. In July 1568, to correct evils, "be reason of the pluralitie and confusion of voices," it was enacted, that none should have power to vote but superintendents, commissioners appointed to visit kirks, ministers "brought with yame, presented as habile to reasone, and having knowledge to judge," and commissioners of burghs, shires, and universities. The ministers were to be chosen at the synodal convention of the diocese, by consent of the rest of the ministry and gentlemen that shall convene at the said synodal convention; commissioners of burghs by "the counsell and kirk of their awn townes."—"None to be admitted without suffieient commission or wreit." And to prevent a monopoly of power, they were to be changed from Assembly to Assembly. Ibid. p. 38. The Assembly, March 15⅞, settled the following order of procedure. After sermon and prayer by the former moderator,—1. A new moderator to be chosen. 2. Superintendents, commissioners, &c. to be tried. First, the superintendents being removed, inquiry was made of the ministers and commissioners of their bounds, if they had any charges to lay against them as to neglect of duty, &c. If any charge was brought, it was examined, and sentence passed. The same order was observed in

the trial of the other members of Assembly. 3. The case of penitents and persons under censure to be considered. Lastly, The business left undecided by last Assembly, or brought before the present, to be taken up. Ibid. p. 47.

Note T T, p. 173.

Epistolary Correspondence between Knox and Calvin.

In a letter dated 28th August 1559, Knox requests Calvin's opinion on the two following questions: 1. Whether bastards, the children of idolaters and excommunicated persons, should be admitted to baptism, before their parents gave satisfaction to the church, or they themselves were able to require it? 2. Whether monks and popish priests, who neither serve the church, nor are capable of serving it, although they have renounced their errors, ought to have the annual rents of the church paid to them? Knox had maintained the negative on the last question. The letter is said to be written *raptim*. "Plura scribere vetat febris qua crucior, laborum moles qua premor, et Gallorum bombardæ, qui, ut nos opprimant, appulerunt." (Comp. Historie, p. 161.) Calvin, in a letter dated Nov. 8, 1559, answers, that it was his opinion, and that of his colleagues, on the first question, That the sacrament of baptism was not to be administered to those who were without the church, nor to any without proper sponsors; but the promise (upon which the right was founded) was not confined to the posterity in the first degree: and therefore those who were descended from godly parents were to be viewed as belonging to the church, although their parents, or even grand-parents, had become apostates, and such children were not to be refused baptism, provided persons appeared as sponsors, engaging for their religious education. "Adde quod alia est nunc renascentis ecclesiæ ratio, quam rite formatæ et compositæ." (Comp. Dunlop, ii. 573.) On the second question he says, That although those who perform no service in the church had not a just claim to be supported by its funds, still, as the popish clergy had brought themselves under engagements in times of ignorance, and had consumed a part of their lives in idleness, it seemed harsh to deprive them of all support. He therefore advises a middle course to be adopted. Calvini Epistolæ et Responsa, p. 516—520. Hanoviæ, 1597. Ibid. pp. 201, 202, in Oper. tom. ix. Amstælod, 1667.

From another letter of Calvin to Knox, dated April 23, 1561, it appears that the Genevese Reformer had been consulted by our countrymen on some other points of considerable difficulty,—most probably those questions on which the nobility and the ministers differed. He wrote them accordingly, but soon after was applied to a second time for his opinion on the same subject, as his first letter had miscarried. Knowing that his judgment was not altogether agreeable to some of his correspondents, he suspected that they wished to draw from him an answer more favourable to their own sentiments, and expressed his dissatisfaction at such conduct. Knox, who appears to have been employed in the correspondence, was grieved at this suspicion, and vindicated himself from the imputation. Calvin, in this letter, apologises for his severity, and assures him that he never entertained any suspicion of his integrity. "Te vero dolose quicquam egisse, neque dixi, neque suspicatus sum. Ac mihi dolet, quod exciderat ex ore meo, sic in animum tuum penetrasse, ut putares malæ fidei aut astutiæ, a qua te remotum esse judico, fuisse insimulatam. Facessat igitur metus ille vel cura." In both letters Calvin signifies his high satisfaction at the wonderful success of the Reformation in Scotland. The conclusion of the last is expressive of the unaffected piety of the writer, and his warm regard for his correspondent. "Hic versamur inter multa discrimina. Una tantum cælestis præsidii fiducia nos a trepidatione eximit: quanvis non simus metu vacui. Vale, eximie vir, et ex animo colende frater. Dominus tibi semper adsit, te gubernet, tueatur, ac sustentet sua virtute." *Ut supra*, p. 564—566, et in alter. edit. p 150.

These are the only parts of the correspondence between Calvin and our Reformer which have been published; but Mons. Senebier, the librarian of Geneva, has informed us that there are a number of Knox's letters to Calvin preserved in the public library of that city. Histoire Littéraire de Genève, tom. i. p. 380.

During his residence at Geneva, Knox became acquainted with Beza, who then acted as professor of Greek in the neighbouring city of Lausanne, from which he

was translated to Geneva, upon the erection of the university there, the same year in which our Reformer returned to Scotland. An epistolary correspondence was afterwards maintained between them. Two letters of Beza to Knox, the one dated June 3, 1569, the other April 12, 1572, are inserted in Epistol. Theolog. Bezæ, pp. 333—336, 344—346, of the first edition; and pp. 304—307, 314—316, of the second edition, Genevæ, 1575. Both of them evince the writer's ardent regard for our Reformer, and his high opinion of our reformation. The first letter is inscribed, "To John Knox, the Restorer of the Gospel of God in Scotland," and begins with these words: "Gratiam et pacem tibi, mi frater, omnibusque vestris sanctis ecclesiis opto a Deo et Patre Domini nostri Jesu Christi, cui etiam gratias ago assidue, tum de tanta ipsius in vos beneficentia, tum de vestra singulari in asserendo ipsius cultu constantia et animi fortitudine. Euge, mi frater, quam recte illud quod disciplinam simul cum doctrina conjungitis? Obsecro et obtestor ut ita pergatis, ne vobis idem quod tam multis eveniat, ut qui in limine impegerint, progredi non possint, imo etiam interdum ne velint quidem, quod longe misserrimum est." The second letter, which behoved to be received by Knox only a few months before his death, could not fail to be gratifying to him, even although he had then taken a formal "farewell of the world." It is addressed "To his dearest Brother and Colleague," and begins in the following lofty strain of affection: "Etsi tanto terrarum et maris ipsius intervallo disjuncti corporibus sumus, mi Cnoxe, tamen minime dubito quin inter nos semper viguerit, et ad extremum vigeat, summa illa animorum conjunctio, unius ejusdemque spiritus fideique vinculo sancita."

Note U U, p. 175.

Evidence of Queen Mary's design to restore the Roman Catholic Religion in Scotland.

The reader who doubts that this was her uniform object from the time that she left France, may consult the following authorities: Throkmorton's Conference with Mary, in Knox, Historie, 275—277. Keith, History, 164—167. Life of Bishop Lesley, in Anderson's Collections, i. 4, iii. 9. The letters of the Cardinal de St Croix (ambassador from the pope to the court of France,) extracted from the Vatican library, afford a striking demonstration of the intentions of the queen. St Croix writes to Cardinal Borromeo, that the grand-prior of France (one of Mary's uncles) and Mons. Danville had arrived from Scotland on the 17th November (1561), and had brought information that the queen was going on successfully in surmounting all opposition to her in that kingdom. Being informed one day that some heretics had extinguished the candles on her altar, she repaired to the chapel, and having ascertained the fact, commanded a baron, one of the most powerful and most addicted to Lutheranism, to relight the candles, and place them on the altar: in which she was instantly obeyed. After relating another instance of her spirited conduct against the magistrates of a certain burgh who had banished the popish priests, the cardinal adds: "By these means she has acquired greater authority and power, for enabling her to restore the ancient religion;" "con che acquesta tutta via maggior autorita et forze, per posser restituer en quel regno l'antica religione." Aymon, Synodes Nationaux des Eglises Reformées de France, tom. i. pp. 17, 18.

Note X X, p. 176.

Sanguinary Spirit and Principles of Roman Catholics.

Bayle, Commentaire Philosophique, tome i. pref. xiv. part ii. chap. v. p. 343—347, anno 1686, and his Critique Generale de l'Histoire du Calvinisme, pp. 486, 501—519. Hume's History of England, vol. vii. chap. i. p. 24. Lond. 1793, 12mo. Robertson's History of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 62, 143, 352. Lond. 1809.

"Les Papistes," says Bayle, in a treatise in which he pleads for toleration on a very extensive basis—"les Papistes eux-mêmes sont les premiers en ce pais-ci à crier qu'il n'y a rien de plus injuste que de vexer la conscience. Pensée ridicule en

leur bouche! et non seulement ridicule, mais traitresse, &c.—*i. e.*, The Papists themselves are the first in this country [Britain] to exclaim that there is nothing more unjust than to distress conscience. A sentiment ridiculous in their mouth! and not only ridiculous, but treacherous, and marked with that dishonesty which they have uniformly discovered for so many ages. For they would not fail, in three years, to burn and butcher all who refused to go to mass, if they acquired the power, and could avail themselves of the baseness of a sufficient number of court parasites, men of venal souls, and unworthy of the Protestant name which they bear, to overturn the fundamental barriers which so salutarily restrain the royal power." Commentaire Philosophique, pref. pp. xiii. xiv.

The sentiments contained in the following passage are now become so antiquated and unintelligible, that I shall not risk my credit by venturing to translate it. "Les malheurs qui sont arrivez à nos frères de France tourneront, comme il y a apparence, à notre profit. Il nous ont remis dans la necessaire defiance du Papisme, il nous ont fait voir que cette fausse religion ne s'amende pas par le long age, qu' elle est toujours, comme au tems jadis, animée de l'esprit de fourbe et de cruauté, et que malgré la politesse, l'honneteté, la civilité, qui regne dans les manières de ce siècle plus qu'en aucun autre, elle est toujours brutale et farouche. Chose étrange! tout ce qu' il y avoit de grossier dans les mœurs de nos ancestres s'est evanouit; à cet air rustique et sauvage des vieux tems a succedé par toute l'Europe Chrétienne une douceur et une civilité extrême. Il n'y a que le Papisme qui ne se sent point du changement, et qui retient toujours son ancienne et habituelle ferocité. Nous nous imaginions nous autres Anglois, que c'etoit une bête apprivoisée, un loup et un tigre qui avoit oublie son naturel sauvage; mais Dieu merci aux Convertisseurs de France, nous nous sommes desabusez, et nous savons à qui nous aurions à faire si notre sort étoit entre leurs mains. Pesons bien cela et considerons quel malheur nous pendroit sur la tête, si nous laissions croître le Papisme dans ce bien heureux climats. Je ne veux pas que cela nous porte à faire aucunes represailles sur les papistes; non, je deteste ces imitations; je souhaite seulement qu'ils n'aquierent pas la force d'executer sur nous ce qu'ils savent faire." Ibid. pp. xv. xviii. xix.

Note YY, p. 186.

Knox and the Town Council of Edinburgh.

The following extracts from the Records of the Town Council of Edinburgh, show the attention which they paid to the support and accommodation of their minister.

May 8, 1560. The provost, bailies, and council ordain the treasurer to pay the sum of £40 Scots for furnishing of the minister, John Knox, in his household; and because he had been furnished on David Forrester's expenses since his coming to this town, for the space of fifteen days, ordains to receive David's accompts, and make payment. "Penultimo Octobris, 1560. The quhilk day, the provost, baillies, and counsaill ordainis James Barroun to pay to John Knox the soulme of sax scoir pounds of the reddiest money of the solmes being in his hands, and sicklyk the soulme of £20." This last sum seems to have been allotted for repairs on his house. "12th Dec. 1560. The provost, baillies, and counsill ordanis James Barroun (Dean of Guild of last year) to pay and deliver to John Knox, minister, the soume of fiftie pound for supporting of his charges, and that incontinent after the sight heirof, and gif it beis funden that the said James be superexpendit, after the making of his accompt, precepts shall be given in maist strait forme, commanding the treasurer to mak him gud and thankfull payment of his haill superexpensis, within aucht days nixt thairafter." From the minutes of Dec. 22, 1560, April 5, and May 28, 1561, it appears that his fixed stipend was £200 a-year; for £50 is ordered each time, "for his quarter payment" or "dues." On Dec. 14, 1560, it was agreed that his house rent should afterwards be "paid at the rate of fifteen merks a-year."

"Penultimo Octobris [1561.] The samine day the provost, baillies, and counsail ordanis the dene of gyld, with all diligence, to mak ane warm stuydye of dailles to the minister, Johne Knox, within his hous, abone the hall of the same, with lyht and wyndokis thereunto, and all uther necessaris: and the expenciss disbursit be him salbe allowit to him in his accomptis."—"January, 1561 (*i. e.* 1562), the pro-

vest, baillies, and counsale, understanding that the minister, Jhone Knox, is requyrit be the hale kirk to pass in the partis of Anguss and Mearnys, for electing of ane superintendent thare, to the quhilk they themselfs hes grantit, thairfoir ordains Alexander Guthrie, dene of gild, to pass in eompanie with him, for furnishing of the said ministeris charges, and to deburse and pay the same of the readeast of the townis gudis in his handis, quhilk salbe allowit in his accomptis: And further haist the said minister hame, that the kirk hear be not desolait."

To these extracts respecting Knox, I may add one from the same records respecting Willock, who officiated in his place as minister of Edinburgh during the civil war. "29 August 1560. The counsaill ordains their treasurer to deliver to John Willock twenty-two crownes of the sone for recompense of the greit traveill sustenit be him this haill yiere bygane, in preching and administring the sacramentis within this burgh, and ordanis ane member of the counsall to thank him for his greit benevolence, and for the greit travaill forsaid." Previous to this, they had remunerated John Cairns, with whom Willock had lodged.

In the text I have mentioned, that, after the arrangement made by the privy council respecting the thirds of benefices, Knox seems to have received part of his stipend from the common fund. The extracts which Keith has given from the books of assignation mention only two allowances made to him. "To John Knox, minister, wheat 2 c[halders], bear 6 c. meal o. oates 4 c." Whether this was for the year 1563, or not, Keith does not say. He adds in a note, "For the year 1568 I see £333, 6s. 8d. given to Mr Knox." History, Appendix, 188. His stipend at the time of his death will be stated in Note QQQ. Keith has inserted, from the books of assignation, the prices of the principal articles of living at that time, from which an idea of the value of money may be formed. Ibid. 189. The following are a specimen. In Fyfe, Lothian, Merse, and Teviotdale, for 1573, wheat, £26, 13s. 4d. the chalder; bear, £21, 6s. 8d.; meal, £16; oats, 20 merks. Or, according to another account, without expressing any county, wheat, £1 the boll; bear, £1, 13s. 4d.; meal the same; oats, 10s.; malt, £2; rye, and pease and beans, the same; mairts of Aberdeen, £2, 13s. 4d. the piece; sheep, 9s.; poultry, 4s. the dozen; geese, 1s. the piece; cheese, 6s. 8d. the stone.

Note ZZ, p. 186.

Knox's Protest in the Affairs of the Earl of Angus.

"*Protocol*—James Nicolson.

"*Pro* Johanne Knox.

"Vigesimo quarto die mensis Octobris, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo sexagesimo primo, in presence of me notair, and witnesses vnderwrittin, Comperit Johnne Knox, minister of Edinburgh, and thair being requyrit be George Dowglas, sone naturall to vmquhile Archibald erle of Angus that last deceissit, to deliuer agane to him the letter of renunciatioun maid be the said George of the landis, lordschip, and baronie of Abirnethy, and regalite thairof, with the maner, places, mylnis, multuris, woddis, fischingis, tennentis, tennandriys, service of free tennentis, aduocationis, donationis, and rychtis of patronages of the kirkis, benefices, collegis, and prebandarys thairof, &c., in favouris of Archibald, now erle of Angus, of the daitt at Edinburgh, the xxiiij day of Junij the zeir of God I^{m} v^{c} threscoir ane zeiris; and consignit and putt be him in the handis of the said Johnne, in hoip of aggreance to haif bene dressit betuix him the said erle and his tutouris. Ansuerit, that he granted the resaving of the said lettir, vnder conditioun foirsaid; and that he had bestowit his faithfull laubouris besyde the travellis tane zairin be diuers noble men to haif had that mater aggreit. Be quham thair wes diuers reasonable offeris made to the said George, quhilkis he hes refusit, and thairfoir protestit gif that his refuis turne heirefter to his awin damnage, that the said Johne be innocent thairof. Testifiand to the said George, in his awin presence and ouris, and also befoir God, that the offer maid is mair reasonable nor he belevis the said George is able to haif ony proffet or gaynes vtherwyis thairbi. And thairupoun the said Johnne deliuerit to the said George his said lettir of renunciatioun, of the daitt foirsaid, vnder his

seill and subscriptioun, quhilk the said George confessit and recognoscit to be the same quhilk he deliuerit, togidder also with his seill in lead, quhilkis the said George resavit and dischargit the said Johnne thairof. Quhairupoun the said Jon askit instrumentis. Done in maister James M'gillis study, at vj houris at even, or thairbi. Present thairat the said Maister James, clerk of regri; Maister George Hay, vicare of Eddilstoune; Adam Wauchop, and I James Nicolson.

"J. NICOLSON."

Note AAA, p. 189.

MINUTES OF THE TOWN-COUNCIL OF EDINBURGH RESPECTING A SECOND MINISTER.

"10th April 1562. The same day the counsale, understanding the tedious and havie labours sufferit be the minister, Jhone Knox, in preiching thrise in the oulk, and twise on the Sounday, ordains with ane consent to solist and persuade Maister Jhone Craig, presentlie minister of the Canongait, to accept upoun him the half chargis of the preaching of the said kirk of Edinburgh for sic gud deid as they can agree on." That this measure was not carried into effect for some time after, appears from the following act of council: "18th June 1563. After lang reasoning upon the necessities of ministers, finds that there salbe ane uther minister elected be the provost, baillies, and counsale, dekynes and elderis of this burgh, and addit to Johne Knox, minister." From the same act and subsequent measures, it is evident that the want of necessary funds was the cause of the delay. For the council resolved, that "for susteaning of thame baith, togidder with Johne Cairns reider," the deacons should meet with the trades and the merchants, to see what they would be willing to give. The reports made to the council bore that, if they would fix a particular stipend, the trades were willing to pay a fifth part of it, according to old custom. But although Craig had not been translated from the Canongate, he seems to have performed a part of the duty in Edinburgh; for, in the same month, I find the Council appointing a number of persons "to go amang the faithfull who had communicate," and make a collection for "Johnne Craig and Johnne Cairns, who had received nathing for a lang time." This expedient they were obliged afterwards to repeat. On the 26th September 1561, the Council had agreed to give "to John Cairns, lector of morning prayeris, 100 merks a-year, in tyme to cum." Records of Town Council.

Note BBB, p. 193.

WRITINGS OF QUINTIN KENNEDY AND GEORGE HAY.

Keith has inserted a letter which Kennedy wrote to the Archbishop of Glasgow, and the correspondence between him and Willock, in 1559. He has also given large extracts from his Compendious Tractive. History, Append. p. 193—203. The following quotations may be added, for verifying the statement which I have made in the text. Having quoted John, v. 39, Kennedy says, "Marke (gud redare) the Scripture to occupy the place of ane wytnes, and not the place of ane juge." A, iiij. In a subsequent part of the work, he endeavours to qualify what he had stated respecting the church being judge of all matters in religion. "We never say in all our lytil tractive, that the kirk is juge to the Scripture, bot yat the kirk is juge to discern quhilk is the trew Scripture of God, and to mak manifest to the congregation the trew understandyng of the samyn." Ibid. H, v. This explication does not much mend the matter; for certainly he who has the power of calling what witnesses he pleases, and of putting what sense he pleases upon their testimony, is to all intents and purposes the judge of the witnesses, and of their evidence. Having mentioned that there were persons "swa religious and clean fyngerit, that thair wil na thyng perswade thaim without testimony of Scripture," he adds, "All Christin men havand ane generale understanding of the articles of our faith (conforme to the understanding that the kirk hes teacheit ws); the ten commandements, the prayer of the Lord callit the Pater nostor, it suffices to thame to quhame

it does not appertene of thair office nor vocatioun, to occupy the place of the prechairis or techeairis in the congregatioun. As to the sacramentis, and all uther secretis of the Scripture, stand to the jugement of thy pasture (without curious ressoning or cersing of the secretis of Godis word), quha beiris thy burding in all materis doutsum abone thy knawledge, conforme to the saying of the apostle, 'Obey unto your superioris,' &c. And in cais they be negligent, ressave doctryne of the kirk, as the tyme teicheis ws. Be this way (quhilk is conforme to Godis word and all veritie) it sall be asie to all men, quhat place or estait in the congregatioun that ever he occupy, to beir his awin burding." Ibid. D, vii.

Another work of Kennedy has lately been printed, from a MS. in the Auchinleck library, under the following title: "Ane oratioune in fauouris of all thais of the Congregatione, exhortand thaim to aspy how wonderfullie thai ar abusit be thair dissaitful prechouris, set furth be master Quintine Kennedy, Commendatour of Corsraguell, ye zeir of Gode 1561. Edinburgh, 1812. Perhaps this oration was printed in the year mentioned in the title, although no copy is now to be found, and was one of "his books," referred to by the abbot in his dispute with Knox. I have already given extracts from this book, (pp. 334, 356); it concludes in the following manner: "Quharfor, with all my hart exhortis, prays, and but mercie appellis thar pestilent prechecouris," [on the margin, "Knox, Willock, Winrame, Gudmane, Dowglasse, Heriot, Spottiswoode, and all ye rest,"] "puffit vp with vane glore, quhilkis rackinnis thaimselfis of gretar knawlege nor Christis haill kirk, cumand but authoritie, subuertand, subornande, and circumuenande the simple peple, cersande thair pray like the deuillis rachis, barkand bauldly like bardis, aganis the blissit sacrament of the altare, the sacrifice of the mess, and all vther godlie ordinance of Jhesus Christ and his kirk, to preiss their wittis and inginis, and to streik all thair pennis in my contrar, makande the congregatioun and all vtheris to vnderstande, gif I do propirly, truely, and godly, or nocht, invey againis thair deuillische doctrine and doyingis. Failyeande thairof, recant, for schame, recant (ye famouse prechecouris) and cum in obedience to the kirk of God, quhilk ye haue stubbornlie misknawin this lang time bypast (and that nocht without grete dangere to your awne saulis and mony vtheris), thairfor recant, in tyme recant, as ye lufe your saluation, and cry God mercie: To quham, with the Sone and Haly Gaist, be prayse, honour, and glore, for ever ande ever. Amen. Progenies viperarum fugite a ventura ira, nam securis ad radicem arboris posita est, penitentiam agite. Matth. iii."

In his dispute with Knox the abbot mentions his "books," and he refers particularly to a book which he had published in 1561, on the sacrament of the mass. There is in the library of Alexander Boswell, Esq. of Auchinleck, a MS. by the abbot, entitled, "Ane familiar commune and ressoning anent the misterie of the sacrifice of the mess, betwixt twa brether, master Quintin Kennedy, commendator of Corsraguell, and James Kennedy of . In the yeir of God ane thousand, five hundred, three scoir ane yeir." It was answered by George Hay, in a work entitled "The Confutation of the Abbote of Crosraguels Masse, set furth be Maister George Hay. Imprinted at Edinburgh by Robert Lekpreuik, 1563." The dedication is inscribed, "To the most noble, potent, and godlie Lord James Earle of Murray." This is the book to which Winget alludes on the margin of his Buke of Questionis, where he says, "Mr George Hay, fy haist zow to recant." Keith, Append. pp. 236, 246. I have been favoured with the sight of a copy of this rare tract, belonging to Richard Heber, Esq. It would seem that the abbot's treatise was not printed, but that copies of it had been transcribed, and industriously circulated through the country in manuscript; for Hay repeatedly makes the supposition that there might be variations in the different copies, and on one occasion confesses that he could not read a passage in the copy which he used. "Followeth, another objection made by James. 'Alwayes,' sayes he, 'all ze wha vses the Masse, dois not' (this [not] is not in the text that is come to my handes, but because the sentence requireth it, I haue added it) 'as Christe did in the latter supper,'" &c. He gives another quotation from the abbot in the following manner: "Trewly, brother, and ze be sa scrupulus Scripturares, that ze will nothing but (but is not in my text) as Christe did, towards the vse of the Sacramentes, ze will subuert our halie Faith, and commend our awin doinges,[1] (so I ride it), (our owen

[1] It is probable that the words which puzzled Hay should be read, *and condemn your awin doinges.*

doinges or commonly I can not tell which should be red, or if there be any other thing yet), for quhair finde ze that Christe euer appointed ane man to be baptised," &c. Fol. 36, b. 37, a, b.

The following account of the abbot's talents and acquaintance with the Fathers may serve as a specimen of Hay's style. "Trew it is, that before this boke of the abbote of Crosraguel's wes set furth and published, sindrie and diuers were the opinions of men concerning it. For the sorte of them that be cōmonly tearmed Papistes, aduersaries to all trew religion, thoght in verie deid that they should receaue such a comfort, yea, such a gun as no munition myght withstand, no strengthe resiste, nether yet any maner of force repel. They were encuraged by the brute and fame of the man, who onely wolde appeare in these tymes to haue dexteritie of ingyne, helped and auanced by long progress of tyme spent in good letters, yea, ād besydes the Scriptures of God, will also appeare to haue the conference, judgment, and authoritie of the ancient Fathers and councils, which it may seme to the reader that he feadeth (not unlyke the nyne Muses) in his bosome. I my self hauing hade some tymes credit and acquentence of the man, loked for some what that might haue troubled the cōsciences of waiklinges, and of such as stayed them selues vpon a glistering and semely ymagination of mans heart, rather then upon the written and reueiled treuth, by the spirite of God. For it wes not vnknawen to me how familiare he hath bene with the scolastike sophisters, their thornie questions, and scabrus conclusions, yea and some of the ancient doctors, whose writinges, what by ignorance of tyme seduced, what by affection carryed away, I thought wel he should wreist to his vngodly opinion." Fol. 3, a. Having pointed out a false quotation, which the abbot had made from Chrysostom, Hay adds, "Hereby it is easy to perceaue how vainely ye ascribe such reading of the ancientes vnto your self, as in your writinges ye take vpon you, that ye will seme in the eyes of the people to be the onely he in this realme versed in antiquitie. And now to say my judgment frely, I truste ye haue no workes of such men as ye draw your authorities out of, but onely hath, I can not tell what lytle scabbed treaties of Eccius, Cochleuc, Hosius, Stanislaus youre new start up Campion, and of such others of your factiō, and taketh out of them such thinges as ye think may serue to your wicked and blasphemus purpose. What credite now, or what authoritie oght to be given to such places, as thou draweth out of the doctors, who belyke neuer hath sene there workes, nether yet knoweth to what purpose they speak, if they speak of their owne mynde, or of their aduersaries, whither they speak by an interrogation or conclusiuely, and determinatly, whither they speak ὑπερβολικῶς,[1] that is excessiuely, to extoll the dignitie of the mater they haue in hand (which is not rare in this author) or simplie. Thus the text it self is to be considered, that it that preceadeth being conferred with it that followeth, the mynde and sentence of the author may be knowen perfytlie. Not that I will hereby damne yong men, who ether excluded by tyme, or els lacking bookes, muste giue credite to good authorities, but in this man who will seme to be an other Anacharses inter sordidos Scythas, it is intollerable, who is sequestrate frome the common societie of men, and traucll in the common wealth, hauing not else to do, but that he hath inioyned to him self, that is to ly by a pleasing bray, and cast in stones to trouble the faire and cleare rinning watter." Fol. 18, b. 19, a.

Lekprevik, in an advertisement to the reader, apologises for his want of Greek characters, which he was forced to have supplied by manuscript. Herbert's edit. of Ames, p. 1487. This fact illustrates what I have mentioned in p. 309. Herbert questions Ames's statement, that they had no Hebrew or Greek types in Scotland in 1579, and he appeals to a book printed "at Edinburgh, be Leighe Mannenby, anno Domini 1578," in which Greek characters are found. Ibid. pp. 1499, 1500. But this cannot overthrow Ames's statement, which is correct; for the imprint of that book is undoubtedly fictitious, as no such Scottish printer as "Leighe Mannenby" seems to have ever existed.

[1] The Greek word is inserted with a pen.

Note CCC, p. 199.

Ordination of Reformed Ministers.

In the prologue to the "Reasoning betwixt Jo. Knox and the Abbot of Crossraguell," Knox adverts to the cavils of the papists against the validity of the call of the reformed ministers, and intimates his intention of returning an Answer to the questions on this head which had been proposed to him by Ninian Winget, the "*Procutour for the Papists.*" There are some general remarks on this subject in his answer to Tyrie's Letter, but I do not think that he ever published anything professedly on the point. There is a ridiculous tale told by a popish writer concerning a pretended convention held by the reformed ministers in Scotland, to determine in what manner they should proceed in the admission of ministers. Willock proposed, as a weighty difficulty, that if they used imposition of hands, or any other ceremony commonly practised in the church, they would be asked to show that they themselves had been admitted by the same ceremonies, and thus the lawfulness of their vocation would be called in question. "Johann Kmnox ansuerit maist resolutlie, 'Buf, buf, man, we ar anes entered, let se quha dar put us out agane;' meaning that thair was not sa monie gunnis and pistollis in the countrie to put him out as was to intrud him with violence. Sua Johann Kmnox, to his awin confusion, entered not in the kirk be ordinar vocatione or imposition of handis, but be imposition of 'bullatis and pouldir in culringis and lang gunnis;' sua ye mister not to trubill you farder in seiking out of Johann Kmnox vocatione."—This story "I understude," says the author, "of ane nobil and honourable man, quha can yit beir witnes gif I lea or not." He took care, however, not to give the name of the nobleman. Nicol Burne's Disputation, p. 129. Parise, 1581.

Note DDD, p. 200.

Strictness and Impartiality of Discipline.

The form of satisfaction enjoined in the case of Methven was appointed for all who should be excommunicated for murder, adultery, incest, or other aggravated crimes. The murderer was to bear in his hand "the same or lyke weapoun whairwith the murther was committed." Buik of the Univ. Kirk, p. 38. Other rules observed in cases of discipline may be seen in Knox's Liturgy, p. 55—67, edit. 1611, and in Dunlop's Confessions, ii. 704—756. Impartiality, as well as severity, distinguished the discipline of those times. "*Gryt* men offending in sic crymes as deserves seckclaith, they suld receave the same als weill as the *pure.*—Na superintendant nor commissioner, with advyce of any particular kirk of yair jurisdiction, may dispense with the extreamitie of sackcloth, prescrivit be the actes of the generall discipline, for any pecuniall sum or paine *ad pios usus.*" Buik of the Univ. Kirk, August 1573. Dunlop, ii. 753. This was not a mere theoretic proposition, for in 1563 we find the lord-treasurer making public satisfaction, (Keith, 245, 529); in 1567, the Countess of Argyll, (Buik of the Univ. Kirk, p. 37); and in 1568 the Bishop of Orkney (Anderson's Collections, ii. 284). Let not our modern fashionables and great ones be alarmed at hearing of such things. Those days are gone, and will not, it is likely, soon return.

The parliament, or the magistracy of particular burghs, enacted punishments of a corporal kind against certain crimes which were ordinarily tried in the church courts. Some of these existed before the Reformation, and some of them were posterior to it; but the infliction as well as the enacting of them pertained to the civil magistrate. Knox, p. 269. In the minutes of several kirk-sessions, however, the sentences inflicting them are found recorded along with censures properly ecclesiastical. The following extract accounts for this in part. "What you bring" (says Mr Baillie, in his answer to Bishop Maxwell) "of pecuniary mulcts, imprisonments, banishments, jogges, cutting of haire, and such like, it becomes neither you to charge, nor us to be charged with, any such matters: No church assembly in Scotland assumes the least degree of power, to inflict the smallest civill punishment upon any person; the Generall Assembly it selfe hath no power to fine any

creature so much as in one groat: It is true, the lawes of the land appoint pecuniary mulcts, imprisonment, joggs, pillories, and banishment for some odious crimes, and the power of putting these lawes in execution is placed by the parliament in the hands of the inferior magistrates in burroughs or shires, or of others to whom the counsel table gives a speciall commission for that end; ordinarily some of these civill persons are ruling elders, and sit with the eldership: So when the eldership have cognosced upon the scandall alone of criminall persons, and have used their spirituall censures only to bring the party to repentance, some of the ruling elders, by virtue of their civill office or commission, will impose a mulct, or send to prison or stocks, or banish out of the bounds of some little circuit, according as the act of parliament or counsell do appoint it. But that the eldership should employ its ecclesiastick and spirituall power for any such end, none of us doe defend. That either in Scotland or anywhere else in the world the haire of any person is commanded to be cut by any church judicatory for disgrace and punishment, is (as I take it) but a foolish fable. That any person truely penitent is threatened in Scotland, with church censures for non-payment of monies, is in the former category of calumnies." Historical Vindication of the Government of the Church of Scotland, pp. 17, 18. Lond. 1646. I have in my possession (extracted from the records of a kirk-session) a commission, granted in 1701, by the sheriff-depute of Berwickshire, constituting one of the elders session-bailie, for executing the laws against profaneness, agreeably to an act of parliament authorising the appointment of such an officer in parishes within which no ordinary magistrate resided.

I may add the following quotation from another able and strenuous assertor of the Presbyterian discipline and government: "Ubi originalis causa excommunicationis est delictum violans jura et libertates ecclesiæ, &c. When the original cause of excommunication is an offence violating the rights and liberties of the church, either in the way of loss being sustained or injury being done, I confess that the assistance of the secular arm may be implored, and the guilty person may be forced to repair the loss and to give civil satisfaction; or even if the person already excommunicated shall testify a disposition to disturb the religious service, or to violate the rights and liberties of the church. But where no loss or injury to the rights and liberties of the church arises from the offence or from the contumacy, but scandal alone is given, I know not whether any person is to be forced to what is called penitential satisfaction, by imploring the assistance of the secular arm. For as the church has no coactive power in herself, so neither ought she to use it indirectly to extort confessions which are constrained, and consequently counterfeit." Calderwood, Altare Damascenum, p. 312—13, edit. Lugd. Bat. 1708.

Note EEE, p. 208.

Hume's misrepresentations of the behaviour of the Reformers to Queen Mary.

The whole account which this historian has given of the conduct of the Protestant clergy towards Mary, from her arrival in Scotland until her marriage with Darnley, is very remote from sober and genuine history. It is rather a satire against the Reformation, which he charges with rebellion; against the Presbyterian Church, whose genius he describes as essentially productive of fanaticism and vulgarity; and against his native country, the inhabitants of which, without exception, he represents as overrun with rusticity, strangers to the arts, to civility, and the pleasures of conversation. History, Reign of Eliz. chap. i. near the close. "Il n'est rien de plus facile quand on a beaucoup d'esprit, et beaucoup d'experience dans l'art de faire des livres, que de composer une Histoire satyrique, des même faits qui ont servi à faire une Eloge. Deux lignes supprimées, ou *pour* ou *contre*, dans l'exposition d'un fait, sont capables de faire paroistre un homme ou fort innocent, ou fort coupable: et comme par la seule transposition de quelques mots, on peut faire d'un discours fort saint un discours impie; de même par la seule transposition de quelques circonstances, l'on peut faire de l'action la plus criminelle, l'action la plus vertueuse." Bayle, Critique Generale de l'Histoire du Calvinisme, p. 13, 2de edition, 1683. To this charge the historian of England has exposed himself on more than one occasion.

I cannot here expose all his misstatements in the passage to which I have referred. He keeps out of view the fixed resolution of the queen to re-establish the Romish religion, with all the perils to which the Protestants were exposed. He artfully introduces his narrative, by placing her proclamation against altering the Protestant religion before the symptoms of popular discontent at her setting up of mass; whereas the proclamation was issued after these, and would never have appeared, had it not been found necessary to allay the apprehensions of the people. Knox, 285. Keith, 504, 505. As a proof that the preachers "took a pride in vilifying, even to her face, this amiable princess," he gives extracts from an address to her by the General Assembly, without ever hinting that this was merely a draught or overture; that every offensive expression was erased from it before it was adopted by the Assembly; and that, when the address was presented by the superintendents of Lothian and Fife, the queen said, "Here are many fair words; I cannot tell what the hearts are." Knox, 315. Mr H. goes on to say: "The ringleader in all these insults on Majesty, was John Knox.—His usual appellation for the queen was *Jezebel*." This is a mistake. Neither in his sermons, nor in his prayers, nor in conversation, did he give this appellation to Mary, so long as she was queen; but always honoured her before the people, as well as in her own presence, even when he lamented and condemned her errors. Afterwards, indeed, when for her crimes (of which no man was more convinced than Mr H.) she was removed from the government, and he no longer acknowledged her as his sovereign, he did apply this name to her. It is so far from being true, that "the whole life of Mary was, from the demeanour of these men, filled with bitterness and sorrow," or that she "was curbed in all amusements by the absurd severity of these reformers," that she retained her "gaiety and ease," until, by her imprudent marriage with Darnley, she with her own hand planted thorns under her pillow. While the preachers were most free in their sermons, she enjoyed all manner of liberty; her mass was never taken from her; she was allowed to indulge her "feasting, finery, dancing, balls, and whoredom, their necessary attendant;" nor was she ever interrupted in these amusements, except when her own husband deprived her of her favourite Italian fiddler, a loss for which she afterwards took ample vengeance. It is difficult to conceive how one acquainted with the history of that period, and the character of the queen, could impute the "errors of her subsequent conduct" to the "harsh and preposterous usage which she met with" from the reformers. Nor can there be a greater satire upon the general character of Mary (previous to her first marriage), than to say, that "she found every moment reason to regret her leaving that country, from whose manners she had, in her early youth, received the first impressions." It is well known that the court at which she received her education was most dissolute; and the supposition that she carried away the innocent polish and refinement of their manners, without contracting their criminal contagion, is not only incredible, but contradicted by the confessions of her friends. Mémoires de Chastelnau, augmentez par J. le Laboureur, Prieur de Juvigné, tom. i. p. 528. A Bruxelles, 1731. I have no desire, however, to dip into this subject, or to drag to light facts unfavourable to that unhappy princess; although the unwarranted and persevering attacks which have been made upon worthy men, in order to reconcile the "future conduct" of Mary with "the general tenor of her character," would justify far greater freedoms than have been lately used in this way.

"We are too apt to figure to ourselves the reformers of that age as persons of impolitic and inflexible austerity." This is the remark of one who was much better acquainted with their history than Mr Hume. Lord Hailes, Historical Mem. of the Provincial Councils of the Scottish Clergy, p. 41. Comp. Knox, Historie, p. 310. See also Note OOO.

Mr Hume's object, in the passage on which I have animadverted, was to blacken the reformers, rather than to exalt the queen, of whose character he had at bottom no great opinion. "Tell Goodall," says he, in a letter to Dr Robertson, "that if he can but give up Queen Mary, I hope to satisfy him in everything else; and he will have the pleasure of seeing John Knox, and the reformers, made very ridiculous." Indeed, Mr Hume confessed to his confidential friends, that he had, in his History, drawn the character of that princess in too favourable colours. "I am afraid," says he to the same correspondent, "that you, as well as myself, have drawn Mary's character with too great softenings. She was undoubtedly a violent women *at all times*." Stewart's Life of Robertson, pp. 37, 38.

Note FFF, p. 209.

Proceedings of Town Council in a slander against Knox.

"18mo Junii, 1563.—The samyn day, in presence of the baillies and counsale, comperit Jhone Gray, scribe to the kirk, and presentit the supplicatione follówing, in name of the haill kirk, bering that it was laitlie cummen to thair knawledge bi the report of faythfull bretherins, that within thir few dayis Eufame Dundas, in the presence of ane multitude, had spokin divers injurious and sclandarous wordis baith of the doctrine and ministeris. And in especiall of Jhonne Knox, minister, sayand, that within few dayis past, the said Jhonne Knox was apprehendit and tane furth of ane killogye with ane commoun hure; and that he had bene ane commone harlot all his dayis. Quhairfore it was maist humblie desyrit that the said Eufame myt be callit and examinat upone the said supplicatione, and gif the wordis abone written, spoken bi hir, myt be knawin or tryit to be of veritie, that the said Jhonne Knox myt be punist with all rigour without favour: otherwyse to tak sic ordour with hir as myt stand with the glory of God, and that sclander myt be takin from the kirk. As at mair length is contenit in the said supplication. Quhilk beand red to the said Eufame personallie present in judgment, scho denyit the samyn, and Fryday the 25 day of Junii instant assignit to hir to here and see witness producit for preving of the allegiance abone expremit, and scho is warnyt apud acta." Records of Town Council of Edinburgh, of the above date.

The minute of the 25th contains the account of the proof which Knox's procurator led to show that Eufame Dundas had uttered the scandal which she now denied, and the appointment that the parties should be "warnit *literatorie* to hear sentence given in the said action." I have not observed anything more respecting the cause in the minutes, and it is probable that the Reformer, having obtained the vindication of his character, prevailed on the judges not to inflict punishment on the accuser.

Note GGG, p. 209.

Calumnies of the Popish writers against Knox and other Reformers.

"C'est rendre sans doute," says Bayle, "quelques service à la mémoire de Jean Knox, que de fair voir les extravagances de ceux qui ont dechiré sa reputation." And, having referred to the "gross and extravagant slanders" of one writer, he adds, "This alone is a sufficient prejudice against all which the Roman Catholic writers have published concerning the great Reformer of Scotland." Dict., art. Knox. If Mons. Bayle could speak in this manner upon a quotation from one author, what conclusion shall we draw from the following quotations?

The first writer who attacked Knox's character after his death was Archibald Hamilton, whose hostility against him was inflamed by a personal quarrel, as well as by political and religious considerations. (See above, p. 258.) His book shows how much he was disposed to recommend himself to the Papists by throwing out whatever was most injurious to his former connections. But there were too many alive at that time to refute any charge which might be brought against the Reformer's moral character. Accordingly, when he aimed the most envenomed thrust at his reputation, Hamilton masked it under the name of an apprehension or surmise. Having said that, on the death of Edward VI., "he fled to Geneva with a noble and rich lady" (which, by the by, is also a falsehood), he adds in a parenthesis, "qua simul et filia matris pellico familiariter usus fuisse *putabatur*." De Confusione Calvinianæ Sectæ, p. 65, a. Parisiis, 1577.

In 1579, Principal Smeton published his answer to Hamilton's book, in which he repelled the charges which he had brought against Knox, and pronounced the above-mentioned surmise a malicious calumny, for which the accuser could not adduce the slightest proof, and which was refuted by the spotless character which the Reformer had maintained before the whole world. Smetoni Responsio ad Virulent. Dial. Hamiltonii, p. 95: Edin. 1579. It now behoved Hamilton either to retract or to prove his injurious insinuation. But how did he act in his reply to

Smeton? Under the pretence of repeating what he had said in his former book, he introduces a number of other slanders against Knox's character, of which he had not given the most distant hint before; and (incredible to be told!) he absolutely avers that he had formerly specified all these crimes, and condescended upon the places, times, and other circumstances of their commission; although, in his former publication, he had not said one word on the subject except the general surmise which I have quoted above!!! "Pueritiam prematura venere et polluto insuper patris thoro infamen *notavi*. Inde adolescentiam perpetuis assuetam adulteriis *designavi*. Post hanc maturioris ætatis apostasin, &c. descripsi: res ipsas ut gestæ erunt *retuli:* loca, tempora, et reliquas omnes circumstantias *notavi*." Calvinianæ Confusionis Demonstratio, contra maledicam Ministrorum Scotiæ responsionem; per Archibaldum Hamiltonium, in Sancta Christi Ecclesia Presbyterum, p. 253. Parisiis, 1581. Than this what can be a stronger mark of one who has "made shipwreck of faith and a good conscience," who "is subverted and sinneth, being condemned of himself?" After this we cannot wonder at his casting off all shame, and asserting—"Itane vero in maledictis duceitis, quæ impurus homucio non vno, aut paucis, sed multis, et fere dicam *omnibus attestantibus*, designavit? patris thorum infami incestu pollutum, et tot commissa adulteria, quot in ædibus, intra quas admittebatur, relicta vestigia etiamnū *recitant Laudoniensis omnes nobiles, juxta et ignobiles*." *Ut supra*, p. 253, b.

We are not left to impute these slanders to personal malice, or to the miserable shifts of an unprincipled individual, who, having rashly committed himself by advancing a falsehood, attempts to maintain his credit by bold assertions and fresh calumnies; for, in the very same year in which Hamilton's last work appeared, we find another popish author writing in the following terms: "Johne Knnox your first apostel, quha caused ane young woman in my Lord Ochiltreis place fal amaist dead, because sche saw his maister Satthan in ane black mannis likenese with him, throuche ane bore of the dure: quha was also ane manifest adulterare bringand furth of Ingland baith the mother and the dochter whom he persuadit that it was lesum to leve her housband, and adhere unto him, making ane fleshe of himself, the mother, and the dochter, as if he wald conjoyne in ane religione, the auld synagogue of the Jeuis with the new fundat kirk of the Gentiles." In another place he introduces the account of his second marriage with these words: "That renegat and perjurit priest schir Johane Knnox, quha efter the death of his first harlot, quhilk he mareit incurring eternal damnation be breking his vou and promise of chastitie, quhen his age requyrit rather that with tearis and lamentations he sould have chastised his flesh and bewailit the breaking of his vou, as also the horribil incest with his gudmother in ane killogie of Haddingtoun." Burne's Disputation concerning the Controversit Headdis of Religion, pp. 102, 143. Parise, 1581. But Burne, and even Hamilton, were outstripped in calumny by that most impudent of all liars, James Laing, who published in Latin an account of the lives and manners of the heretics of his time. There are few pages of his book in which he does not abuse our Reformer; but in (what he calls) his Life, he has exceeded anything which was ever dictated either by personal malice or by religious rancour. "Statim," says he, "ab initio suæ pueritiæ omni genere turpissimi facineris infectus fuit. Vix excesserat jam ex ephebis, cum patris sui uxorem violarat, suam novercam vitiarat, et cum ea, cui reverentia potissimum adhibenda fuerat, nefarium stuprum fecerat." His bishop having, forsooth, called him to account for these crimes, he straightway became inflamed with the utmost hatred to the Catholic religion. "Deinde non modo cum profanis, sed etiam cum quibuscunque sceleratissimis, perditissimis, et potissimum omnium hæreticis est versatus, et quo quisque erat immanior, sceleratior, crudelior, eo ei carior et gratior fuit.—Ne unum quidem diem sceleratissimus, hæreticus sine una et item altera meretrice traducere potuit.—Continuo cum tribus meretricibus, quæ videbantur posse sufficere uni sacerdoti, in Scotia convolat.—Ceterum hic lascivus caper, quem assidue sequebatur lasciva capella, partim perpetuis crapulis, partim vino, lustrisque ita confectus fuit, ut quotiescunq. conscendere suggestum ad maledicendum, velim precandum [vel imprecandum?] suis, opus erat illi duobus aut tribus viris, a quibus elevandus atq. sustendandus erat." De Vita et Moribus atque Rebus Gestis Hæreticorum nostri temporis. Authore Jacobo Laingæo Scoto Doctore Sorbonico, fol. 113, b. 114, a, b. 115, a. Parisiis, 1581. Cum Privilegio. Nor were such accounts confined to that age; in the beginning

of the following century they were repeated by John Hamilton. Facile Traictise, contenand ane infallible reul to discern trew from fals religion, p. 60. Louvain, 1600. In 1623 an English writer refers to James Laing's work for an authentic account of Knox's private life. The Image of bothe Churches, Jherusalem and Babell, by P. D. M. p. 134. Tornay, 1623. And as late as 1628 we find Father Alexander Baillie retailing, in the English language, all the gross tales of his predecessors, with additions of his own, in which he shows a total disregard to the best-known facts in the Reformer's life. "Jhon Knox," says he, "being chaplane to the laird of Balvurie, and accused for his vices and leecherie, was found so guiltie and culpable that to eschevie the just punishment prepared for him, he presently fled away into Ingland." He afterwards says, that Knox, after the death of his second wife [that is, twenty years at least after his own death], "shamefully fell in the abominable vice of incestuous adultery, as Archib. Hamilton and others doe witnesse;" and as a proof that Knox reckoned this vice no blot, Baillie puts into his mouth a gross defence of it, in the very words which Sanders, in his book against the Anglican Schism, had represented Sir Francis Brian as using in a conversation with Henry VIII. Baillie's True Information of the Unhallowed Offspring, Progress, and Impoison'd Fruits of our Scottish-Calvinian Gospel and Gospellers, pp. 14, 41. Wurtzburg, 1628.

It is evident that these outrageous and contradictory calumnies have been all grafted upon the convicted lie mentioned in the preceding note, and on the malignant insinuation of Archibald Hamilton. The characters of the foreign reformers were traduced in the very same manner by the popish writers. Those who have seen Belsec's Lives of Calvin and Beza, or others written in the same spirit, must be sufficiently convinced of this. Will it be believed that, in the middle of the seventeenth century, a book should have been published under the name of Cardinal de Richlieu, in which it is asserted that "Calvin being condemned for acts of incontinency, which he had carried to the utmost extremity of vice [ses incontinences, qui le portèrent jusques aux dernières extremitez du vice], retired from Noyon, (his native city), and from the Roman church, at the same time?"—and that this should have been published after the Cardinal himself had examined the registers of Noyon, which stated facts totally inconsistent with the supposition of such a thing having ever been imputed to him? La Defence de Calvin, par Charles Drelincourt, pp. 10, 11, 33. Genève, 1667. Our countrymen of the popish persuasion were careful to retail all the calumnies against the foreign reformers, and they do so in a manner peculiar to themselves. Nicol Burne most seriously asserts that Luther was begotten of the devil, as to his carnal as well as his spiritual generation; and in order to prove that this was not impossible, he advances the most profane argument that ever proceeded from the mouth or pen of a Christian. Disputation, p. 141. The same thing is asserted by James Laing. De Vita Hæretic. fol. 1, b. In a pretended translation into Scots of a poem written by Beza in his youth (which the Roman Catholics, after he left their communion, were careful to preserve from oblivion), Burne has unblushingly inserted some scandalous and disgraceful lines, for which he had not the slightest warrant from the original. Disputation, pp. 103, 104. John Hamilton says, that "Calvin did ane miracle to mak ane quik man ane deid, quhilk miracle was done in Geneve to ane Brulæus of Ostune, with whome he contractit for a piece of money to fenzie himself deid, and to ryse to lyfe at his prayers, when he sulde chope thryse upon his biere: bot the compagnion forget to ryse again, whilk come to Calvin's schame. Facile Traictise, p. 412. But the following narrative is still more marvellous; and, lest his readers should doubt its truth, the author prays them to "suspend thair judgement, quhill they spere [until they inquire at] the maist affectionat Protestantis of Scotland quha has bene in Geneve. Surelie," continues he, "I ressavit the treuth of this be honorable gentilmen of our countrie, quha confessit to me before gud vitnes, that the devil gangis familiarlie up and down the town, and speciallie cumis to pure and indigent men quha sellis thair saullis to him for ten sous, sum for mair or less. The money is verie plesant quhen they ressave it; bot putting hand to thair purse, quhen they vald by thair donner, thay find nathing but uther stane or stick.' Hamilton's Catholik and Facile Traictise, fol. 50, b. Paris, 1581. Laing in his Life of Calvin (of which Senebier has justly said "that it would be impossible to

believe that such a libel had been written, if it were not to be seen in print,") has raked together all the base aspersions which had been cast upon that reformer, and has spent a number of pages in endeavouring to show that he was guilty of stealing a sum of money. De Vita Hæret. fol. 76, b.—79, b. Of Buchanan, whom he calls "homo sacrarum literarum imperitissimus, simulque impudentissimus," he relates a number of impieties, of which this is the last: "Plurimi etiam narrant illum miserrimum hominem quandam in sacro fonte, quo infantes aqua benedicta ablui solent, adsit reverentia dictis, oletum fecisse." Ibid. fol. 40, a. One example more, and I have done. "Te admonerem de quodam impio hæretico sacerdoto Davidson, quem audivi his jam multis annis publice cum quadam meretrice scortatum esse, quam fertur peperisse prima nocte, qua cum illa dormivit, quod hic doctores medici pro magno miraculo habent; cum vix mulieres ante nonum mensem, vel octavum parere soleant." Ibid. fol. 36, b. 37, a.

Persons must have had their foreheads, as well as their consciences, "seared with a hot iron," before they could publish such things to the world as facts. Yet Laing's book was approved, and declared worthy of publication, by two doctors of the university of Paris. Its grossest slanders against the Scottish reformers were literally copied, and circulated through the Continent, as undoubted truths, by Reginaldus, Spondanus, Julius Breigerus, and many other foreign popish authors. Each of these added some fabrication of his own; and one of them is so ridiculously ignorant as to rail against our Reformer by the name of Noptz. Bayle, Dictionnaire, art. Knox, Note G. Archibald Hamilton's two works had the same respectable recommendations with Laing's book, and one of them is declared to be "very orthodox, and worthy of being ushered into the light for the profit of the Church." And John Hamilton was chosen tutor to two cardinals, appointed professor of philosophy in the Royal College of Navarre, elected by the students of the German nation in Paris, to the cure of the parish of St Cosmus and Damian, presented to it by the university, and confirmed in it by the parliament; and, in fine, was chosen rector of the university of Paris ! ! ! So eager were foreigners to load with honours the most bigoted and fanatical of our popish refugees. Sketch of the Life of John Hamilton, pp. 2, 3: written by Lord Hailes.

I know that it was common in that age for controversial writers of all descriptions to indulge themselves in a coarseness of invective against their antagonists, which would not be tolerated at present; but this is quite a different thing from what I have given examples of in this note. With respect to the complaints which Protestant writers made of the profligacy of the popish clergy, the truth of these is incontestibly established by the testimony of Roman Catholic authors, and by the public documents of their own Church. Nor do I wish to insinuate that all the popish writers were of the same description with those whom I have quoted, or that there were not many Roman Catholics, even at that time, who disapproved of the use of these dishonourable and impoisoned weapons; but the great number of such publications, the wide circulation which they obtained, and the length of time during which they continued to issue from the popish presses, demonstrate the extent to which a spirit of lying and defamation was carried in the Roman Church. Petty dabblers in antiquity, and flippant orators, who have read a general history of those times, or a modern Roman Catholic pamphlet, must be allowed to repeat the trite maxim of faults on both sides, and to conceal their ignorance under the veil of moderation by representing these faults as equal; but I aver that no candid person, who is duly acquainted with the writings of that period, will pretend to account for the above-mentioned calumnies, by imputing them to a spirit of asperity and prejudice common to both parties.

NOTES TO PERIOD EIGHTH.

Note HHH, p. 217.

Popish Accounts of Knox's Second Marriage.

"Heaving laid aside al feir of the panis of hel, and regarding na thing the honestie of the warld, as ane bund sklave of the Devil, being kendillit with an unquenshible lust and ambition, he durst be sua bauld to enterpryse the sute of marriage with the maist honorabil ladie, my ladie Fleming, my lord duke's eldest dochter, to the end that his seid, being of the blude royal, and gydit be thair father's spirit, might have aspyrit to the croun. And because he receavit ane refusal, it is notoriouslie knawin how deidlie he haited the hail house of the Hamiltonis.—And this maist honest refusal would nather stench his lust nor ambition; bot a lytel efter he did persew to have allyance with the honorabill hous of Ochiltrie of the kyng's M. awin blude; Rydand thair with ane gret court, on ane trim gelding, nocht lyke ane prophet or ane auld decrepit priest, as he was, bot lyk as he had bene ane of the blude royal, with his bendes of taffetie feschnit with golden ringis, and precious stanes: And as is planelie reportit in the countrey, be sorcerie and witchcraft did sua allure that puir gentil woman, that scho could not leve without him; whilk appeiris to be of gret probabilitie, scho being ane damsel of nobel blud, and he ane auld decrepit creatur of maist bais degrie of onie that could be found in the countrey: Sua that sik ane nobil hous could not have degenerat sua far, except Johann Kmnox had interposed the powar of his maister the Devil, quha as he transfiguris him self sumtymes in an angel of licht; sua he causit Johann Kmnox appeir ane of the maist nobil and lustie men that could be found in the warld." Nicol Burne's Disputation, pp. 143, 144. But the devil outwitted himself in his design of raising the progeny of the Reformer to the throne of Scotland, if we may believe another popish writer. "For as the common and constant brute of the people reported, as writeth Reginaldus [a most competent witness!] and others, it chanced not long after the marriage, that she [Knox's wife] lying in her bed, and perceiving a blak, uglie, il-favoured man busily talking with him in the same chamber, was sodainely amazed, that she took seikness and dyed;" [nor does the author want honourable witnesses to support this fact, for he immediately adds], "as she revealed to two of her friends, being ladyes, come thither to visite her a little before her decease." Father A. Baillie's True Information, p. 41. It is unfortunate, however, for the credit of this "True Information," that the Reformer's wife not only lived to bear him several children, but survived him many years. James owed the safety of his crown to another cause. See above, p. 297.

Note III, p. 231.

Christopher Goodman.

From the intimate and long friendship which subsisted between him and our Reformer, this divine deserves more particular notice in this work. The Goodmans were a family of respectability in Chester, and repeatedly held the office of magistrates in that city. In a pedigree of the family, preserved in the British Museum, "Adam Goodman a marchant, and Selay Linge," have a son, "Christoph. preher." Harl. MSS., No. 2038. 32. f. 99. During the reign of Edward VI. he read lectures on divinity in Oxford. Strype's Annals, i. 124. At the accession of Queen Mary he retired first to Strasburg, and afterwards to Frankfort. When he was at Strasburg he joined in a common letter advising the exiles of Frankfort to alter as little as possible in the English service; but he became afterwards so much convinced of the propriety of alterations, and was so much offended at the conduct of the Coxian party, that he removed from Frankfort to Geneva, along with those who were of the same sentiments with himself, and was chosen by them joint minister with Knox. Troubles at Franckford, pp. 22, 23, 54, 55, 59.

In 1558 he published the book which afterwards created him a great deal of trouble. Its title is, "How superior powers ought to be obeyed: of their subjects, and wherein they may lawfully by God's worde be disobeyed and resisted. Wherein also is declared the cause of all this present miserie in England, and the onely way to remedy the same. By Christopher Goodman. Printed at Geneva, by John Crispin, MDLVIII." In this book he subscribed to the opinion respecting female government, which his colleague had published a few months before. He maintained that the power of kings and magistrates was limited, and that they might lawfully be resisted, deposed, and punished by their subjects, if they became tyrannical and wicked. These principles he applied particularly to the government of the English Mary. A copy of verses by William Kethe (who translated some of the Psalms into English metre) is added to the work, of which the following is a specimen :—

> Whom fury long foster'd by suffrance and awe,
> Have right rule subverted, and made will their law.
> Whose pride how to temper, this truth will thee tell;
> So as thou resist may'st, and yet not rebel.

Goodman came to England in 1559, but he found Queen Elizabeth so much displeased at his publication that he kept himself private. Burnet, iii. Append. 274. On this account, and in compliance with the urgent request of our Reformer, he came to Scotland. When the lords of the Congregation chose him one of the council for matters of religion, the Earl of Arran endeavoured to appease the resentment which the English queen still entertained against him. Sadler, i. 510, 511, 532. In 1562 the Earl of Warwick repeatedly interceded for him, and for his being recalled from Scotland; "of whom," says he, "I have heard suche good commendation both of the Lord James of Scotland and others, that it seemeth great pitie that our countrye suld want so worthy and learned an instrument." Forbes's State Papers, ii. 235. Calvin urged Goodman not to leave Scotland until the Reformation was completely established. Epistolæ, p. 566. Hannoviæ, 1597. When he did return to his native country in 1565, it was with great difficulty that he was received into favour, notwithstanding the friends he had at court. He was obliged to make a recantation of the offensive doctrines in his publication. He protested and professed that "good and godly women may lawfully govern whole realms and nations;" but he qualified and explained, rather than recanted, what he had taught respecting the punishment of tyrants. Strype has inserted the document in his Annals, i. 126; but he has certainly placed it under the wrong year. Collier calls it "a lame recantation." Eccl. Hist. ii. 440. In 1572, Goodman subscribed, in the presence of the queen's ecclesiastical commissioners, a more ample protestation of his obedience to Elizabeth. Strype's Annals, ii. 95, 96. He was also harassed on account of his non-conformity to the English ceremonies. Life of Grindal, 170. Life of Parker, 325, 326. Knox corresponded with him after he left Scotland; and Calderwood has preserved a letter which he wrote to him in 1571, in which he alludes to the troubles which he understood his friend was exposed to. MS., ii. 270. Goodman accompanied Sir Henry Sidney to Ireland, when he was sent to subdue the popish rebels in that country. Troubles at Franckford, p. 196. In 1580 he resided at Chester, from which he sent his salutations to Buchanan. Buchanani Epistolæ, 30, 31. Oper. edit. Rud. He died at Chester in 1601, according to verses to his memory in Supplement. Goodman's book was quoted, but for very different purposes, by Bancroft (Dangerous Positions, b. ii. chap. 1), and by Milton (Tenure of Magistrates: Prose Works by Symmons, vol. iii. p. 196).

Goodman was not the only person belonging to the English Church who published free sentiments respecting civil government. About the same time with his book, there appeared another work on that subject, entitled, "A Short Treatise of Politique Pouuer, and of the True Obedience which Subjectes owe to Kynges." Its author was Dr John Ponet, bishop, first of Rochester, and afterwards of Winchester, under Edward VI. Ames, iii. 1594. He discusses the questions respecting the origin of political authority, its absolute or limited nature, the limits of obedience, and the deposition and punishment of tyrants. "This book," says Strype, "was not over favourable to princes. Their rigours and persecutions, and the arbitrary proceedings with their peaceable subjects in those times, put them upon

examining the extent of their power, which some were willing to curtail and straiten as much as they could. This book was printed again in the year 1642, to serve the turn of those times." Memorials of the Reformation, iii. 328, 329. In the second edition of the work, it is said to have been originally published in 1556. Collier (who was a keen Tory) calls it "a most pestilent discourse." He wished to believe that Bishop Ponet was not the author, but it is evident from what he says, that he could see no reason for departing from the common opinion. History, ii. 363. Ponet was a superior scholar. He read the Greek Lecture in the University of Cambridge about 1525, and was among the first who adopted the new method of pronouncing that language introduced by Sir Thomas Smith. He also wrote several books on mathematics and other subjects, which were greatly esteemed. Strype's Life of Sir Thomas Smith, pp. 26, 27. Ames, Typ. Antiq. i. 599; ii. 753, 1146; iii. 1587.

Note KKK, p. 241.

Regent Moray's Committee of Overtures.

The proceedings of the committee appointed to prepare overtures to the parliament, Dec. 1567, are to be found in Robertson's Records of the Parliament of Scotland, and Act. Parl. Scot. vol. iii. Almost the only ecclesiastical propositions of the committee which were not adopted by the parliament, were such as related to the patrimony of the church. I shall extract one or two respecting the commonwealth, which did not obtain a parliamentary sanction. "Als it is thocht expedient that in na tymes cuming ony women salbe admittit to the publict autoritie of the realme, or function in publict government within ye same." On the margin, opposite to this, is written, "Fund gude;" which is expressive, as I understand it, of the committee's approbation of the motion. As Knox, at a period subsequent to this, declared from the pulpit that he had never "entreated that argument in publict or in privat" since his last arrival in Scotland (Bannatyne's Journal, p. 117), it appears that this motion had been made by some other member of the committee. The late misconduct of Queen Mary must have had a great effect in inclining them to give this advice. The 23d article does great honour to the enlightened views of the movers. It proposes that all hereditary jurisdictions throughout the kingdom should be abolished. On the margin is written, "Apprevit," and farther down, "Supercedis." A long time elapsed before this measure, so necessary to the salutary administration of justice, was adopted in Scotland. The 30th article also is of great importance, as intended to prevent delay of justice, by shortening processes. The following was a proposed sumptuary law: "Item, that it be lauchfull to na wemen to weir abone yair estait except howres." On the margin of this is written, "This act is verray gude." Act. Parl. Scot. vol. iii. p. 38—40. Robertson's Rec. of Parl. pp. 795, 798.

The ministers appointed on this committee were, "Maister Johne Spottiswood, Maister Johne Craig, Johne Knox, Maister Johne Row, and Maister David Lindsay." It will be observed that our Reformer is the only one who has not "Maister" prefixed to his name. This title was expressive of an academical degree. It was commonly given in that age to Masters of Arts, as well as Doctors of Law, and in their subscriptions they put the letter M., or the word "Maister," before their names.

Note LLL, p. 247.

Remarks on Dr Robertson's Character of the Regent Moray.

I am not moved with the unfavourable representations which the partisans of Mary have given of Moray, nor am I surprised at the cold manner in which Mr Hume has spoken of him: but I confess that it pains me to think of the way in which Dr Robertson has drawn his character. The faint praise which he has bestowed on him, the doubt which he has thrown over his moral qualities, and the unqualified censures which he has pronounced upon some parts of his conduct,

have, I am afraid, done more injury to the regent's memory than the exaggerated accounts of his adversaries. History of Scotland, vol. ii. 315, 316. Lond. 1809. Having said this much, it will be expected that I shall be more particular. In addition to those qualities which "even his enemies allow him to have possessed in an eminent degree," Dr R. mentions his humanity, his distinguished patronage of learning, and impartial administration of justice. "Zealous for religion," he adds, "to a degree which distinguished him even at a time when professions of that kind were not uncommon." This is what every person must allow, but it certainly is far from doing justice to this part of the regent's character. His professions of religion were uniformly supported in all the different situations in which he was placed; his strict regard to divine institutions was accompanied with the most correct and exemplary morals; his religious principle triumphed over a temptation which proved too powerful for almost all the Protestant nobility. (See above, p. 373.) When there exist such proofs of sincerity, to withhold the tribute due to it is injurious not only to the individual, but to the general interests of religion. After bearing a decided testimony to the "disinterested passion for the liberty of his country," which prompted Moray to oppose the pernicious system of the princes of Lorraine, and the "zeal and affection" with which he served Mary on her return to Scotland, the historian adds: "But, on the other hand, his ambition was immoderate; and events happened that opened to him vast projects, which allured his enterprising genius, and led him to actions inconsistent with the duty of a subject." That his ambition was "immoderate" does not, I think, appear from any evidence which has been produced. Dr R. has defended him from the charge as brought against him at an earlier period of his life, and we have met with facts that serve to corroborate the defence. (See p. 357.) The "vast projects" that opened to him must be limited to the attainment of the regency; for I do not think that Dr R. ever for a moment gave credit to the ridiculous tale, that he designed to set aside the young king, and seat himself upon the throne. His acceptance of the regency cannot be pronounced "inconsistent with the duty of a subject," without determining the question, Whether the nation was warranted, by the misconduct and crimes of Mary, to remove her from the government, and to crown her son. "Her boldest advocates," says Mr Laing, "will not venture to assert, that, on the supposition of the fact being fully proved, that she was notoriously guilty of her husband's murder, she was entitled to be restored." History of Scotland, i. 137, second edition. Moray was fully satisfied of her guilt before he accepted the regency. Never was any person raised to such a high station with less evidence of his having ambitiously courted the preferment. Instead of remaining in the country to turn the embroiled state of affairs to his personal advantage, he, within two months after the murder of the king, left Scotland, not clandestinely, but after having asked and obtained leave. And whither did he retire? Not into England, to concert measures with that court, or the more easily to carry on a correspondence with the friends whom he had left behind him; but into France, where his motions could be watched by the friends of Mary. Ibid. p. 59—61. The association for avenging the king's murder, and for preserving the young prince, the surrender of Mary, and her imprisonment in Lochleven, followed so unexpectedly and so rapidly, that they could not have proceeded from his direction. Nay, there is positive evidence that the lords who had imprisoned Mary, so far from having acted in concert with Moray, were suspicious that he would counteract their designs. "As yet theys lordes wyll not suffer Mr Nycholas Elveston, sent from the L. of Murrey, to have access to the quene, nor to send my L. of Murrey's letter unto her." Throkmorton's Letters to Cecil, and to Elizabeth, 16th July 1567, apud Laing's History of Scotland, ii. Append. No. 13, pp. 121, 126. When he returned to Scotland, he found that the queen had executed formal deeds resigning the government, and appointing him regent during the minority of her son, and that the young prince was already crowned. Hume, vol. v. note K.

"His treatment of the queen, to whose bounty he was so much indebted, was unbrotherly and ungrateful." To the charge of ingratitude, I can only reply, by repeating what I have said in the text, that all the honours which she conferred on him were not too great a reward for the important services which he had rendered her. How often have persons been celebrated for sacrificing parental as well as brotherly affection to the public good? The probable reasons for Moray's interview with the queen in Lochleven have been stated by Mr Laing. History, i.

119—121. Were I to speak of what was incumbent on him as a *Christian* brother, with the view of bringing her to a just sense of the iniquity of her conduct, I would use language which, I am afraid, would not be understood by many readers, and which many professed Christians seem to forget, when they talk on this subject. Any exertions which were necessary to save his sister's life were not wanting on the part of Moray. To restore her to the government, or even, as matters then stood, to restore her to liberty, he was not bound by any ties either of a public or private kind. Had he amused her with the hopes of this, he might have escaped the charge of harshness, but his conduct would have been more unbrotherly.

"But he deceived and betrayed Norfolk with a baseness unworthy of a man of honour." To this harsh censure I oppose the opinion of Mr Hume, who will not be suspected of partiality to the regent. "Particularly," says he, in a letter to Dr Robertson, written after the publication of his History of Scotland, "I could almost undertake to convince you that the Earl of Moray's conduct with the Duke of Norfolk was *no way* dishonourable." Stewart's Life of Robertson: History, i. 158. See also, in confirmation of this, "Part of a letter from the Earl of Moray to L. B." inserted in vol. ii. Appendix, No. xxxiii.

"His elevation to such unexpected dignity [the reader will observe that it was *unexpected*] inspired him with new passions, with haughtiness and reserve: and instead of his natural manner, which was blunt and open, he affected the arts of dissimulation and refinement. Fond, towards the end of his life, of flattery, and impatient of advice, his creatures, by soothing his vanity, led him astray, while his ancient friends stood at a distance and predicted his approaching fall." Certainly the facts stated by Dr Robertson in the preceding part of his narrative, do not prepare the mind of his reader for these charges. The severity of the regent's virtues had, indeed, been mentioned, and it had been asserted that his deportment had become distant and haughty. The authority of Sir James Melvil was referred to in support of this statement; and I am satisfied that it was upon his testimony chiefly that the historian proceeded, when he gave the above account of Moray's conduct during the latter part of his life. I submit to the reader the following remarks on the degree of credit due to the authority of Melvil.

1. In the first place, there is every reason to think, either that Melvil's Memoirs have been unfaithfully published by the editor, or that the narrative which the author of them has given of affairs, from the queen's marriage with Bothwell to the death of the Earl of Moray, is incorrect and unfaithful. I shall not take it upon me to determine which of these is the most probable supposition, but am of opinion that either the one or the other must be admitted. The charge which was brought against Queen Mary of participation in the murder of her husband, with all the proofs produced in support of it, is suppressed, and studiously kept out of view in the Memoirs. There is not one word in them respecting the celebrated letters to Bothwell, although they formed the grand vindication of the regent and his friends. The same inference may be drawn from the ridiculous account given of the appearance made by the regent before the commissioners at York, when he presented the nameless accusation against Mary (Memoirs, 96, 97, Lond. 1683); an account which is completely discredited by the journals of both parties, and which neither Hume nor Robertson thought worthy of the slightest regard. It is observable that Melvil could not be ignorant of the real transaction, as he was present at York; and that the design of this, as well as of the subsequent part of his narrative, is to represent the regent as weakly suffering himself to be duped and misled by designing and violent counsellors. Mr Laing has adverted to both of these things as discreditable to the Memoirs. History, *ut supra*, i. 118. I shall produce only one other instance of the same kind. Speaking of the queen's marriage with Bothwell, Melvil says, "I cannot tell how nor by what law he parted with his own wife, sister to the Earl of Huntly." Mem. 80. Is it credible, that one who was in the midst of the scene, and acquainted even with the secrets of state at that time, could be ignorant of that which was proclaimed to all the world? If it should be alleged that Melvil, writing in his old age, might have forgotten this glaring fact (the excuse commonly made for his inaccuracies), I am afraid that the apology will detract as much from the credibility of his Memoirs as the charge which it is brought to repel.

2. In estimating the degree of regard due to the censures which Melvil has passed on the regent's conduct, we must keep in view the political course which he himself steered. Sir James appears to have been a man of amiable dispositions, whose mind

was cultivated by the study of letters; but those who have carefully read his Memoirs must, I think, be convinced that his penetration was not great, and that his politics were undecided, temporising, and inconsistent. He was always at court, and always tampering with those who were out of court. We find him exposing himself to danger by dissuading his mistress from marrying Bothwell, and yet countenancing the marriage by his presence; acting as an agent for those who had imprisoned the queen, and yet intriguing with those who wished to set her at liberty; carrying a common message from the king's lords to the Earl of Moray upon his return out of France, and yet secretly conveying another message tending to counteract the design of the former; supporting Moray in the regency, and yet trafficking with those who wished to undermine his authority. I do not call in question the goodness of his intentions in all this: I am willing to believe that a desire for the peace of the country, or attachment to the queen, induced him to go between, and labour to reconcile, the contending parties. But when parties are discordant—when their interests, or the objects at which they shoot, are diametrically opposite, to persevere in such attempts is preposterous, and cannot fail to foster and increase confusions. Who believes that the Hamiltons were disposed to join with the king's party? or that the latter, when unassured of the assistance of England, were averse to a junction with the former? Yet Melvil asserts both of these things. Mem. 85, 86, 90. Who thinks that there was the smallest feasibility in what he proposed to the regent as "a present remedy for his preservation"? or believes that Maitland would have consented to go into France, and Kirkaldy to deliver up the Castle of Edinburgh? The regent heard him patiently; he respected the goodness of the man; but he saw that he was the dupe of Maitland's artifices, and he followed his own superior judgment. For rejecting such advices as this (and not the religious proverbs and political aphorisms which he quoted to him from Solomon, Augustine, Isocrates, Plutarch, and Theopompus) has Melvil charged him with refusing the counsel of his oldest and wisest friends. Mem. 102—104.

3. What were the errors committed by the regent which precipitated his fall? There are two referred to by Melvil,—the imprisonment of the Duke and Lord Herries, and the accusation of Maitland and Balfour. Mem. 100, 101. In vindication of the former step, I have only to appeal to the narrative which Dr Robertson has given of that affair. Vol. ii. p. 266—299. With respect to the latter, Sir James Balfour was "the most corrupt man of that age" (ibid. p. 367), and Maitland was at that time deeply engaged in intrigues against the regent, (ibid. p. 307). There is not a doubt that both of them were accessory to the murder of Darnley, (Laing, i. 28, 135; ii. 22). They were arrested and accused at this time at the instance of Lennox, and in consequence of the recent confession of one of Bothwell's servants; and Maitland was preserved by the queen's friends assembling in arms for his rescue, which compelled the regent to adjourn his trial. Ibid. ii. 37. Append. No. 28, p. 298—299.

4. Who were the unworthy favourites by whose flattery and evil counsel the regent was led astray? Dr Robertson mentions "Captain Crawford, one of his *creatures*." This is the same person whom he afterwards calls "Captain Crawford of Jordanhill, a *gallant* and enterprising officer," who distinguished himself so much by the surprise of the Castle of Dumbarton. History, ii. 307, 331. Comp. Laing, ii. 297, 298; and Douglas's Baronage of Scotland, 429. Morton, Lindsay, Wishart of Pittarow, Makgill of Rankeillour, Pitcairn, Abbot of Dunfermline, Balnaves of Halhill, and Wood of Tilliedavy, were among the regent's counsellors.

5. Who were his old friends who lost his favour? They could be no other than Balfour, Maitland, Kirkaldy, and Melvil himself. Of the two former I need not say a word. Kirkaldy of Grange was a brave man, and had long been the intimate friend of the regent; but he was already corrupted by Maitland, and had secretly entered into his schemes for restoring the queen. Robertson, ii. 307. Of Melvil I have already spoken; nay, he himself testifies that the regent continued to the last to listen to his good advices. "The most part of these sentences (says he), drawn out of the Bible, I used to rehearse to him at several occasions, and *he took better with these at my hands, who he knew had no by-end, than if they had proceeded from the most learned philosopher.* Therefore, *at his desire,* I promised to put them in writing, to give him them to keep in his pocket; but he was slain before I could meet with him." Mem. 104. How this is to be reconciled with other assertions in the Memoirs, I leave others to determine. It required no great sagacity in the

ancient friends of the regent to "predict his approaching fall," when repeated attempts had already been made to assassinate him, and when some of them were privy to the conspiracy then forming against his life; and it says little for their ancient friendship that they "stood at a distance," and allowed it to be carried into execution.

There are three honourable testimonies to the excellence of the regent's character, which must have weight with all candid persons. The first is that of the great historian de Thou. He not only examined the histories which both parties had published of the transactions in Scotland, which made so much noise through Europe, but he carefully conversed with the most intelligent and candid Scotsmen, Papists and Protestants, whom he had the opportunity of seeing in France. When that part of his history which embraced these events was in the press, he applied to his friend Camden for advice, acquainting him that he was greatly embarrassed, and apprehensive of displeasing King James, who, he understood, was incensed against Buchanan's History. "I do not wish (says he) to incur the charge of imprudence or malignity from a certain personage who has honoured me with his letters, and encouraged me to publish the rest of my history with the same candour and regard for truth." Camden, in reply, exhorted him to study moderation, and told him the story which he had received from his master, imputing the disturbances in Scotland chiefly to the ambition of Moray. Durand, Hist. du XVI. Siecle, tom. vii. contenant la Vie de Monsieur de Thou, p. 226—231. But notwithstanding the respect which he entertained for Camden, and the desire which he felt to please James, de Thou found himself obliged, by a sacred regard to truth, to reject the above imputation, and to adopt in the main the narrative of Buchanan. I shall quote, from his answer to Camden, the character which he draws of Moray. Having mentioned the accusation brought against him, of ambitiously and wickedly aiming at the crown, he says, "This is constantly denied by all the credible Scotsmen with whom I have had opportunity to converse, *not even excepting those who otherwise were great enemies to Moray on a religious account;* for they affirm that, religion apart, HE WAS A MAN WITHOUT AMBITION, WITHOUT AVARICE, INCAPABLE OF DOING AN INJURY TO ANY ONE, DISTINGUISHED BY HIS VIRTUE, AFFABILITY, BENEFICENCE, AND INNOCENCE OF LIFE; and that, had it not been for him, those who tear his memory since his death, would never have attained that authority which they now enjoy."—"Res ipsa loquitur: nam demus, quod ab diversa tradentibus jactatur, Moravium ambitione ardentem scelerate regnum appetisse, quod tamen constanter negant omnes fide digni Scoti, quoscunque mihi alloqui contigit, etiam ii quibus alioqui Moravius ob religionis causam summe invisus erat; nam virum fuisse aiebant, extra religionis causam, ab omni ambitione, avaritia, et in quenquam injuria alienum, virtute, comitate, beneficentia, vitæ innocentia, præstantem; et qui nisi fuisset, eos, qui tantopere mortuum exagitant, hodie minime rerum potiturus fuisse." Epistolæ de Nova Thuani Histor. Editione Paranda. p. 40, in tom. i. Thuani Histor. et tom. vii. cap. v. p. 5. Buckley, 1733.

A second testimony, of a very strong kind, in favour of the regent is that of Archbishop Spotswood. He must have conversed with many who were personally acquainted with Moray; he knew the unfavourable sentiments which James entertained respecting him, which had been published in Camden's Annals; and he had long enjoyed the favour of that monarch; yet, in his history, he has drawn the character of the regent in as flattering colours as Buchanan himself has done. The last testimony to which I shall appeal is the *Vox Populi*, strongly expressed by the title of *The Good Regent*, which it imposed on him, and by which his memory was handed down to posterity. Had he, elated by prosperity, become haughty and reserved, or, intoxicated with flattery, yielded himself up to unprincipled and avaricious favourites, the people must soon have felt the effects of the change, and would never have cherished his name with such enthusiastic gratitude and unmingled admiration.

Note MMM, p. 249.

INSCRIPTION TO THE MEMORY OF THE REGENT MORAY.

The regent's monument is yet entire and in good order. It stands in that part of St Giles's now called the *Old Church* (the former aisle having been taken into the body of the church when it was lately fitted up), at the back of the pulpit, on the east side. At the top is the figure of an eagle, and below it "1570," the date of the erection of the monument. In the middle is a brass plate, on which the following ornaments and inscriptions are engraved: The family arms, with the motto "Salus per Christum" (Salvation through Christ). On one side of the arms, a female figure with a cross and Bible, the word "Religio" above, and below "Pietas sine vindice luget" (Piety mourns without a defender); on the other side, another female figure, in a mourning posture, with the head reclining on the hand, the word "Justicia" above, and below "Jus exarmatum est" (Justice is disarmed). Underneath is the following inscription, composed by Buchanan :—

23 JANVARII 1569.

IACOBO · STOVARTO · MORAVIÆ · COMITI · SCOTIÆ ·
PROREGI · VIRO · ÆTATIS · SVÆ · LONGE · OPTIMO ·
AB · INIMICIS · OMNIS · MEMORIÆ · DETERRIMIS ·
EX · INSIDIIS · EXTINCTO · CEV · PATRI ·
COMMVNI · PATRIA · MOERENS · POSVIT ·

The verses in which Buchanan celebrated the regent are accessible to every scholar. The following lines are less known :—

JACOBUS STUARTUS.

Moraviæ Comes, Prorex pro Jacobo VI. rem Scoticam feliciter gessit, puræ Religionis assertor acerrimus. Ab æmulis Limnuchi ex insidiis glande trajectus, magno omnium desiderio moritur ad d. xxiii Januarii, Anno Christi 1570.

Ter tua dicturus cum dicere singula conor,
Ter numeri, et numeros destituere soni.
Nobilitas, animus, probitas, sapientia, virtus,
Consilium, imperium, pectora sancta fides,
Cuncta mihi simul hæc instant certamine magno:
Ut sibi, sic certant viribus ista meis;
Ipsi adeo Aonides cum vellent dicere, cedunt
Sponte sua numeris, hæc, Buchanane, tuis.

Johannis Jonstoni Heroes, pp. 31, 32.
Lugduni Batavorum, 1603.

Knox, among others, warned the regent of the designs which his enemies had formed against his life. "When the Mr of Grahame (says Bannatyne) come and drew him to Dumbartane, he [Knox] plainlie said to the regent then, that it was onlie done for a trane be that meanis to cut him off, as it came to pas; also when he was in Stirveling, being returned from Dumbartane, he sent me to my ladie the regentis wyfe, tuo sundrie tymes, and desyrit her to signifie my lord her husband, that he suld not come to Lynlythgow. So that gif his counsall had been followed, he had not died at that tyme. And my ladie the last tyme sent Mr Jhone Wood to desyre him to avoid Lynlythgow. But God thought vs not worthy of sic a rewlare above vs, and also he wald thereby have the wickitnes of vthers knawin, whilk then was hid; and therefore did God then tak him fra us. But lat the Hamiltonis, the Lard of Grange, with the rest of that factione, lay their compt and reeken thair advantage and wining since." Bannatyne's Journal, pp. 428, 429. The intrepidity of Moray prompted him to despise these prudential admonitions, and defeated the precaution of his friends.

Sir Walter Scott has, by a poetical license, introduced the Reformer as present at Linlithgow, to grace the regent's fall.

> From the wild border's humbled side,
> In haughty triumph marched he,
> While Knox relaxed his bigot pride,
> And smiled the traitorous pomp to see.
> *Ballads and Lyrical Pieces*, p. 52. Edin. 1810.

NOTES TO PERIOD NINTH.

Note NNN, p. 261.

Sentiments of Scottish Reformers on the difference between Civil and Ecclesiastical Authority.

I may subjoin a few facts which ascertain the opinion of our reformers on this subject.—In common with other reformed churches, they allowed that civil rulers have a right to employ their authority for the reformation of religion within their dominions, especially when, as was universally the case under the Papacy, religious abuses and corruptions affect the state as well as the church, and are interwoven with the civil constitution and administration; they allowed them a power of making laws for the support and advancement of religion; and they held that, where a reformed church existed, there might be a co-operation between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities about certain objects which came under the cognisance of both, each of them acting within its own line, and with a view to the proper ends of its institution. But, on the other hand, they maintained that civil and ecclesiastical authority were essentially distinct, and they refused that civil rulers had a supremacy over the church as such, or a right to model her government and worship, and to assume to themselves the internal management of her affairs.

The Scottish reformers never ascribed or allowed to civil rulers the same authority in ecclesiastical matters which the English did. In particular, they resisted from the beginning the claim of ecclesiastical supremacy granted to the English monarchs. On the 7th July 1568, "It was delatit and fund that Thomas Bassinden, printer in Edinburgh, imprintit an buik, intitulat *The Fall of the Roman Kirk*, naming our King and Soverane *Supreme Head of the Primitive Kirk*—The haill assemblie ordaint the said Thomas to call in agane all the foirsaidis buikis yat he hes sauld, and keip the rest unsauld, until he alter the forsaid title. Attour, the assemblie appoynit Mr Alex. Arburthnot to revise the rest of the forsaid tractat, and report to the kirk quhat doctrine he finds thairin." Buik of the Universall Kirk, pp. 38, 39. The General Assembly were frequently occupied in settling the bounds between civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and in March 1570 arranged the objects which pertained to the latter under six heads; including, among other things, the judgment of doctrine, administration of divine ordinances, the election, examination, admission, suspension, &c. of ministers, and all cases of discipline. The following is the concluding article: "And because the conjunction of marriages pertaineth to the ministrie, the causis of adherents and divorcements aucht also to perteine to thame, as naturallie annexit thairto." Buik of the Universall Kirk, p. 51. Actes of the General Assemblies, prefixed to the First and Second Booke of Discipline, printed in 1621, pp. 3, 4.

On occasion of some encroachments made on the liberties of the Church in 1571, John Erskine of Dun, superintendent of Angus and Mearns, addressed two letters to the Regent Mar. They are written in a clear, spirited, and forcible style, containing an accurate statement of the essential distinction between civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and should be read by all who wish to know the early sentiments of the Church of Scotland on this subject. See Bannatyne's Journal, p. 279—290.

It has always been a principle of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, that the ministers of religion ought not to be distracted from the duties of their office by holding civil places. The first General Assembly (December 1560) agreed to petition the Estates to "remove ministers from civil offices, according to the canon law." Buik of the Universall Kirk, p. 2. At the request of the Regent Mar, the assembly, or convention, which met at Leith in January 1571-2, allowed Mr Robert Pont, on account of his great knowledge of the laws, to act as a Lord of Session. Buik of the Universall Kirk, p. 54. But in March 1572-3, the Regent Morton having laid before them a proposal for appointing some ministers Lords of Session, the Assembly "votit throughout that naine was able nor apt to bear the saides twa charges." They therefore prohibited any minister from accepting the place of a senator: from this inhibition they, however, excepted Pont. Ibid. p. 56. In 1584, Pont resigned his place as a Lord of Session, or rather was deprived of it, in consequence of the act of parliament passed that year, declaring that none of the ministers of God's word and sacraments "in time cuming sall in ony waies accept, use, or administrat ony place of judicature, in quhatsumever civil or criminal causes, nocht to be of the Colledge of Justice, Commissioners, Advocates, court Clerkes or Notaris in ony matteris (the making of testamentes onely excepted)." Skene's Acts, fol. 59, b. Edinburgh, 1597. Lord Hailes' Catalogue of the Lords of Session, p. 5, and note 34.

The name of Pont often occurs in the account of ecclesiastical transactions during the remainder of the sixteenth century. The writer of Additional Notes to Lord Hailes' Catalogue of the Lords of Session, calls him by mistake "the first Presbyterian minister of the West Kirk." P. 8. Edinburgh, 1798. William Harlaw preceded him in that situation (Keith, 498), and continued to hold it in August 1571. See Letter to him from the Duke and Huntly, in Bannatyne's Journal, 217. Pont was also commissioner of Moray, and provost of Trinity College, Edinburgh. Upon the death of the Earl of March, James VI. offered him the bishopric of Caithness, but he declined accepting it. Keith's Scottish Bishops, 129. He was the author of several publications, besides the sermons against Sacrilege, repeatedly mentioned.

The time of his death and his age appear from the following inscription on his tombstone, in St Cuthbert's churchyard :—

ILLE EGO, ROBERT^{9} PONTA-
N^{9} IN HOC PROPE SACRO
CHRISTI QUI FUERA¯PASTOR
GREGIS AUSPICE CHRISTO
ÆTERNÆ HIC RECUBANS EX-
SPECTO RESURGERE VITÆ.
OBIIT DIE¯ÆT 81, MEN-
SIS 8 MAII, A. D. 1606.[1]

Note OOO, p. 265.

Particulars respecting Knox's residence at St Andrews.

The following particulars are extracted from the MS. Diary of Mr James Melville. "Ther wer twa in St Androis wha war his aydant heirars, and wraitt his sermons, ane my condiscipule, Mr Andro Young, minister of Dumblane, who translated sum of them into Latin, and read thame in the hall of the collage insteid of his orations." The other was a servant of Mr Robert Hamilton; but with what view he took notes, Melville could not say. Diary, p. 28.—"Mr Knox wald sum tymes cum in, and repast him in our colleage yeard, and call ws schollars unto him and bliss ws, and exhort ws to knaw God, and his wark in our countrey, and stand be the guid caus, to use our tyme weill, and learn the guid instructiones and follow the guid examplo of our maisters. Our haill collag [St Leonard's] maisters and schollars war sound and zelus for the guid caus, the uther twa colleges not sa." P. 23. "This yeir in the moneth of July, Mr Jhone Davidsone, an of our regents,

[1] History of the Church and Parish of St Cuthbert, or West Kirk of Edinburgh, p. 38. Edinburgh, 1829.

maid a pley at the marriage of Mr Jhone Colvin, quhilk I saw playit in Mr Knox presence, wharin, according to Mr Knox doctrine, the castle of Edinburgh was besieged, takin, and the captin, with ane or twa with him, hangit in effigie." P.24. This seems to have been an exercise among the students at the university. The following extract shows that the fine arts were not then uncultivated, and that the professors and students attended to them in their recreations. "I lernit singing and pleying on instrumentis passing weill, and wald gladlie spend tyme whar the exercise thairof was within the collag; for twa or thrie of our condisciples pleyed fellin weill on the virginals, and another on the lute and githorn. Our regent had also the pinalds in his chalmer, and lernit sum thing, and I efter him." Melville adds, that his fondness for music was at one period in danger of drawing away his attention from more important studies, but that he overcame the temptation. P. 25.

I may add an extract from the same Diary, relating an incident in the life of one who entertained a high respect for Knox, and afterwards became a distinguished minister in the church. "The order of four kirks to a minister, then maid by the erle of Morton, now maid regent, against the quhilk Mr Johne Davidson, an of the regents of our collag, made a buik called *The Conference betwix the Clark and the Courtier;* for the quhilk he was summoned befor the Justice Air at Haddington this winter (1573) the lest of our course, and banished the countrey." P. 24. This dialogue, which is in verse, contains the following lines :—

Had gude John Knox not yit bene deid,
It had not cum unto this heid :
Had thay myndit till sic ane steir,
He had maid hevin and eirth to heir.

The General Assembly, in October 1577, presented a supplication to the Regent Morton, requesting him to allow Mr Davidson to return home from England. Buik of the Universall Kirk, p. 70. The editor of Davidson's Poetical Remains (lately printed) has furnished some interesting information concerning the author. I am indebted to him for correcting a mistake into which I had fallen in the Life of Melville. Davidson returned to Scotland during the lifetime of the regent, though not until his fall. Hume of Godscroft, in his account of Morton's behaviour before his execution, says, "There he embraced Mr John Davidson, and said to him, you wrote a book, for which I was angry with you; but I never meant any ill to you,—forgive me. Mr Davidson was so moved herewith, that he could not refrain from weeping." History of the House of Douglas and Angus, ii. 279, 12mo.

Note PPP, p. 278.

Verses to the Memory of Knox.

Beza has inserted no verses to the memory of our Reformer in his *Icones, id est, Veræ Imagines Virorum Doctrina simul et Pietate Illustrium,* published by him in Latin, anno 1580. But of this work a French version was published, under the title of *Les Vrais Pourtraits des Hommes Illustres en Pieté et Doctrine.* Genève, 1581, 4to. In this translation are inserted original verses on Knox, &c. Irving's Memoirs of Buchanan, 234. Having never seen this translation, I cannot say whether the verses which it contains coincide with those which I am about to quote.

Jacobus Verheiden published "Præstantium aliquot Theologorum, qui Romæ Antichristum oppugnarunt, Effigies, quibus addita eorum Elogia, librorumque Catalogi. Hag. Comit. 1602." A new edition of this was published by *Fredericus Roth-Scholtz,* under the title of "Jacobi Verheidenii Hagæ-Comitis Imagines et Elogia, &c. Hagæ-Comitum, 1725." In this work the following lines are placed under the portrait of Knox :—

Scottorum primum te Ecclesia, Cnoxe, docentem
Audiit, auspiciis estque redacta tuis.
Nam te cælestis pietas super omnia traxit,
Atque Reformatæ Religionis amor.

To the account of his life and writings, in the same work, is added an *Epigram* in Greek and in Latin, which, according to a common practice in such compositions, consists of a play upon his name, and that of his country, in the way of contrast; representing Knox as driving the *nocturnal* crows, or *Scotican* sophists, from Scotland. As the author informs us that the Batavian youth amused themselves in making these epigrams, and thinks that some of them will amuse the reader, I shall not withhold this specimen in both languages.

Νυκτερίδας, νυκτὸς κόρακας, καὶ νύκτα αφεγγῆ,
Ἄλλα τε λυγρὰ Ἠὼς φεύγει ἀλεξίκακος.
Ουτως μὲν ΚΝΟΞΟΣ Σκοτικοὺς δνοφερούς τε σοφιστὰς
Εν Σκοτίῃ πατρῃ ἐκβαλε λαμπόμενος.

Nocturnos corvos, noctem obscuramque, volantes
Mures, Aurora et cetera dira fugat:
Sic Cnoxvs Scoticos simul obscurosque sophistas
Ex Scotica luceus ejicit hic patria.

Verheideuii Imagines et Elogia, pp. 69, 70.
Hagæ-Comitum, 1725.

Davidson's Poem, and Johnston's Verses, to the memory of Knox, will be found in the Supplement.

Note QQQ, p. 278.

Popish Account of Knox's Death.

The slanders propagated by the popish writers against our Reformer's character have been stated in Note GGG. After the specimen there given, it will not be expected that I shall dwell upon the equally extravagant and incredible narratives which they circulated concerning the manner of his death. I shall, however, translate the substance of Archibald Hamilton's account, the original picture from which so many copies were afterwards taken. "The opening of his mouth," he says, "was drawn out to such a length of deformity, that his face resembled that of a dog, as his voice also did the barking of that animal. The voice failed from that tongue, which had been the cause of so much mischief, and his death, most grateful to his country, soon followed. In his last sickness, he was occupied not so much in meditating upon death, as in thinking upon civil and worldly affairs. When a number of his friends, who held him in the greatest veneration, were assembled in his chamber, and anxious to hear from him something tending to the confirmation of his former doctrine, and to their comfort, he, perceiving that his death approached, and that he could gain no more advantage by the pretext of religion, disclosed to them the mysteries of that Savoyan art (*Sabaudicæ disciplinæ*, magic) which he had hitherto kept secret; confessed the injustice of that authority which was then defended by arms against the exiled queen; and declared many things concerning her return, and the restoration of religion after his death. One of the company, who had taken the pen to record his dying sayings, thinking that he was in a delirium, desisted from writing, upon which Knox, with a stern countenance, and great asperity of language, began to upbraid him! 'Thou good-for-nothing man! why dost thou leave off writing what my presaging mind foresees as about to happen in this kingdom? Dost thou distrust me? Dost thou not believe that all which I say shall most certainly happen? But that I may attest to thee and others how undoubted the things which I have just spoken are, go out all of you from me, and I will in a moment confirm them by a new and unheard-of proof.' They withdrew at length, though reluctantly, leaving only the lighted candles in the chamber, and soon returned, expecting to witness some prodigy, when they found the lights extinguished, and his dead body lying prostrate on the ground." Hamilton adds, that the spectators, after recovering from their astonishment, replaced the dead body in the bed, and entered into an agreement to conceal what they had witnessed; but God, unwilling that such a document should be unknown, disclosed it, "both by the amanuensis himself [Robertus Kambel a Pinkincleugh], soon after taken off by a similar death, and by others who, although unwillingly, made clear confessions."

De Confusione Calvin. Sectæ apud Scotos, fol. 66, 67. Those who have not access to the work itself, will find the original words extracted, although with some slight inaccuracies, by Mackenzie. Lives of Scottish Writers, iii. 131, 132. "All the rest of the Romish writers," says Mackenzie, "insist upon such-like ridiculous stories that are altogether improbable." Hamilton's fabrications gave occasion, however, to the publication of that minute and satisfactory narrative of the last illness and death of Knox, drawn up by one who waited on him all the time, and added by Principal Smeton to the answer which he made to that virulent writer. See above, p. 270. Yet the popish writers continued to retail Hamilton's story until a late period. It was published by Knot in his *Protestancy Condemned*, Douay 1654; and in *The Politician's Catechism*, printed at Antwerp, 1658, "*permissu superiorum.*" Those who wish to see the variations which it had undergone by that time, and who have not met with these writings, may be satisfied by looking into Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker, p. 367.

"The miserable, horrible, detestable, and execrable deaths" of Luther, Calvin, and other heretics of that time, are particularly recorded by James Laing, in the work to which I have repeatedly referred.

Note RRR, p. 294.

Knox's Stipend.

The General Assembly held in March 1573 passed the following act: "The Assemblie, considering that the travels of umqll Johne Knox merits favourablie to be remembrit in his posteritie, gives to Margaret Stewart, his relict, and hir thrie daughters of the said umqll Johne, the pension qlk he himselfe had in his tyme of the kirk, and that for the year approachand and following his deceis, of the year of God 1573, to their education and support, extending to five hundreth merks money, twa ch. quhait, sax ch. beir, four ch. aittes." Buik of the Universall Kirk, p. 56.

On the 25th of May 1574, in an action "at the instance of Margaret Haldin, relict of umq^{ll} Mr Henry Fowlis of Colingtown, takesman and fermorar of the kirk of Haillis, aganis Margaret Stewart, relict of umq^{ll} Johnne Knox, minister, and Andro Ker of Fadounsyd, now hir spous for his entress, and Maister Adam Lethame, minister at the kirkis of Currie, Haillis, and Sanct Katherine of the hoppis;" setting forth that both these parties demanded from her, the said Margaret Halden, "the sowme of l^{c} pundis w^{t} the kirkland of Currie, viz. the thrid of the personage of Currie, extending to lxiiij^{ll} viij^{s} x^{d} and thrid pairt penny, and the rest extending to xxxv^{ll} xi^{s} l^{d} twa pairt penny, furth of the thrid of Dunfermling,—and she aucht not to be compellit to mak dowbill payment thairof.—The lordis of counsale deserns and ordanis the same Margaret Haldin to answer, obey, and mak payment to the said Margaret Stewart, relict foirsaid, and her bairnes, of the dewtie contenit in the said tak of the crop and yeir of God, l^{m} v^{c} lxxiiij yeris, as pairtie fundin be the saidis lordis haveand maist ryt thairto, conforme to ane decreit given by the lordis of secreit counsale, of the dait the 25 day of Marche, the yeir of God l^{m} v^{c} lxxiiij yeris, schawin and produced befoir the saidis lordis," &c. Reg. of Decreets of Court of Session, vol. lvi. fol. 45.

On the 23d of May 1569, in an action "at the instance of Allan Couttis, chalmerlain of the abbacy of Dumfermling, aganis Johne Knox, minister of Christes evengell, allegeing that the silver males victuall of certane landis and tiendis of the said abbacy of Dumfermling ar assignit to him in payment of his stipend of the erope and yeir of God l^{m} v^{c} lxviij yeris,—and that the said complener, as chalmerlane foirsaid, is awand to him the sowme of twa hundreth and fiftie merkis, as for the silver maill of the landis assignit to him as said is, of the terme of Witsonday, the yeir of God foirsaid. The lordis of consale decernis the said Allane Cowtes to answer and obey the said Johne Knox of the said termes payment, as pairtie fundin by the said lordis havand maist right thairto, after the form and tenor of the assignation given and granted to him thairupon, of the dait the 21 day of September the yeir of God l^{m} v^{c} lxviij yeris," &c. Reg. of Decrects, vol. xlii. fol. 437.

The following extracts throw light on the subject of his stipend at an earlier period:—

"The Compt of Sir John Wyisharte of Pitarrow, Knycht Comptroller and Collector Generall of the Thredis of the Benefices of the Realme, 1564.

"And upown the first day of August, anno &c. lxiiij, delivered to Johne Knox, minister, at my lord comptrollaris command, in part of payment of his stipend, the soume of ane hundreth pundis, as his aquittance beris, . . . jc li.

"And mair deliverit to Margaret Fowles, Johne Knox servand, the x day of October, the soume of twentye pundis, ... xx li.

"And upoune the xvij day of October, 3eir abonewritten, to John Reid, servand to Johne Knox, the soume of fourtye pundis, ... xl li.

"And mair, the ix day of Januar, 3eir foirsaid, anno &c. deliverit to Robert Watsone, burges of Edinburgh, for Johnne Knox, the sowme of ane hundrethe pundis, as his acquittance therupoune beris, ... jc li.

"And to Johnne Willock, the xviij day of September, 3eir, &c. lxiiij, deliverit the soume of fouretye pundis at my lord comptrollaris command, in part of payment of his stipend, as his acquittance beris, ... xl li.

"Alsua the comptare aucht to be discharged of the prices of six chalderis beir at twa merkis the boll, and four chalder attis at xx^{s} the boll, coft be the comptare, and delivered to the said John Knox, minister, for the beir and aits allowit in his stipend of the lxiiij yeiris crop, quherof na allowance is tane be ony of the collectouris of befoir, extending in money to . . . ij^{c} xxiiij li.

"The Comp^{t} of Schir Williame Murray of Tullybardin, knight comptroller and collector generall of the thriddis of the benefices, &c. At Ed^{r}. Jan. 2, 1567, of crope 1566.

"And als the comptare aucht to be discharged of the soume of twa hundreth fourescoir twa pundis threttene schillingis four penneis, pait and deliverit be the comptare to Johne Knox, minister, for the half of his stipend of the cropp and 3eir of God 1^{m} v^{c} lxvj yeiris baith silver and victuall at command of my lord regentis precept, as the same and his acquittance producit upon compt proportis,

ij^{c} lxxxij li^{b} xiij^{s} iiij^{d}.

"And of the soume of ane hundreth thretty three pundis six schillinges aucht penneis pait be the comptare to William Stewart, Ross Herald, translater of sic werkis in the kirk as ar necessar for edifiing of the people, quherof he hes had allocatioun of ald be the appointment of the Buke of the modificatioun of the ministerie, ... jc xxxiij li vi^{s} viij^{d}."

Note SSS, p. 294.

Knox's Descendants.

In the former editions of this work it was stated that one of our Reformer's daughters was married to Robert Pont, minister of St Cuthbert's; but I have since ascertained that her husband was Zachary Pont, one of the sons of that minister. This appears from the following documents:—

"Nov. 13, 1599.—Mr Zach. Pont, portioner of Schyresmilne, and Margaret Knox, his spouse," inhibited by Bessie Colvill.

"11 Feby 1602.—Said Mr Zach. Pont and spouse inhibited by Mr Johne Velsche, minister of Godis word at our bust of Kirkcudbryt, and Elizabethe Knox his spous." Pont owes complainers 1000^{m}, as per contract between parties at Schyrismylne, 8 Apr. 1596. Reg^{d} in books of Session, 17 Nov. 1601. (Particular Register of Inhibitions, vol. v.)

"Marg. Knox, spous to Mr Zach. Pont, minister at Boar in Cathnes, w^{t} consent of Mr Jo^{n} Ker, minister at Preston, and Mr Ja^{s} Knox, ane of the regents of the College of Ed^{n}," receives from Andro Lord Stewart of Vchiltrie, 1300 merks. (Gen. Reg. of Decreets, vol. cvii.; 28 May 1605.) There is a previous deed relating to the same transaction, which is signed by "Mr Jo^{n} Ker, sone to umq^{ll} Andro Ker of Fadounside, witnes." (Ibid. vol. civ.; 13 Dec. 1664.)

The celebrated Dr Witherspoon, minister of Paisley, and afterwards president of the College of New Jersey, in America, was a descendant of our Reformer; and, according to the information of Dr Samuel Stanhope Smith, his son-in-law, and successor in the presidency, traced his line of descent through Mrs Welch.

I have been favoured with the following pedigree from Alexander Thomson, Esq.

of Banchory, in Aberdeenshire: "John Knox, the celebrated Reformer, left three daughters, one of whom was married to a Mr Baillie of the Jerviswood family, and by him had a daughter, who was married to a Mr Kirkton of Edinburgh. By this marriage Mr Kirkton had a daughter, Margaret, who was married to Dr Andrew Skene in Aberdeen. Dr Skene left several children, the eldest of whom, Dr Andrew Skene, had by his wife, Miss Lumsden of Cushnie, several sons and daughters. One of these, Mary, was married to Andrew Thomson of Banchory, who had issue by her, Margaret, Andrew, and Alexander. Andrew married Miss Hamilton, daughter of Dr Hamilton, of Marischal College, Aberdeen, and by her had issue, Alexander, born June 21, 1798, and present proprietor of Banchory." It is not uncommon for persons who happen to be of the same name with an individual who has attained celebrity, to claim a family relation to him upon very slender grounds. But in the present instance, not to mention the particularity of detail in the genealogical table, there is no ground to suspect that the tradition could have such an origin, as the name of Knox occurs only at the earliest stage of the supposed connection. Perhaps one of the Reformer's daughters was twice married; or, which I think more probable, it was one of his granddaughters who married a Mr Baillie of Jerviswood. Among the pictures at Mellerstain (now the seat of the ancient family of Jerviswood) is a portrait of Captain Kirkton, an officer of the Royal Navy. And we know from other authorities, that Robert Baillie of Jerviswood, who was executed at Edinburgh in 1684, was brother-in-law to Mr James Kirkton, minister first at Merton, and afterwards in Edinburgh. Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, ii. 157. Wodrow, i. 422.

Mr Thomson of Banchory possesses from his ancestors an antique watch; and the tradition in the family is, that this watch belonged to the Reformer, and was presented to him by Queen Mary at a time when she was anxious to cajole him into an approbation of her measures. On the brass-plate of the inner case are the words, *N. Forfaict à Paris.* Professor Leslie, whose extensive acquaintance with the history of inventions is well known, after examining an accurate description of this time-piece by Dr Knight of Aberdeen, says "that the watch in question might have been the property of John Knox is possible, and the tradition is in this case not improbable. At the same time it must be admitted that pocket watches were extremely rare at that period, and probably confined for the most part to princes and the more opulent nobility." He adds, "I have had the opportunity of inspecting an antique watch, through the politeness of Mr J. Scot, late chemist in Edinburgh, the lineal descendant of a Frenchman of the name of Massie, who, having attended Queen Mary into Scotland, had received the relic from his mistress. It is a small round old watch, scarcely exceeding an inch in diameter, and made by Hubert in Rouen. It is precisely of the same structure, but without carving or other ornament, as the one with which that artful princess is said to have endeavoured to bribe our stern Reformer."

I have only to add, that no notice is taken of this relic and token of royal favour in the testament of John Knox, or in the inventory of his goods presented by his widow after his decease.

Note TTT, p. 299.

Knox's History of the Reformation.

When they first formed themselves into an association to advance the reformation of religion, the Protestants of Scotland, aware that their conduct would be misrepresented, appointed some of their number to commit their proceedings to writing. This laudable practice was continued by them, and the most important events connected with the progress of the Reformation were registered along with the resolutions adopted at their meetings. After they came to an open breach with the queen-regent, and she had accused them of rebellious intentions both to their countrymen and to foreign nations, they resolved that a narrative of their proceedings should be drawn up from these records, and that it should be published to the world for their vindication. Preface to the Gentill Reidare, prefixed to Knox's Historie, and Præfatio to the Secunde Booke of the Historie, p. 115, edit. 1732. The confusions produced by the civil war prevented them from executing this reso-

lution at the time intended, and the object originally in view was in part answered by occasional proclamations which they had been obliged to make, and by answers which they had published to proclamations issued by the regent. The design was not, however, laid aside; and the person to whom the compilation was committed continued the narrative. The book which is placed second in the printed History was first composed. The third book was next composed, and contains a circumstantial account of the steps taken by the Congregation to obtain assistance from England, which it was judged imprudent to disclose when the former book was drawn up. It brings down the history to Queen Mary's arrival in Scotland. The book which occupies the first place in the printed History was composed after these, and intended as an introduction to them, bringing down the history from the first dawn of the Reformation in Scotland to 1558. See Preface to the Gentill Reidare, *ut supra*. The publication being still delayed, the fourth book was added, which contains the history of ecclesiastical transactions from the arrival of Mary to the end of 1564. The first and fourth books were composed during the years 1566, 1567, and 1568. Historie, pp. 86, 108, 282. Some additions were made to the fourth book so late as 1571. Ibid. p. 338. The fifth book in the printed History is not found in any of the ancient MSS. It was added by David Buchanan, but whether he published it from an old MS. or compiled it himself, cannot now be ascertained.

The History was composed by one person (Preface, *ut supra*), and there is no reason for doubting that Knox was the author. In a letter which he wrote on the 23d of October 1559, he mentions the design of publishing it. Keith, Append. p. 30. The English ambassador, Randolph, says in a letter to Cecil, dated Edinburgh, 23d September 1560, "I have tawlked at large with Mr Knox concernynge hys Historie. As mykle as ys wrytten thereof shall be sent to your honour, at the comynge of the Lord's embassadors by Mr John Woode: He hath wrytten only one booke. If yow lyke that, he shall contynue the same, or addie onie more. He sayethe, that he must have farther helpe than is to be had in this countrie, for more assured knouledge of thyngs passed, than he hath hymself, or can com bye here: yt is a worke not to be neglected, and greatly to be wyshed that yt sholde be well handled." Life of the Author, p. xliii. prefixed to Knox's Historie, edit. 1732. From a letter written by Knox to Mr John Wood, and dated Feb. 14, 1568, it appears that he had come to the resolution of withholding the History from the public during his life. See Appendix. The important light in which he considered the work, appears from the way in which he expressed himself in April 1571, when he found that the state of his health would not permit him to finish it. "Lord, provyde for thy flocks trew pastouris; rease thou up the spretis of some to observe thy notable workis, faythfullie to commit the same to writ, that the prosperities [posterities] to come may praise thy holie name, for the great graces plentyfullie powred foorth upon this vnthankful generatione. Jhone Knox trusting end of trawell." Bannatyne's Journal, p. 129. He did not, however, desist altogether from the prosecution of the work. It appears from two letters of Alexander Hay, clerk to the privy council, written in December 1571, that the Reformer had applied to him for papers to assist him in the continuation of his History. The papers which Hay proposed to send him related to the years 1567—1571, a period which the printed History does not reach. Bannatyne, p. 294—302.

The following petition, presented by Bannatyne to the first General Assembly which met after our Reformer's death, with the act of Assembly relating to it, gives the most satisfactory information respecting the History. "Unto your Wisdoms humbly means and shows, I, your servitor Richard Bannatyne, servant to your umquhill most dearest brother John Knox of worthy memory: That where it is not unknown to your wisdoms, that he left to the kirk and town of Edinburgh his History, containing in effect the beginning and progress of Christ's true religion, now of God's great mercy established in this realm; wherein he hath continued and perfectly ended at the year of God 1564. So that of things done sinsyne, nothing be him is put in that form and order that he has put the former. Yet not the less there are certain scrolls and papers, and minuts of things left to me by him, to use at my pleasure, whereof a part were written and subscribed by his own hand, and another be mine at his command, which if they were collected and gathered together, would make a sufficient declaration of the principal things that have occurred since the ending of his former History, at the year foresaid; and so should

serve for stuff and matter, to any of understanding and ability in that kinde of exercise, that would apply themselves to make a history, even unto the day of his death. But for so meikle as the said scrolls are so intacked and mixed together, that if they should come in any hands not used nor accustomed with the same, as I have been, they should altogether lose and perish: And seeing also I am not able, on my own costs and expenses, to apply myself and spend my time to put them in order, which would consume a very long time; much less am I able to write them, and put them in register, as they require to be, without your wisdoms make some provision for the same: Wherefore I most humbly request your wisdoms, That I may have some reasonable pension appointed to me by your wisdoms discretion, that thereby I may be more able to await and attend upon the samine: lest these things, done by that servant of God dear to you all, should perish and decay, which they shall do indeed, if they be not put in register, which I will do willinglie, if your wisdoms would provide, as said is. And your wisdoms answer," &c. To this supplication the Assembly gave the following answer:—" The Assembly accepted the said Richard's offer, and request the kirk of Edinburgh to provide and appoint some learned men, to support Richard Bannatyne, to put the said History, that is now in scrolls and papers, in good form, with aid of the said Richard. And because he is not able to await thereon, upon his own expences, appoints to him the sum of forty pounds, to be payed of the 1572 years crope, be the collectors underwritten, viz. the collector of Lothian, Fife, Angus, and the West, Galloway, and Murray, every one of them to pay six pound thirteen shillings four pennies of the said crope; and it shall be allowed to them in count, they bringing the said Richard's acquittance thereupon." Life of the Author, pp. xliv. xlv. prefixed to Historie, edit. 1732. Book of Univ. Kirk, p. 56.

It is probable that the deficiency of the funds of the church prevented the publication of the History during Morton's regency; and the change of politics after James assumed the reins of government into his own hands, precluded all hope of its being allowed to be printed in Scotland. An attempt was made to have it printed in England; but after the work had proceeded so far, the press was stopped. This appears from the following extract from Calderwood's MSS.—" February 1586, Vaultrollier the printer took with him a copy of Mr Knox's History to England, and printed twelve hundred of them; the stationers, at the archbishop's command, seized them the 18 of February; it was thought that he would get leave to proceed again, because the council perceived that it would bring the Queen of Scots in detestation." Calderwood's MS. apud Life of Knox, p. 45, prefixed to edition of Historie, Edinburgh, 1732. Bishop Bancroft also mentions it in the following terms: " If you ever meet with the History of the Church of Scotland penned by Mr Knox, and printed by Vaultrollier, read the pages quoted here in the margent." Bancroft's Survey (originally printed in 1593), republished in 1663, p. 37. Copies of this imperfect edition were allowed to go abroad, and are still to be met with. In 1644, David Buchanan published his edition of Knox's History at London in folio, which was reprinted the same year at Edinburgh in quarto. The editor prefixed a preface concerning the antiquity of the Scots, and a Life of Knox, both of which were written by himself. He modernised the language of the History; but not satisfied with this, he also altered the narrative, by excluding some parts of it, and by making numerous interpolations. It appears from the passage formerly quoted from Milton (see p. 368), that attempts were made to suppress, or at least to mutilate this edition; but the passage is so obscure that we cannot learn from what quarter these attempts were made. At last, a genuine and complete edition of the History was printed in 1732, from a manuscript belonging to the University of Glasgow, compared with several other manuscripts of undoubted antiquity. Those who wish to know the great difference between this edition and that of David Buchanan, may consult Mr Wodrow's letter, inserted at large in the Life of the Author, p. xlvi.—li. prefixed to the Historie, edit. 1732, and partially inserted in Nicolson's Scottish Historical Library, p. 132—141. Lond. 1736. All the editions of the History lately published are mere copies of Buchanan's spurious and interpolated one.

This deduction of facts may serve to clear the subject of the History from the difficulties in which it has been involved. That Knox was the author of the first four books, as they are printed in the edition 1732, is beyond all reasonable doubt. After the publication of that edition, it is mere perverseness to endeavour to dis-

credit the authenticity or genuineness of the History, by insisting on the alterations and interpolations of David Buchanan. To infer that he was not the author of the History from the difference between its style and that of his undoubted works, is quite conjectural. The historical and the didactic styles are different in themselves; and when we consider the intervals at which the History was composed, the numerous avocations which distracted the author's attention, and the multiplicity of facts which it was requisite for him to collect and investigate, we will not be surprised to find this work inferior, in point of language and arrangement, to those tracts which he composed on single topics, and which, having the sentiments at his command, he was left at liberty to arrange and to adorn. The facts which I have produced tend also to corroborate the credibility of the History, as they evince that, however negligent as to points of inferior consideration, the author was most active and laborious in searching for materials, and in procuring, when it was at all possible, original and authentic documents. And such was his character for integrity, that I am persuaded there are few, if any, who believe that he would insert, as a fact, anything of whose truth he was not fully convinced.

Note UUU, p. 299.

Catalogue of Knox's Writings.

The following catalogue of the Reformer's works will, I trust, be found more correct and complete than any one which has hitherto appeared. The titles have been accurately copied from the books themselves, when I could possibly procure them, and at the end of each I have mentioned where a copy may be seen. For the titles of such as I have not seen, I have had recourse to the best authorities, as marked after each article. I have also noticed those of which there are copies in the MS. volume in my possession.

1. "An admonition, or warning, that the faithfull Christians in London, Newcastel, Berwycke, and others, may avoide God's vengeance both in thys life and in the life to come. Compyled by the servaunt of God, John Knokes." A cut of Truth, poor woman, handcuffed and fastened in the stocks, with a halter about her neck, held by Tyrannye on the one hand, while Crueltye, with a cornered cap, is threatening her with a rod on the other. Beneath the cut, "The persecuted speaketh,

> I fear not death, nor passe not for bands:
> Only in God put I my whole trust,
> For God will requyre my blod at your hands,
> And this I know, that once dye I must,
> Only for Chryst, my lyfe if I give:
> Death is no death, but a meane for to leyve."

Under these verses in ancient writing, "John Frythe boke Red and send yt agayne." E, in eights. "From Wittonburge by Nicholas Doreastor. Anno M.D.LIIII. the viii of May. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum." W. H. (Ames by Herbert, p. 1576), sixteens. Comp. Tanneri Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica, p. 460. See above, p. 67, note.

2. "A faythful admonition made by John Knox, unto the professours of God's truthe in England, whereby thou mayest learne howe Gode wyll have his churche exercised with troubles, and how he defendeth it in the same. Esaie ix. After all this shall not the Lordes wrath ceasse, but yet shall hys hande be stretched out styll. Ibidem. Take hede that the Lorde roote thee not out both heade and tayle in one daye."

On the back of title: "The epistle of a banyshed manne out of Leycestershire, sometime one of the preachers of Goddes worde there, to the Christen reader wysheth health, deliveraunce, and felicitie."

"Imprynted at Kalykow the 20 daye of Julii 1554. Cum gratia et privilegio ad Imprimendum solum." French black letter, extends to I, and makes 63 leaves. Advocates' Library. A copy of this in MS. Vol.

3. "A godly letter sent to the faythefull in London, Newcastell, Barwyke, and to all other within the realme of Englande, that love the coming of our Lord Jesus, by Jhon Knox. Matth. x. He that continueth unto the ende shall be saved. Im-

printed in Rome, before the Castel of S. Aungel, at the signe of Sainet Peter. In the moneth of July, in the yeare of our Lord 1554." D, 28 leaves, Fr. black letter. Advocates' Library. A copy in MS. Vol.

4. "A confession and declaratiō of praiers added thereunto, by Jhon Knox, minister of christes most sacred Evangely, upon the death of that moste famous king Edward the VI. kynge of Englande, Fraunce, and Ireland, in which confession, the sayde Jhon doth aceuse no less hys owne offences, than the offences of others, to be the cause of the awaye takinge of that most godly prince, now raininge with Chryst whyle we abyde plagues for our unthāfulnesse. Imprinted in Rome, before the Castel of S. Aungel, at the signe of Sainct Peter. In the moneth of July, in the yeare of our Lorde 1554." C, 19 leaves. Fr. black letter. Advocates' Library.

The "Confession" inserted in Note U. The "Declaration of Praiers" is in MS. Vol. See Note N. Another edition was licensed in 1580. See Ames, p. 1146.

5. "The copie of a letter sent to the ladye Mary dowagire, regent of Scotland, by John Knox, in the yeare 1556. Here is also a notable sermon, mayde by the sayde John Knox, wherein is evydentlye proved that the masse is and alwayes hath been abhominable before God, and Idolatrye. *Scrutamini Scripturas.*" H, extends to 64 leaves, 16mo. Black letter. No year or place of printing. A copy of this rare book, which belonged to the late Duke of Roxburghe, is now in the Advocates' Library.

Ames (p. 1587) introduces this book as printed in 1556, but without alleging any authority; and (p. 1834) he speaks of the Sermon against the Mass as printed in 1550, for which he quotes T. Baker's Maunsell, p. 101. Both the tracts contained in this book are in MS. Vol.

6. "Ane exposition upon the syxth Psalme of Dauid, wherein is declared hys crosse, complayntes, and prayers, moste necessarie too be red of all them, for their singular comforte, that vnder the banner of Christe are by Satan assaulted, and feel the heauye burthen of synne, with which they are oppressed. ☞ The paciente abydinge of the sore afflicted was neuer yet confounded." Ends on the reverse of the last leaf of F. On G begins, "A comfortable Epistell sente to the afflicted church of Chryst, exhortynge thē to beare hys crosse with paciēce, lokyng euery houre for hys commynge agayne to the greate comfort and consolacion of hys chosen, with a prophecy of ye destruction of the wycked. Whereunto is joyned a most wholesome counsell, howe to behaue ourselues in the myddes of thys wycked generacion touching the daily exercise of God's most holy and sacred worde. Wrytten by the man of God, J. K."

A copy of this very rare collection of tracts, which also belonged to the late Duke of Roxburghe, is now in the Advocates' Library. It wants two or three leaves at the close, ending with I, 5. Black letter, 16mo. (All of these are in MS. Volume. The "wholesome counsell" is inserted in Note Z.) In the same volume, and printed with the same type, are two tracts by "Gracious Menewe," the first on "Auricular Confession," and the second, "Of the Communion in both kyndes." It has been conjectured that Knox wrote these under a fictitious name.

7. "The copie of a lettre delivered to the laidie Marie, regent of Scotland, from Johne Knox minister of Goddes worde, in the yeare of our Lord 1556, and nowe augmented and explained by the author in the yeare of our Lord 1558." Device: two arches, one narrow, the other broad; over the narrow one is a crown of laurel, over the broad one flames of fire, with this motto about them, "Enter in at the streit gate: for wide is the gate, and brode is the waye, that leadeth to destruction, Matth. vii." Printed at Geneva, by James Pollain, and Antonie Rebul. M.D.LVIII. D, extends to 28 leaves. Rom. letter, 16mo. Advocates' Library.

8. "The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstruous Regement of Women. Veritas temporis filia. M.D.LVIIII." 56 leaves. Rom. letter. Advocates' Library.

9. "The Appellation of Johne Knoxe from the cruell and most unjust sentence pronounced against him by the false bishoppes and clergie of Scotland, with his supplication and exhortation to the nobilitie, estates, and cōmunalitie of the same realme. Printed at Geneva M.D.LVIII." The Appellation is addressed "To the nobilitie, and estates of Scotlād" only; the epistle, "To his beloved brethren the cōmunalitie of Scotlād," annexed, begins at folio 47, and concludes at folio 59, "Be witnesse to my appellation.—From Geneva the 14 of July, 1558. Your brother to commaunde in godliness, John Knoxe." On the back of which leaf begins: "An

admonition to England and Scotland to call them to repentance, written by Antoni Gilby." On the back of leaf 78, "Psalme of David xciiii turned into metre by W. Kethe," ends on first page of folio 80—Rom. letter, 16mo. Advocates' Library.

It is a mistake to suppose that "Antoni Gilby" was a fictitious name assumed by Knox. Gilby was a member of the English Church at Geneva. (See p. 92.) Ames mentions several publications by him. See also Tanneri Bibliotheca, p. 318.

10. "The copie of his [John Knox's] epistle, sent unto Newcastle and Barwick. [This was, perhaps, another edition of No. 3.] Also a brief exhortatione to Englande for the speedy embracing of Christes gospell, heretofore, by the tyranny of Mary, suppressed. Print. at Geneva, 1559." Maunsell, p. 65. With a catalogue of Martyrs, 16mo. Ames, p. 1600. Comp. Tanner, p. 460.

11. "An Answer to a great number of blasphemous cauillations written by an Anabaptist and Adversarie to God's eternal Predestination; and confuted by Iohn Knox, minister of Gods worde in Scotland: Wherein the Author so discouereth the craft and falshode of that sect, that the godly knowing that error, may be confirmed in the trueth by the euident worde of God. Prov. xxx. There is a generatiō that are pure in their own cōceit, and yet are not washed from their filthiness. Printed by Iohn Crespin, M.D.LX." Rom. letter, 454 pages. Advocates' Library. Another edition was licensed 1580; and it was again printed in 1591. See Ames, pp. 1196, 1254, 1263.

12. "Heir followeth the coppie of the ressoning which was betuix the Abbote of Crossraguell and John Knox in Mayboil concerning the Masse, in the yeare of God, a thousand five hundreth thre scoir and two yeares. Apocalips xxii. For I protest, &c. Imprinted at Edinburgh by Robert Lekpreuik, and are to be solde at his hous, at the nether bow. Cum privilegio, 1563." The running title is "The ressoning betwix Jo. Knox and the abbotte of Crossraguell." In the library of Alexander Boswell, Esq. of Auchinleck. See above, p. 199.

13. "A sermon preached by John Knox, minister of Christ Jesus, in the publique audience of the church of Edenbrough, within the realme of Scotland, upon Sunday the 19 of August 1565. For the which the said John Knoxe was inhibite preaching for a season, 1 Tim. iv. The time is come that men cannot abyde the sermon of veritie nor holsome doctrine. To this is adjoyned an exortation unto all the faithfull within the sayde realme, for the releife of such as faythfully trauayle in the preaching of Gods word. Written by the same John Knoxe, at the commandment of the ministrie aforesaid." Consists of 49 leaves; and 11 more, "Of the superintendents to the faithful." No name of place nor printer. Sixteens. Ames, pp. 1488-1489. Tanner, p. 460.

14. "To his loving brethren whome God ones gloriously gathered in the church of Edinburgh, and now are dispersed for tryall of our faith, &c. Johne Knox. Imprented at Striviling be Robert Lekpreuik. Anno Do. M.D.LXXI." Rom. letter, 4 leaves, 16mo. Advocates' Library.

15. "An Answer to a letter of a Jesuit named Tyrie, be Johne Knox. Proverbs xxvi. Answer not a foole according to his foolishness, least thou be lyke him: answer a foole according to his foolishness, least he be wise in his owē cōseat.

"The contrarietie appearing at the first sight betwix thir twa sentēcis, stayit for a tyme baith heart to meditate and hand to wryte any thing, cōtrair that blasphemous letter. But when with better mynd God gave me to considder, that whosoever opponis not him self bouldly to blasphemy and manifest leis, differis lytill fra tratouris: cloking and fostering, so far as in them ly, the treasoun of traitouris, and dampnable impietie of those, against whome Gods just vengeance mon burne without end, unless spedie repentāce follow: To quyet therefore my owno conscience, I put hand to the pen as followeth. Imprentit at Sanctandrois be Robert Lekpruik, Anno Do. 1572."

"Jhone Knox, the servand of Jesus Christ, now wearie of the world, and daylie luiking for the resolution of this my earthly tabernakle, to the faithful," &c. 3 pages. Then a prayer in 3 pages, which concludes, "Now, Lord, put an end to my miserie. At Edinburgh the 12 day of March 1565." On next page begins "An Answer," &c. At the end, "Of Edinburgh the 10 day of August, anno do. 1568." Next, "To the Faithfull Reader"—ends "For as the worldc is wearie me: so am I of it. Of Sanctandrois the 12 of Julii 1572. Johne Knox."—"Followeth the letter as it past from my hand at Diep the 20 Julii 1554. To his loving mother," &c. (This letter is in MS. Vol.) In all 45 leaves. Rom. letter. Advocates' Library.

16. "A Fort for the Afflicted. Wherein are ministred many notable and excellent remedies against the stormes of tribulation: Written chiefly for the comforte of Christes little flocke, which is the small number of the faithfull, by John Knoxe. John xvi. 23." This is an exposition upon the 6th Psalm. It has prefixed, an epistle "To the Religious Reader, by Abr. Flemming."—"To his beloved mother, J. K. sendeth greeting in the Lorde." At the end is "A comfortable epistle sent to the afflicted churche of Christ, exhorting them to bear his crosse with patience, &c. Written at Deepe, 31 May 1554." F. 4, in eights. W. H. (Ames, p. 1118.) Tanner (p. 460) says it was printed "Lond. 1580." This is another edition of the two first tracts described in No. 6.

17. Sermon on Ezekiel, ix. 4, printed anno 1580. See a Catalogue of Writers on O. and N. Testament, p. 107. Lond. 1663.

18. "A Notable and Comfortable exposition of M. John Knoxes upon the fourth of Matthew, concerning the tentations of Christ. First had in the public church, and *afterwards* written for the comfort of certaine private *friends, and now* published in print for the benefit of all that fear God. At London printed by Robert Waldegrave for Thomas Man, dwelling in Paternoster Row, at the signe of the Talbot." Advocates' Library. In MS. Vol.

The words in Italics are supplied, the copy being torn in these places. The book is dedicated by "Johne Fielde," the publisher, to the "vertuous and my very godly friend Mres Anne Provze of Exeter," who was the widow of "M. Edward Derring," a celebrated non-conformist. Field was also a noted Puritan. See Bancroft's Dangerous Positions, b. iii. chap. 1—5. Field had received the MS. from Mrs Prouze. At the end of the dedication is, "London the first day of the first moneth in the year 1583." The book consists of 24 leaves.

19. "The Historie of the Church of Scotland." Imperfect, beginning with page 17. "By THESE ARTICLES which God of his merciful providence causeth the enemies of his truth to keep in their registers," &c., and ending with M m, p. 560. "For we judge it a thing most contrarious to reason, godlynes, and equitie, that the widow of the children and him who in;" being part of "the fift head" of the First Book of Discipline. 8vo. Advocates' Library. This edition is very rare, and none of the copies which have been seen are more complete than that which has been just described. See above, p. 409.

It is unnecessary to give the title of David Buchanan's edition, printed in 1644 at London, in folio, and reprinted the same year at Edinburgh in quarto. The genuine and complete edition of the History was published in folio, under the following title:—

"The Historie of the Reformatioun of Religioun within the Realm of Scotland, conteining the manner and be quhat persons the lycht of Christis Evangell has been manifested unto this realme, after that horribill and universal defection from the treuth, whiche has come by the means of that Romane Antichryst. Together with the Life of Johne Knoxe, the author, and several curious pieces wrote by him; particularly that most rare and scarce one entitled, *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Wemen*, and a large Index and Glossary. Taken from the original manuscript in the University Library of Glasgow, and compared with other ancient copies. Edinburgh: Printed by Robert Fleming and Company, 1732." The life was written by Mr Matthew Crawfurd. See last Note.

Besides the above publications, which were all undoubtedly composed by our Reformer, there are others ascribed to him upon more dubious grounds. Bale, in his Scrip. Maj. Brit. post. pars., art. *Knoxus*, and Verheiden and Melchior Adam, upon his authority, appear, in several instances, to have given different names to the same tract. They mention among his printed works, "In Genesin Conciones." We know that he preached sermons on Genesis at Frankfort (see p. 73), and it is not unlikely that he continued to do so at Geneva. Perhaps Bale, hearing of these, might think that they were published. Bishop Tanner has enumerated among his works, "Exposition on Daniel, Malburg. M.D.XXIX. 8vo." Bibliotheca, p. 460. As he mentions the place and year of printing, more credit is due to his account; but there is evidently a mistake in the year, for Knox had not at that time begun to write. It may, however, be an error of the press for a later year. We have seen (p. 258) that he preached on Daniel at St Andrews.

During the reign of Queen Mary of England, a book was published with this title, "The Huntyng of the Romysh Voulfe," &c. Of this tract a new edition was printed in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, under the title of "The Hunting of the Fox and the Wolfe, because they make hauocke of the sheepe of Christ Jesus." This edition is introduced with a preface by an anonymous author, "To al my faithful Brethren in Christ Jesu, and to all other that labour to weede out the weedes of poperie," &c. The writer of the preface is very severe against the relics of Popery retained in the worship of the Church of England by the Act of Uniformity. "My good fathers and deare Brethren, who are first called to ye battel to strive for God's glory and the edificatiō of his people, againste the Romish reliques, and rags of Antichriste, I doubt not but that you will courageouslye and constātly in Christ rap at these rages of God's enemies, and that you will by this occasiō race vp many as great enormities, that we al know and labour to race out al the dregs and remnāts of transformed poperie, that are crept into England by too much lenitie of thē that will be named the Lords of the clergie," &c. This preface has been ascribed to our Reformer. "So far," says Herbert, "as one may be allowed to guess at the author by the style, &c., I am inclined to believe this address was written by John Knox, who for magnanimity, courage, and zeal for God's glory, was at least equal to any of our reformers." This surmise is in some measure supported by the cut of Truth, &c., at the end of this tract; the same as prefixed to that author's Admonition or warning, &c. as p. 1576, except only the name of *Sutleti* being here given to the figure there inscribed *Crueltye*. Herbert's edition of Ames, pp. 1605, 1606.

I have not introduced into this catalogue the *Form of Excommunication*, which was wholly, nor the *Treatise of Fasting*, which was chiefly, composed by Knox, nor any other of the public papers in which he had a hand, but which were published in the name of the General Assembly.

In an epistle to the reader, contained in his answer to Tyrie, Knox mentions that he had beside him a collection of letters which he had written to Mrs Bowes, and which the state of his health alone prevented him from publishing. It also appears from Field's dedication prefixed to Knox's Exposition of the fourth of Matthew (see p. 281), that a number of our Reformer's manuscripts were in circulation in England as well as Scotland. I have in my possession a manuscript volume, containing tracts and letters written by him between 1550 and 1558. This is unquestionably the identical volume which formerly belonged to the Rev. Mr Wodrow (author of the History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland), and described under the name of the *Quarto volume* of MSS. in Crawfurd's Life of Knox, pp. 53, 54, prefixed to the edition of his Historie published in 1732. It consists of 518 pages, including the contents. On the leaf at the beginning of the volume is this title: "The epistles of Mr Johu Knox, worthy to be read because of the authority of the wryter, the solidity of the matter, and the comfortable Christian experience to be found therein. Edr. 22 feb. 1683. H. T. m. p." Below, in a hand considerably older, are these words: "This booke belong'd somtyme to Margaret Stewart, widow to Mr Knox, afterwards married to the knight of fawdonesyde. Sister shee was to James Earl of Arran." Then follow the six tracts described by Mr Crawfurd, in the place above referred to. At the beginning of the Letters, in a hand older than the former, and the same with that in which the Letters themselves are written, is this title: "Certane epistillis and letters of ye servand of God, Johne Knox, send from dyvers places to his friendis and familiaris in Jesus Chryst." On the margin of the tracts are several short notes by the transcriber, referring to his own times, such as this, "Our case at this day in Scotland, 1603." This ascertains the date of their transcription; and I think it highly probable that they were copied by Mr John Welch, a son-in-law of the Reformer, one of whose letters is inserted on some blank leaves in the middle of the volume. The letters have evidently been written by the same person (although the hand appears older); and, on the margin of a treatise at the end of them, "1603" occurs. Margaret Stewart, the Reformer's relict, was alive about the end of the sixteenth century; but whether the manuscript in my possession belonged to her, or be considered as a transcript from hers, there can be no doubt of its antiquity and genuineness. I have found, upon examination, that all the six tracts in the beginning of the volume have been published; but as the manuscript is more correct than any of the printed editions which I have seen, I have generally followed it in the extracts

which I have given from these tracts. The letters are forty-three in number, besides the letter to the queen-regent, the Discourse on the temptation of Christ, and the Additions to the Apology of the Parisian Protestants, which are inserted among them. Three of the letters also have been published, and are noticed in Nos. 6 and 15 of this catalogue; the remainder, as far as I can learn, never appeared in print. They consist chiefly of religious advices to the friends with whom he corresponded; but a number of facts and allusions to his external circumstances are interspersed. Mr Wodrow possessed another volume of Knox's MSS. in folio, which is described by Crawfurd, Life, p. 53, *ut supra*. It contains nothing additional to what I have mentioned in this note. In a letter, addressed to Mr Robert Durie, from Sedan, 24th May 1616, Andrew Melville says: "I left with my lufing and faithful gossep, your father-in-law, Mr Knox's letters. I wish them to be furthcuming."

APPENDIX,

CONSISTING OF

LETTERS WRITTEN BY KNOX, AND OTHER PAPERS,

HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED.

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[1] No I.—[From MS. Letters, p. 243.]

THE FIRSTE LETTER TO HIS MOTHIR-IN-LAW, MESTRES BOWIS.

RYCHT deirlibelovit mother in oure Saviour Jesus Chryst, when I call to mind and revolve with myself the trubillis and afflictionis of Godis elect frome the begyning (in whiche I do not forget yow) thair is within my hart tuo extreme contraries; a dolour almaist unspeakabill, and a joy and comfort whilk, be mannis sences, can not be comprehendit nor understand. The cheif caussis of dolour be two; the ane is the rememberance of syn, whilk I daylie feill remanyng in this corrupt nature, whilk was and is sa odious and detestabill in the presence of oure hevinlie father, that by na uther sacrifice culd or myght the same be purgeit, except by the blude and deth of the onlie innocent sone of God. When I deiplie do considder the caus of Chrystis deth to haif bene syn, and syn yit to dwell in all flesche, with Paule I am compellit to sob and grone as ane man under ane heavie burdene, ye, and sumtymes to cry, O wreachit and miserabill man that I am, wha sall delyver me fra this bodie of syn! The uther caus of my dolour is that sic as maist gladlie wald remane togidder, for mutual comfort ane of another, can not be sufferit sa to do. Since the first day that it pleasit the providence of God to bring yow and me in familiaritie, I have alwayis delytit in your company; and when labours wald permit, ye knaw I have not spairit houris to talk and commoun with yow, the frute whairof I did not than fullie understand nor perceave. But now absent, and so absent that by corporal presence nather of ws can resave comfort of uther, I call to mynd how that oftymes when, with dolorous hartis, we haif begun our talking, God hath send greit comfort unto baithe, whilk now for my awn part I commounlie want. The exposicioun of your trubillis, and acknawledging of your infirmitie, war first unto me a verie mirrour and glass whairin I beheld my self sa rychtlie payntit furth, that nathing culd be mair evident to my awn eis. And than the searching of the Scriptures for Godis sueit promissis, and for his mercies frelie givin unto miserable offenderis (for his nature delyteth to schew mercie whair maist miserie ringeth), the collectioun and applying of Godis mercies, I say, wer unto me as the breaking and handilling with my awn handis of the maist sweit and delectabill ungumentis, whairof I culd not but receave sum comfort be thair naturall sweit odouris. But now, albeit I never

[1] The first five Nos. are religious letters; the rest contain historical matter.

lack the presence and plane image of my awn wreachit infirmitie; yet seing syn sa manifestlie abound in al estaitis, I am compellit to thounder out the threattnyngis of God aganis the obstinat rebellaris, in doing whairof (albeit as God knaweth I am no malicious nor obstinat synner) I sumtymes am woundit, knawing myself criminall and giltie in many, ye in all (malicious obstinacie laid asyd) thingis that in utheris I reprehend. Judge not, mother, that I wrait theis thingis debassing my self otheris wayis than I am; na; I am wors than my pen can expres. In bodie ye think I am no adulterer: lat sa be; but the hart is infectit with foull lustis, and will lust albeit I lament never samekill. Externallie I commit na idolatrie; but my wicked hart luffeth the self, and cannot be refranit fra vane imaginationis, ye, not fra sic as were the fountane of all idolatrie. I am na mankiller with my handis; but I help not my nedie brother sa liberallie as I may and aucht. I steill not hors, money, nor claithis fra my nychbour; but that small portioun of warldlie substance I bestow not sa rychtlie as his halie law requyreth. I bear na fals witnes agains my nychbour in judgement or utherwayis befor men; but I speik not the treuth of God sa boldlie as it becumeth his true messinger to do. And thus in conclusioun thair is na vyce repugnyng to Godis halie will, expressit in his law, whairwith my hart is not infectit.

This mekill writtin and dytit befoir the resait of your letteris, whilk I resavit the 21st of June. They war unto my hart sum comfort for dyvers caussis not necessar to be rehersit, but maist (as knaweth God) for that I find ane congruence betwix ws in spreit, being sa fer distant in bodie: ffor when that digestlie I did avys with your letter, I did considder that I myself was complenyng evin the self sam thingis at that verie instant moment that I resavit your letter. Be my pen ffrom a sorrowfull hart I culd not but burst forth and say, "O Lord, how wonderfull ar thi workis! how dois thou try and prufe thi chosen children as gold by the fyre! how canest thou in maner hyd thi face fra thy awn spous, that thi presence efter may be mair delectabill! how canest thou bring thi sainctis lowe, that thou may carie thame to glorie everlasting! how canest thou suffer thi strang faithful messingeris in many thingis yit to wressill with wreachit infirmitie and febill weaknes, ye and sumtymes permittis thou thame horribillie to fall, partlie that na flesche sall have whairof it may glorie befoir the, and partlie that utheris of smaller estait and meaner giftis in thi kirk myght resave sum consolatioun, albeit thay find in thame selves wickit motions whilk they are not abill to expell!" My purpois was, befoir I ressavit your letter, to have exhortit you to pacience and to fast, adhering to Godis promisis, albeit that your flesche, the divill, and uther your enemyis, wald persuad you to the contrare; for, by the artis and subteliteis that the adversarie useth aganis me, I not only do conjecture, but also planelie dois sie your assaltis and trubill. And sa lykwys, in the bowellis of Chrystis mercie, maist ernistlie I beseik you, by that infirmitie that ye knaw remaineth in me (wars I am than I can wryt), pacientlie to beir, albeit that ye haif not sic perfection as ye wald, and albeit also your motionis be sic as be maist vyle and abominabill, yet not to sorrow abuf measure. Gif I to whom God hes gevin greatter giftis (I wryt to his prais) be yit sa wrappit into miserie, that what I wald I can not do, and what I wald not, that with sainct Paule, I say, I daylie ye cverie hour and moment I devys to do, and in my hart, ficht I never sa fast in the contrarie I perform and do,—gif sic wreachit wickitnes remane in Godis cheif ministeris, what wonder albeit the same remane in yow? Gif Godis strangest men of war be beattin bak in thair face, that what thay wald they can not destroy nor kill, is it any sic offence to yow to be tossit as ye compleane, that thairfoir ye suld distrust Goddis frie promissis? God forbid, deir mother! the power of God is knawin be oure weaknes, and theis dolouris and infirmiteis be maist profitabill to ws; for by the same is our pryde beattin doun, whilk is not easie utherwayis to be done. By thame ar oure misereis knawn, sa that we, acknawledging oure selves misterfull, seikis the phesitioun. By thame cum we, be the operatioun of the halie spreit, to the hatred of syn, and be thame cum we to the hunger and thrist of justice, and to desyre to be desolued, and sa to ring with oure Chryst Jesus, whilk without this battell and sorrow this flesche culd never do. And sa fra the doloris I proceed to the comfort.

As the caussis of dolour be tuo, whilk ar present syn, and the lack of sic company as in whome we maist culd delyt, sa is the caussis of my comfort not ymaginit of my brane, but pronuncit first be God, and efter graftit in the hartis of Godis chil-

dren by his halie spreit. Thay ar lykwys tuo; whilk is a justice inviolable offerit be our flesche befoir the trone of our heavinlie father, and ane assureit hoip of that generall assemblie and gathering togither of Godis dispersit flok, in that day when all teairs salbe wipit fra oure eis, when deth salbe vincuisit, and may na mair dissever sic as feiring God this day in the flesche murnis under the burdene of syn. Off oure present justice, notwithstanding syn remane in our mortall bodeis, ar we assureit by the faithfull witnes of Jesus Chryst, Johne the apostill, saying, "gif we confes oure synnis, faithfull and just is God to remit and forgive our synnis." Mark the wordis of the apostill, gif we confes oure synnis God man forgive thame, becaus hie is faithfull and just. To confessioun of synnis ar theis thingis requisit: ffirst we man acknawledge the syn, and it is to be notit that sumtymes Godis verie elect, albeit they have synnit maist haynouslie, does not acknawledge syn and thairfoir can not at all tymes confes the same; for syn is not knawin unto sictyme as the vale be takin fra the conscience of the offender, that he may sie and behald the filthines of syn, what punishment be Godis just jugementis is dew for the sam, and then (whilk is the 2 thing requisit to confessioun) begynnis the haitred of syn and of oure selves for contempnying of God and of his halie law; whairof last springis that whilk we call hoip of mercie, whilk is nathing els but a sob fra a trubillit hart, confoundit and aschamit for syn, thristing remissioun and Gods frie mercie, whairupon of necessity man follow this conclusioun, God hes remittit and frelie forgevin the syn; and why? for "hie is faithfull and just" sayeth the apostill. Comfortabill and mervelous caussis! first, God is faithfull, ergo, hie man forgive syn. A comfortable consequent upon a maist sure ground! for Godis fidelitie can na mar faill nor can him self. Then lat this argument be gatherit for oure comfort; the office of the faithfull is to keip promeis; but God is faithfull, ergo, he man keip promeis. That God hes promissit remissioun of synis to sic as be repentant, I neid not now to recit the places. But let this collectioun of the promissis be maid, God promissis remissioun of synis to all that confessis the same; but I confes my synnis, for I sie the filthines thairof, and how justlie God may condemp me for my iniquities. I sob and I lament for that I can not be quyt and red of syn, I desyre to leif a mair perfyt lyfe. Thir ar infallible signis, seillis, and takinis, that God hes remittit the syn; for God is faithfull that sa hes promissit, and can na mair deceave nor hie can ceis to be God. But what reasone is this, God is just, thairfoir hie man forgive syn? A wonderous caus and reasone in deid! ffor the flesche and naturall man can understand nathing but the contrar, for thus man it reasone: the justice of God is offendit be my synnis, sa God man neidis have a satisfactioun, and requyre ane punissment. Gif we understand of whome God requyris satisfactioun, whether of ws, or of the handis of his onlie sone, and whais punisment is abill to recompens oure synnis, than sall we haif greit cause to rejose, remembering that God is a just God; for the office of the just man is to stand content when hie hes ressavit his dewtie. But God hes ressavit alredie at the handis of his onlie sone all that is dew for our synnis, and sa can not his justice requyre nor craif any mair of ws ather satisfactioun or recompensatioun for our synnis. Advert, mother, the sure pilleris and fundation of oure salvation to be Godis faithfulnes and justice. Hie that is faithful has promissit frie remissioun to all penitent synneris, and hie that is just, hes ressavit alredie a full satisfaction for the synis of all thais that imbrace Chryst Jesus to be the only saviour of the world. What restis than to us to be done? nathing but to acknawledge oure miserie and wrechednes, whilk na flesche can do sa unfenidlie as they that daylie feillis the wecht of syn. And uther, mother, caus haif we nane of desperatioun, albeit the divill rage never sa cruellie, and albeit the flesche be never sa fraill, daylie and hourlie lusting aganis Godis halie commandementis, ye, stryving aganis the same. This is not the tyme of justice befoir oure awin eis; we luke for that whilk is promissit, the kingdome everlasting, preparit to ws fra the begynning, whairof we ar maid airis be Godis apoyntment, reabillit [i. e. *legitimated* or *restored*] thairto be Chrystis death, to whom we sall be gatherit, when efter we sall never depart, whilk to remember is my singular comfort, but thairof now I can not wryte. My commendationis to all whom effeiris. I commit you to the protectioun of the omnipotent.

At Londoun, the 23d of June 1553, your sone unfeaned,

JOHNE KNOX.

N° II.—[MS. Letters, p. 333.]

To Marjorie Bowis, wha was his first wyfe.

Deirlibelovit sister in the commoun faith of Jesus our saviour, the place of Johne forbidding ws to salut sic as bringeth not the hailsome doctrine, admonisseth ws what danger cumeth be fals teacheris, evin the destructioun of bodie and saule; whairfoir the spreit of God willeth ws to be sa cairfull to avoyd the company of all that teachis doctrine contrarie to the treuth of Chryst, that we communicat with thame in nathing that may appeir to manteane or defend thame in thair corrupt opinioun, for hie that bidis thame godspeid, communicatis with thair syn, that is, hie that apeiris, be keiping thame company, or assisting unto thame in thair proceidingis, to favour thair doctrine, is giltie befoir God of thair iniquitie, baith becaus hie doith confirme thame in thair error be his silence, and also confirmes utheris to credit thair doctrine, becaus hie opponis not himself thairto: and sa to bid thame godspeid is not to speik unto thame commounlie as we for civill honestie to men unknawn, but it is efter we have hard of thair fals doctrine to be conversant with thame, and sa intreat thame as they had not offendit in thair doctrine. The place of Jamis teachis ws, belovit sister, that in Jesus Chryst all that unfeandlie profes him are equall befoir him, and that ryches nor warldlie honouris ar nathing regairdit in his syght; and thairfoir wald the spreit of God, speiking in the apostill, that sic as ar trew christianis suld have mair respect to the spirituall giftis whairwith God had doteth his messingeris, nor to externall ryches, whilk oftymes the wicket possessis, the having whairof makis man nether nobill nor godlie, albeit sa judge the blind affectionis of men. The apostill dampneth sic as preferis a man with a golden chayne to the pure; but heirof will I speik no more. The spreit of God sall instruct your hart what is maist comfortable to the trubillit conscience of your mother, and pray ernistlie that sa may be. Whair the adversarie objectis, sche aucht not think wicket thoughts, answer thairto, that is trew, but seing this oure nature is corruptit with syn whilk entirrit be his suggestioun, it must think and wirk wickitlie be his assaltis, but hie sal beir the condigne punisment thairof, because be him syn first entirit, and also be him it doith continew whillis this karkais be resolved. And whair hie inquyris what Chryst is, answer hie is the seid of the woman promissit be God to break down the serpentis heid, whilk hie hath done alreadie in himself appeiring in this oure flesche, subject to all passionis that may fall in this oure nature, onlie syn exceptit; and efter the death sufferit, hie heth, be power of his godheid, rissin agane triumphant victour over deth, hell, and syn, not to him self, for thairto was hie na dettour, but for sic as thristis salvatioun be him onlie, whom he may na mair los, nor he may ceas to be the sone of God and the saviour of the warld. And whair hie wald perswade that sche is contrarie the word thairinto, hie leis according to his nature, whairin thair is na treuth; for gif sche wer contrarie the word, or denyit it, to what effect sa ernistlie suld sche desyre the company of sic as teacheth and professeth it? Thair is na dout but hie, as he is the accusatour of all Godis elect, studieth to trubill her conscience, that according to hir desyre, sche may not rest in Jesus oure Lord. Be vigilant in prayer. I think this be the first letter that ever I wrait to you.

In great haist, your brother,

Johne Knox.

N° III.—[MS. Letters, p. 283.]

To his Mother-in-Law, and his Wife.

Frome the eis of his sanctis sal the Lord wype away all teiris and murnyng.

Deir mother and spous unfeanidlie belovit in the bowells of oure Saviour Chryst Jesus, with my verie hartlie commendationis. I perusit baith your letteris, not only directit to me, but also it that sorrowfullie compleanis upon the unthankfulnes of your brother as also of myne, that ye suld not have bene equallie maid privie to my coming in the countrie with utheris, whairof the enemy wald persuad yow

(ane argument maist fals and untrew) that we judge you not to be of our noumber. Deir mother, be not sa suddanlie moveit, hie is your enemy that sa wald persuad you. God I tak to recorde in my conscience that nane is this day within the realme of Ingland, with whome I wald mair gladlie speik (onlie sche whome God hath offirit unto me, and commandit me to lufe as my awn flesche, exceptit) than with you. For your causis principallie enterprysit I this jurney; for hering my servand to be stayit, and his letteris to be takin, I culd na wys be pacifeit (for the maist part of my letteris was for your instruction and comfort) till farther knawledge of your estait, and that ye wer na soner advertisit, only want of a faithfull messinger was the caus; for my coming to the countrey was sa sone noysit abrod, that with greit difficultie culd I be convoyit fra a place to another. I knew na sic danger as was suspectit be my brethrene; ffor as for my letteris in them is nathing conteanid, except exhortation to constancie in that treuth whilk God hes opinlie laid befoir our eis, whilk I am not myndit to deny whenever sic questions sal be demandit of me. But the cause moveing me that ffor a tyme I wald have bene clos, was, that I purposit (gif sa had bene possible) to have spokin with my wyfe, whilk now I persave is nathing apeirand, whill God offer sum better occasioun. My brethren, partlie be admonitioun, and partlie by teiris, compellis me to obey sumwhat contrair to my awn mynd; for never can I die in a mair honest quarrell nor to suffer as a witnes of that treuth whairof God hes maid me a messinger, whilk with hart I believe maist assuredlie (the halie Gaist beiring witnes to my conscience), and with mouth I trust to God to confes, in presence of the warld, the onlie doctrine of lyfe. Notwithstanding this my mynd, gif God sall prepair the way, I will obey the voces of my brethrene, and will gif place to the furie and rage of Sathan for a tyme. And sa can I not espy how that ether of yow baith I can speik at this tyme. But, gif God pleis preserve me at this tyme, whairof I am not yit resolved, then sal thair lak in me na gud will, that ye may knaw the place of my residence, and farthir of my mynd. But now, deir mother, haif we cause to rejois, for our heavinlie Father, wha callit us be grace to wryt in our hartis the signis and seallis of our election in Chryst Jesus his sone, begynnis now to correct our crukedness, and to mak us iyke in suffering afflictionis, schame and rebuke of the warld, to the greit bischope of our saullis, wha by mekill tribulation did enter in his glorie, as of necessitie man everie ane to whome that kingdome is apoyntit. And thairfor, mother, be nathing abasched of theis maist dolorous dayis, whilk schortlie sal have end to oure everlasting comfort. Thay ar not cropin upon ws without knawledge and foirsight; how oft have ye heard theis dayis foirspokin? thairfoir now grudge not, but pacientlie abyd the Lord's delyverance. Hie that foirspak the trubill, promisses everlasting pleasure by the same word; albeit the flesche complene, dispair nathing, for it must follow the awn nature, and it is not dampnabill in the syght of oure Father; albeit the corrupt fraill flesche draw bak and refuse the croce, ffor that is as naturall to the flesche as in hunger and thirst to covet reasonable sustenance. Onlie follow not the affectionis of the flesche to cōmit iniquytie; neither for feir of deth, nor for love of lyf, cōmit ye idolatrie; neither yit gif your presence whair the same is committit, but hait it, avoid it, and flee frome it. But your leter makis mention that ye haif pleasure and delyt in it: na, mother, I espy the contrarie, for ye compleane and lament that sic motionis ar within you; this is na sign that ye delyt in thame, for na man compleanis of that whairin hie delytis. Ye ar in na wors cas, tuiching that poynt, nor yet tuiching any uther whairof ye desyre to be red, than was the apostil, when with gronyng and angusche of hart he did cry, "O unhappie man that I am, wha sal delyver me fra this bodie of syn:" reid the haill chapter, and gif glorie to God that lattis you knaw your awn infirmitie, that from Chryst allone ye may be content to resave that whilk never remanit in corruptibill flesche, that is, the justice whilk is acceptabill befoir God, the justice by faith and not by workis, that ye may glorie in him wha frelie gives that whilk we deserve not. And thus neither feir that, nor uther assaltis of the divill, sa lang as in bodie ye obey not his persuasionis. Schortnes of tyme, and multitude of cairis, will not lat me wryt at this present sa plentifullie as I wald. Ye will me to charge you in suche thingis as I mister, God grant that ye may be abill to relief the nedie. Ye may be sure that I wald be bold upon you, for of your gude hart I am persuadit, but of your power and abilitie I greitlie dout. I will not mak you privie how ryche I am, but off Loundoun I departit with les money than ten grottis, but God hes sencc provydit, and will provyd I dout not, heirefter abun-

dantlie for this lyfe. Ather the quenis majestie, or sum thesaurer will be XL pounds rycher by me for samekill lack I of dewtie of my patentis. But that litill trubillis me. Rest in Chryst Jesus, your sone,

1553. JOHNE KNOX.

N° IV.—[MS. Letters, p. 303.]

TO HIS MOTHER-IN-LAW, MRS BOWIS.

Blissit be thais that mourne for ryghteousnes sake, &c.

Belovit mother with my hartlie commendatioun in the Lord. Let not your present dulnes discorage yow above measure: the wisdome of our God knawis what is maist expedient for our fraill nature, gif the bodie suld alwayis be in travell, it suld faynt and be unabill to continew in labour, the spreit hes his travell, whilk is a sobbing and murnyng for syn, fra whilk unles it sumtymes suld rest, it suddanlie suld be consumit. It doith na mair offend Godis maiestie that the spreit sumtyme lye as it were asleip, nether haning sence of greit dolour nor greit comfort, mair than it doith offend him that the bodie use the naturall rest, ceassing fra all externall exercis. Ye sall consider, mother, that the eis of God dois pers mair deiplie than we be war of; we, according to the blind ignorance whilk lurketh within ws, do judge but as we do feil for the present, but hie, according to his eternall wisdome, dois judge thingis lang before they cum to pas. We judge that caldnes and angusche of spreit ar hurtfull, becaus we sie not the end whairfoir God dois suffer ws to be trubillit with sic temptationis; but his maiestie, wha onlie knawis the mass whairof man is maid, and causeth all things to work to the profit of his elect, knawis also how necessarie sic trubillis ar to dantoun the pryd of oure corrupt nature. Thair is a spirituall pryd whilk is not haistelie suppressit in Godis verie elect children, as witnesses sanct Paule. God hath wroth greit thingis be yow in the syght of uthir men, with whilk (unless the mell of inward angusche did beat them doun) ye myght be steirit up to sum vane glorie, whilk is a vennoume mair subtil than ony man do espy. I can wryt to you be my awn experience. I have sumtymes bene in that securitie that I felt not dolour for syn, nether yit displeasure aganis myself for any iniquitie in whilk I did offend; but rather my vane hart did this flatter myself (I wryt the treuth to my awn confusioun, and to the gloric of my heavenlie father through Jesus Christ), "Thou hes sufferit great troubill for professing of Chrystis treuth, God hes done great thingis for the, delyvering the fra that maist cruell bondage [*galleis*, on the margin], hie has placeit the in a maist honourabill vocatioun, and thy labours ar not without frute; thairfoir thou aucht rejos and gif prais unto God." O mother this was a suptill serpent wha this culd pour in vennoume, I not perceaving it; but blissit be my God wha permittit me not to sleip lang in that estait. I drank schortlie efter this flatterie of myself a cupe of contra poysone, the bitternes whairof doith yit sa remane in my breist, that whatever I have sufferit, or presentlie dois, I reput as doung, yea, and my self worthie of dampnation for my ingratitude towardis my God. The lyke, mother, myt have cumin to yow, gif the secreit brydall of afflictioun did not refrane vane cogitationis; but of this I have written to yow mair planelie in my other letteris. And this I commit you to the protectioun of the omnipotent for ever.

Yours at his power, JOHNNE KNOX.

N° V.—[MS. Letters, p. 335-6.]

TO HIS SISTER.

The spreit of God the father, be Jesus Chryst, comfort and assist yow to the end. Amen.

Touching the sonis of Jacob, who cruellie, contrar to thair solempned promeis and othe, did murther and slay the citiseus of Sichem; whasa ryghtlie marketh the scriptures of God sall easelie espy thame maist grevouslie to have offendit: ffor

albeit the transgression of the young man was haynous befoir God, yit wer thay na civill maiestratis, and thairfoir had na autoritie to punis. And farther, thay committit treasone, and in sa fer as in thame was blasphemit God and his halie name, making it odious to the nationis about, seing thay under pretence of religioun, and of ressaving them in leage with God and with the pepill, did disceatfullie as also cruellie destroy the haill citie suspecting na danger. Albeit sum laboureth to excus thair syn be the zeall thay had that thay myght not suffer thair sister to be abusit lyke ane harlot, yit the spreit of God speiking in thair awn father, efter lang advysement, in the extreamitie of his deth, utterlie dampneth thair wickit act, saying, "Semioun and Levi, brethren, &c. 'lat not my saule entir in thair consall, nor yit my glorie into thair company, for in thair furie thay killit a man, and for thair lust destroyit the citie, cursit is thair heit or rage, for it is vehement, and thair indignatioun, for it is intractable, I sall dispers thame in Jacob, and scatter thame abrod in Israell." Heir may ye espy, sister, that God dampneth thair het displeasure and cruell act, as maist wickit and worthie of punisment. But perchance it may be inquyrit, why did God suffer the men that had professit his name be ressaving the sign of circumsitioun sa unmercifullie to be entreatit? I myght answer, God sufferis his awn in all ageis be the ungodlie to be cruellie tormentit. But sic was not the case of thir men, whom na doubt the justice of God faund cryminall and worthie the deth: ffor thay did abus his sacramentall signe, receaving it nether at God's commandement, nor having any respect to his honour, nor to the advancement of his name, nor yit trusting in his promissis, nor desyreing the incres or multiplicatioun of Goddis pepill, but onlie for a warldlie purpois, thinking thairby to have attaynit riches and ease, be joynyng thameselves to Godis pepill. And sa the justice of God faund thame worthie of punisment, and sa permittit thame justlie on his part to be afflictit and destroyit be the ungodlie, whilk is a terribill exempill to sic as in caus of religioun mair seikis the profit of the warld nor eternall salvatioun. But hereof na mair. Thus brieflie and rudlie have I writtin unto yow, becaus I remember myself anis to have maid yow a promeis sa to do, and everie word of the mouth of the faithfull (yf sa impeid not God) aught to be keipit. And now rest in Chryst. After this I think ye sall rasave na mair of my handis. In haist, with sair trubillit hart.

Yours as ever in godlines,

[Anno 1553.] JOHNE KNOX.

N° VI.—[British Museum. Harl. MSS. 416, 34. § 70.]

LETTER OF JOHN KNOX TO JOHN FOXE. (See p. 108.)

An Original.

Endorsed—"To his louinge brother Master Fox be these delyuered at Basill."

The mightie comforth of the Holie Ghost for salutation.

Dearlie beloued brother, albeit at the departure of this our brother from whom I receaved yor loving and frendlie lr̃e, my selue could writ nothing be reason of the euill disposition of my bodie, yit becaus I could not suffer him to depert without som remembrance of my deutie to you, I vsed the help of my left hand, that is of my wief, in scribbling these fewe lynes vnto you, as touching my purpose and mynd in the publishing the First Blast of the Trompet.

When the secreates of all hartes shalbe disclosed, that shalbe knowē wch now by manye can not be perswaded, to wit, that therin I nether haue sought my selue, nether yit the vain prase of men. My rude vehemencie and inconsidered affirmations wch may appear rather to procead from eoler then of zeal and reason, I do not excuse, but to haue vsed anye other tytle more plausible, therby to haue allured the world by any art as I never purposed so do I not yit purpose. To me it is ynewgh to say that black is not whit, and mans tyrannye and foolishnes is not Goddes perfite ordinance, wch thinge I do not so much to correct comon welthes as to delyuer my own conscience, and to instruct the consciences of som semple who yit I fear be ignorant in that matter, but ferther of this I delay to better oppor-

tunytie. Salut yor wief and dowghter hartlie in my nam. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ rest w^t you now and euer. From Geneva the 18 of May 1558.

Your brother to power,

JOHNE KNOX.

I yor sister the writer herof saluteth you and yor wief, most hartlie thanking hir of hir loving tokens wch my mother and I receaued from Mrs Kent.

N° VII.—[Cald. MS. Vol. i. p. 427.][1]

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM JOHN KNOX TO MRS ANNE LOCKE.

(See p. 132.)

——— The queen and her counsell made promise that no person within Sanct Johnston, neither yet of these that assisted them, should be troubled for any thing done either in religion, either yet in down-casting of places, till the sentence of the estates in Parliament had decided the controversie, and that no bands of French souldiers should be left behind the queen and counsell in the town, and that no idolatrie should be erected, nor alteration made within the town. But after she had obtained her desire, all godlie promises were forgotten; for the Sunday next after her entering, mess was said upon a dyeing table (for ye shall understand all the alters were prophaned); the poor professors were oppressed; when children were slain, she did but smile, excusing the fact be the chance of fortune; and at her departure she left 400 souldiers, Scottismen, but paid by France, to dantoun the town. She changed the provist, and exiled all godlie men. This crueltie and deceit displeased many that before assisted her with their presence and counsell; and among others, the Earl of Argyle and the Prior of Sanct Andrews left [her], and joined themselves to the Congregation openly, whilk as it was displeasing to her and to the shavellings, so it was most comfortable and joyfull to us, for by their presence were the hearts of many erected from desperation. At their commandment I repaired to them at St Andrewis, wher consultation being had, it was concluded that Christ Jesus should there be openlie preached, that the places and monuments of idolatrie should be removed, and superstitious habits changed. This reformation was begun the 14th of June. In the meantime came the bishop of St Andrewis to the towne, accompanied with a great band of warriours, and gave a strate commandement, that no preaching should be made by me, who was both brunt in figure and horned, assuring the lords that if they suffered me to preach that twelve haquebuts should lyght upon my nose at once. O burning charitie of a bloodie bishop! But as that boast did little affray me, so did it more incense and inflamme with courage the harts of the godlie, who with one voyce proclaimed that Christ Jesus should be preached in despite of Sathan, and so that Sabbath and three dayes after I did occupy the publike place in the midst of the doctors, who this day are even as dumbe as their idols which were brunt in their presence. The bishop departed to the Queene, frustrat of his intent, for he had promised to bring me to her either alyve or dead: and incontinent was a new army assembled, and forward they marched against St Andrews. It was not thought expedient that we should abide them lurking in a town, and so we past to the fields and met them at Couper, where lodging was appointed for the camp, but we prevented them: where we remained upon their coming till the nixt day, when both armies were in sight of other within shot of cannon, and we looked for nothing but the extremitie of battle: not that we intended to pursue, but only to stand in camp where our field was pitched for defence of ourselves. There came from our adversaries ane ambassador desiring speech and communing of the lords, which gladlie of us being granted, after long reasoning the queene offered a free remission of all crimes bypast, sua that they would no furder proceed against friars and abbayes, and that no more preaching should be used publicklie. But the lords and the brethren refused such appointment, declaring that the fear of no mortal creature should cause them betray the veritie known and professed, neither yet to suffer idolatrie to be maintained in the bounds committed to their charge. The

[1] The following letters from Calderwood have been corrected by comparing different copies. The style has evidently been modernised.

adversaries perceiving that neither threatening, flatterie, nor deceit, could break the bold constancie and godlie purpose of the lords, barons, gentlemen, and commons, who were there assembled to the number of 3000 in one day's warning, they were content to tak assurance for eight days, permitting unto us freedom of religion in the meantime. In the whilk the abbay of Lindores, a place of black monks, distant from St Andrewis twelve myles, we reformed: their altars overthrew we; their idols, vestments of idolatrie, and mass books, we burnt in their presence, and commanded them to cast away their monkish habits. Divers chanons of St Andrewis have given notable confessions, and have declared themselves manifest enemies to the pope, to the mass, and to all superstition. [*Then follows what is inserted*, p. 138.] We fear that the tyrannie of France shall, under the cloak of religion, seek a plain conquest of us; but potent is God to confound their counsell and to break their force. God move the hearts of such as profess Christ Jesus with us, to have respect to our infancie, and open their eyes to see that our ruin shall be their destruction. Communicat the contents hereof (which I write to you, least by divers rumours ye should be troubled and we slandered) with all faithfull, but especiallie with the afflicted of that little flock, now dispersed and destitute of these pleasant pastures in which some tyme they fed abundantlie. If any remain at Geneva, let either this same or the double of it be sent unto them, and likeways unto my dear brother Mr Goodman, whose presence I more thirst for than she that is my own flesh. Will him therefor in the name of the Lord Jesus (all delay and excus set apart) to visit me; for the necessity is great here. If he come be sea, let him be addressed unto Dundie, and let him ask for George Levell, for George Rollock, or Wm. Carmichael. If he come to Leith, let him repair to Edinburgh, and enquire for James Baron, Edward Hope, Adam Fullerton, or for John Johnston, writer, be whom he will get knowledge of me. If my mother and my wife come be you, will them to make the expedition that goodly they can to visit me, or at least to come to the north parts, where they shall know my mind, which now I can not write, being oppressed with hourly cares. This bearer is a poor man unknown in the country, to whom I beseech you shew reasonable favour and tenderness, touching his merchandize and the just selling thereof. Thus, with hearty commendations to all faithfull, I heartily commit you to the protection of the Omnipotent. From Sanct Andrewes the 23d of June 1559.

N° VIII.—[Cald. i. 483.]

To the Same. (See p. 153-154.)

Lest that the rumours of our troubles trouble you above measure, dear sister, I thought good in these few words to signifie unto you that our esperance is yet good in our God, that he for his great name's sake will give such success to this enterprise as nether shall these whom he hath appointed to sigh in this be utterlie confounded, neither yet that our enemies shall have occasion to blaspheme the veritie, nor yet triumph over us in the end. We trusted too much, dear sister, in our owne strenth, and speciallie since the erle of Arran and his friends were joyned to our number. Amongst us also were such as more sought the purse than Christ's glory. We by this overthrow are brought to acknowledge, what is a multitude without the present help of God! and the hollow hearts of many are now revealled. God make us humble in his eyes, and then I fear not the furie of the adversaries, who, be ye assured, doe sore rage, so as yet their crueltie must neids crave vengeance from him whose members they persecute. Our dear brethren and sisters in Edinburgh and Lothian, who lay nearest these bloode thirsty tyrants, are so troubled and vexed that it is a pity to remember their estate. Our God comfort them. We stand universally in great fear, and yet we hope deliverance. I wrote to you before to be suitor to some faithfull, that they would move such as have abundance to consider our estate, and to make for us some provision of money to keep soldiers and our company together. And herein yet again I cannot cease to move you. I can not well write to any other, because the action may seem to appertaine to my own country onlie. But because I trust ye suspect me not of avarice, I am bold to say to you that if we perish in this our enterprise, the limits of London will be straiter than they are now within few years. Many things I have which I would have

required for myself, namely Calvin on Isaiah, and his Institutions revised. But common troubles cause me to neglect all private business. If ye can find the means to send me the books before written, or any other that be new and profitable, I will provide that ye shall receive the prices upon your advertisement. My wife saluteth you. Salute all faithfull heartilie in my name, especiallie those of familiar acquaintance, of whom I crave pardon that I write not, being not so quiet as ye would wish. My onlie comfort is that our troubles shall pass sooner, peradventure, than our enemies look. Grace be with you. From St Andrews, in haste, the 18th November 1559. Yours known, JOHN KNOX.

Mr Gudeman is in the west country in Ayr, who willed me to salute you in his name as oft as I wrote you.

Nº IX.—[Cald. i. 524.]

TO THE SAME. (See p. 155.)

We shall meet when death shall not dissever.

Two letters I have received from you, dear sister, both almost at one time; the one is dated at London the 28th of November, the other of the same place, the 2d of December. The letter of the last date I first read, which made mention of your trouble be reason of a suddan fire in a lodging near to you; that you had sought all means for our support, as well of those of high as of low degree; but that it was not needfull that any thing should be sent unto us, because it was supposed that the highest would support us; and last, that ye had not received the answer of your doubts. In your other letters, after your most comfortable discourse of God's providence for his people in their greatest necessitie, ye godlie and trulie conclude that neither could their unworthiness, neither yet their want of things judged necessarie for their preservation, stop his majestie's mercie from them. Thereafter ye will me to avoid danger, and rather to fight by prayer in some place removed from danger than expose myself to the hazard of battell, and so ye conclude by praising God's mercie as did Jeremy in his greatest anguish, &c.

What support should come to us be consent of counsell and authoritie I am uncertain. But suppose it shall be greater than yet is bruted, that ought not to stay the liberall hands of the godlie to support us privatelie. For the public support of an army shall not make such as now be superexpended able to serve without private support. I will make the matter more plain be one example. I know one man that since the 10th of May hath spent in this action thirteen thousand crowns of the summe [sonne], besydes his victuals and other fruits of the ground. His treasure being now consumed, he cannot, without support, susteane the number which before he brought to the field. If he and such others that are in lyke condition with him shall be absent, or yet if numbers shall decay, our enemies shall seem to prevail in the field, and therfor desired I some collection to be made, to the end that the present necessitie of some might have been relieved. If the matter pertained not to my native country, I would be more vehement in persuasion, but God shall support even how, when, and by whom it shall please his blessed majestie. Sorry I am that ye have not received my answer unto your doubts, not so much that I think that ye greatly need them, as that I would not put you in suspicion that I contemned your requests. The rest of my wife hath been so unrestful since her arrival here, that scarcelie could she tell upon the morrow what she wrote at night. She cannot find my first extract. And therfor, if any scruple remaine in your conscience, put pen again to paper, and look for ane answer, as God shall give opportunitie. God make yourself participant of the same comfort which you wrote unto me: and in very deed, dear sister, I have no less need of comfort, notwithstanding that I am not altogether ignorant, than hath the bound man to be fed, albeit in store he hath great substance. I have read the cares and tentations of Moses, and sometymes I have supposed myself to be well practised in such dangerous battels. But, alace! I now perceive that all my practice before was but mere speculation, for one day of troubles since my last arrival in Scotland hath more pierced my heart than all the

torments of the galleys did the space of nineteen months. For that torment, for the most part, did touch the bodie, but this pierceth the soul and inward affections. Then was I assuredlie persuaded that I should not die untill I had preached Christ Jesus even where I now am, and yet having now my heart's desyre, I am nothing satisfied, neither yet rejoice. My God remove my unthankfulness. From Sanct Andrews, the last of December 1559. Yours known in Christ,

JOHN KNOX.

N° X.—[Cald. i. 533.]

TO THE SAME. (See p. 155-156.)

The eternal our God shall shortly put an end to all our troubles.

Lest that sinister rumours should trouble you above measure, dear sister, I can not but certify you of our estate as often as convenient messengers occur. The French, as before I wrote unto you, have pursued us with great furie, but God hath so bridled them, that since the 5th day when they put to flight the men of Kinghorn, Kirkaldy, and Dysart, they have had of us (all praise be to our God) no advantage. They lost in a morning a lieutenant, the boldest of their company, and fourty of their bravest soldiers, diverse of them having been taken, and diverse slain in skirmishing. They have done greatest harm to such as did best entertain them; for from them they have taken sheep, horse, and plenishing. Our friends, and foes to them, did continually remove from their way all moveables that to them appertained. They have casten to the ground the laird of Grange's principal house, called the Grange, and have spoiled his other places. God will recompense him, I doubt not, for in this cause, and since the beginning of this last trouble especially, he hath behaved himself so boldly as never man of our realm hath deserved more praise. He hath been in many dangers, and yet God hath delivered him above men's expectations. He was shot at Lundie, right under the left pape, thorrow the jacket, doublet, and shirt, and the bullet did stick in one of his ribs. Mr Whitelaw hath gotten a fall, by which he is unable to bear arms. But God be praised both their lives be saved. I remained all this time in St Andrews with sorrowful heart, and yet as God did minister his spirit comforting the afflicted, who, albeit they quaked for a time, yet do now praise God who suddenly averted from them that terrible plague devised for them by the ungodly. The French men approached within six miles, yet at the sight of certain of your ships, they retired more in one day than they advanced in ten. We have had wonderful experience of God's merciful providence, and for my own part I were more than unthankful if I should not confess that God hath heard the sobs of my wretched heart, and hath not deceived me of that little spark of hope which his holy spirit did kindle and foster in my heart. God give me grace to acknowledge his benefit received, and to make such fruit of it as becometh his servant. If ye can find a messenger, I heartily pray you to send me the books for which I wrote before. I must be bold over your liberality, not only in that, but in greater things as I shall need. Please you cause this other letter inclosed be surely conveyed to Miles Coverdale. Salute all faithful acquaintance, Mr Hickman and his bedfellow, your husband, Mr Michael and his spouse as unacquainted, especially remembered. I know not what of our brethren at Geneva be with you. But to such as be there, I beseech you to say, that I think that I myself do now find the truth of that which oft I have said in their audience, to wit, that after our departure from Geneva should our dolour beginne. But my good hope is in God that it shall end to his glory and our comfort. Rest in Christ Jesus. From Sanct Andrews, the 4th of February 1559.

Your brother,

JOHN KNOX.

N° XI.—[Cald. ii. 89.]

JOHN KNOX TO MR JOHN WOOD, SECRETARY TO THE REGENT. Feb. 14, 1568.

My purpose, beloved in the Lord, concerning that which oft and now last ye crave, I wrote to you before, from which I can not be moved, and, therefore, of my friends I will ask pardon, howbeit on that one head I play the churle, retaining to myself that which will rather hurt me than profit them, during my days, which I hope in God shall not be long, and then it shall be in the opinion of others whether it shall be suppressed or come to light.[1] God for his great mercies sake put such end to the troubles of France, as the purity of his evangell may have free passage within that realme; and idolatry, with the maintainers of the same, may once be overthrown by order of justice, or otherways as his godly wisdom hath appointed. In my opinion England and Scotland have both no less cause to fear than the faithful in France, for what they suffer in present action is laid up in store, let us be assured, for both countries. The ground of my assurance is not the determination of the council of Trent, for that decree is but the utterance of their own malice; but the justice of God is my assurance, for it cannot spare to punish all realmes and nations that is or shall be like to Jerusalem, against whose iniquity God long cried be his servants the prophets, but found no repentance. The truth of God hath been now of some years manifested to both, but what obedience, the words, works, and behaviour of men give sufficient testimony. God grant Mr Gudman a prosperous and happy success in the acceptation of his charge, and in all his other enterprises to God's glory and the comfort of his kirk; and so will I the more patiently bear his absence, weaning myself from all comfort that I looked to have received be his presence and familiarity. Because I have the testimony of a good conscience, that in writing of that treatise, against which so many worldly men have stormed, and yet storm, I neither sought myself nor worldly promotion, and because as yet I have neither heard nor seen law nor Scripture to overthrow my ground.[2] I may appeal to a more indifferent judge than Dr Jewell. I would most gladly pass through the course that God hath appointed to my labours, in meditation with my God, and giving thanks to his holy name, for that it hath pleased his mercy to make me not a lord bishop, but a painful preacher of his blessed evangell, in the function whereof it hath pleased his majesty for Christ his son's sake to deliver me from the contradiction of moe enemies than one or two, which maketh me the more slow and less careful to revenge be word or writ whatever injury hath been done against me in my own particular. But if that men will not cease to impugn the truth, the faithfull will pardon me if I offend such as for pleasure of flesh fear not to offend God. The defence and maintenance of superstitious trifles produced never better fruit in the end than I perceive is budding amongst you, schisme, which no doubt is a forerunner of greater desolation, unless there be speedy repentance.—[*Then follows what has been already quoted*, p. 242-243.]—The faithfull of your acquaintance here salute you. The grace of the Lord rest with you.

N° XII.—[Cald. ii. 107.]

TO THE SAME. (See p. 244.)

I thank you heartily, dearly beloved in the Lord Jesus, that ye had such remembrance of me as to certify of that part which not a little troubled and yet troubleth me. What I have done or am able to do in that behalf I will not trouble you at this present, this only excepted, that it will please you to travel as in the end of your letter ye write ye would do, to wit, that my sons might be Denezans there. I am informed both be letter and be tongue, besides conjectures that probably may be gathered, that the Duke and his friends are inflamed against me. Ofter than once I have called to mind your words to me that day that I had been more than vehement, as some men thought, in the end of the —— chapter of John's Evangell, concerning the treasonable departure of Judas from Christ, and of the causes thereof.

[1] He seems to refer here to his History of the Reformation.

[2] Referring, most probably, to his treatise against Female Government.

Before that I came forth of the preaching place, ye said, Before my God I think your eyes shall see performed that which your mouth hath pronounced. My words were these, I fear that such as have entered with us in professing of the Evangell, as Judas did with Christ, shall depart and follow Judas, how soon the expectation of gain and worldly promotion faileth them. Time will try farther, and we shall see overmuch. We look daily for the arrival of the Duke and his Frenchmen, sent to restore Satan to his kingdome, in the person of his dearest lieutenant, sent, I say, to repress religion, not from the King of France, but from the Cardinall of Lorrane in favour of his dearest niece. Let England take heed, for surely their neighbours' houses are on fire. I would, dear brother, that ye should travell with zealous men, that they may consider our estate. What I would say ye may easily conjecture. Without support we are not able to resist the force of the domesticall enemies (unless God work miraculously), much less are we able to stand against the puissance of France, the substance of the Pope, and the malice of the house of Guise, unless we be comforted by others than by ourselves. Ye know our estate, and therefore I will not insist to deplore our poverty. The whole comfort of the enemies is this, that be treason or other means they may cutt off the Regent, and then cutt the throat of the innocent King. How narrowly hath the Regent escaped once, I suppose ye have heard. As their malice is not quenched, so ceaseth not the practice of the wicked, to put in execution the cruelty devised. I live as a man already dead from all affairs civil, and therefor I praise my God; for so I have some quietness in spirit, and time to meditate on death, and upon the troubles I have long feared and foreseeth. The Lord assist you with his Holy Spirit, and put an end to my travells, to his own glory, and to the comfort of his kirk; for assuredly, brother, this miserable life is bitter unto me. Salute your bedfellow in my name, and the rest in Christ Jesus. The faithfull here salute you. The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ rest with you for ever.

Of Edinburgh, the 10 of September 1568.

N° XIII.—[Cald. MS. i. 380.]

Extract of a Letter from John Knox to Mrs Anne Locke, Dated 6th April 1559. (See p. 287.)

—— Your letters, dear sister, dated at Geneva the 17th of February, received I in Deepe the 17th of March. Touching my negligence in writing to you, at other times I fear it shall be little amended, except that better occasions than yet I know be offered. For oft to write when few messingers can be found is but foolishness. My remembrance of you is not yet so dead, but I trust it shall be fresh enough, albeit it be renewed be no outward tokin for one year. Of nature I am churlish, and in conditions different from many. Yet one thing I ashame not to affirme that familiarity once thoroughly contracted was never yet broken be my default. The cause may be that I have rather need of all than that any have need of me.

[Cald. ii. 144.]

Extract of a Letter from John Knox "to a Friend in England."

Of Edinburgh, 19th August 1569.

—— If from day to day thir seven years bypast, I had not looked for an end of my travells, I could have no excuse of my obstinate fault toward you, beloved in the Lord, be whom I have received, besides commendations and letters, divers tokens of your unfained friendship, yet have negligently pretermitted all office of humanity toward you, whereinto I acknowledge my offence, for albeit I have been tossed with many storms all the time before expressed, yet might I have gratified you and others faithfull with some remembrance of my estate, if that this my churlish nature, for the most part oppressed with melancholy, had not stayed tongue and pen from doing of their duty. Yea, even now, when that I could somewhat satisfy your desire, I find within myself no small repugnance, for this I find objected to my wretched heart, "Foolish man! what seeks thou in writing of missives in this corruptible age? Hath thou not a full satiety of all the vanities under the

sun? Hath not thy eldest and stoutest acquaintance buried thee in oblivion, and art not thou in that estate be age, that nature itself calleth thee from the pleasures of things temporall? Is it not then more than foolishness unto thee to hunt for acquaintance on the earth, of what estate or condition whatsomever the person be?" To these objections I could answer nothing (much more I think than is written), but that I would write with what imperfections I little regard.

N° XIV.—Letter to Sir William Douglas of Lochleven. March 31, 1570.

[The original is among the papers of the family, at Dalmahoy.]

After harty commendatioun of my service unto you, rycht wyrshippfull, I receaved your missive this last of March, perceaving tharby the bruite that ye hear of the purpose of some to tak the castell of Sanctandrois, quhilk bruite I easely beleve be not all togidder vane, for men will not faill to hurt what thei can be quietnes of this realme, and to reenter in thare usurped possessioun and injust uplifting of the fruitis that never did justlie apperteane to sick idill bellies. How sick trublaris may be stayed of thare interpryses I remitt to God, to whose counsall I committ you in that and all other cases worldly; for I have tacken my gude nycht of it, and therfor bear with me gude Sr, albeit I write not to the superintendent of Fyff in the actioun of that ye desyr as concernyng the exeuse of the tua ministeris, to our superintendent I shall do the best that I can when I meitt with him; and thus with my harty commendatioun I committ you to the protectioun of the omnipotent. Of Edinburghe the same hour I receaved yours this Friday att 5 afternone, 1570.

Yours to power in God trubled in bedy,

Johne Knox.

(In dorso)
To the Ryeht Worshepful
the Lard of Lochlevin.

N° XV.—[Cald. ii. 328.]

John Knox to Sir John Wishart of Pittarow. (See p. 262.)

The end of all worldly trouble and pleasure both approacheth. Blessed are they that patiently abide in the truth, not joining hands ner heart with impiety, how that ever it triumph.

Right worshipfull, after hearty commendations, your letter, dated at Pittarow the 14th of July, received I in Sanct Andrews, the 15th of the same. The brute and armour of Adam Gordon and his doings, and preparations made to resist him, was diverse, but nothing that I heard moved me, for I perceive the cup of iniquity is not yet full. Of one thing I am assured, that God of his mercy will not suffer his own to be tempted above measure, neither will he suffer iniquity to be ever unpunished. From me can come no other counsel than ye have heard from the beginning of our acquaintance, to wit, that not only action defileth and maketh guilty before God, but also consent of heart, and all paction with the wicked. Out of bed, and from my book, I come not but once in the week, and so few tidings come to me. What order God shall put into the mind of the authority to take for staying of their present troubles, I know not, but ever still my dull heart feareth the worst, and that because no appearance of right conversion unto God, but both the parties stands as it were fighting against God himself in justification of their wickedness. The murderers assembled in the castle of Edinburgh, and their assisters, justify all that they have done to be well and rightly done; and the contrar party as little repenteth the troubling and oppressing of the poor kirk of God as ever they did; for if they can have the kirk-lands to be annexed to their houses, they appear to take no more care of the instruction of the ignorant, and of the feeding of the flock of Jesus Christ, than ever did the Papists, whom we have condemned, and yet are worse ourselves in that behalf: for they, according to their blind zeal, spared nothing that either might have maintained or holden up that which they took for God's service; but we, alace! in the midds of the light forgett the heaven and draw to the earth.

Dayly looking for an end of my battel, I have set forth ane answer to a Jesuit who long hath railed against our religion, as the reading of this tractat will more plainly let you understand. The letter in the end of it, if it serve not for the estate of Scotland, yet it will serve a troubled conscience, so long as the kirk of God remaineth in either realme. With my hearty commendations to your bedfellow, and to my Lord Marshall, the Master, and to the faithfull in your company. Deliver to them the book according to their directions, and pray the faithfull in my name to recommend me to God in their prayers, for my battel is strong, and yet without great corporal pain. The Lord Jesus, who hath once redeemed us, who hath also of his mercy given unto us the light of his blessed countenance, continue us in that light that once we have received externally, and at his good pleasure put an end to all the troubles of his own spouse, the kirk, which now sobbeth and crieth, Come Lord Jesus, come Lord Jesus; whose omnipotent Spirit conduct you to the end. Amen.

At Sanct Andrews, 19th of July. [1572.]

N° XVI.—[Cald. ii. 270.]

John Knox to Mr Goodman.

[Written about the same time with the preceding.]

Beloved brother, I can not praise God of your trouble; but that of his mercie he hath made you one against whom Satan bendeth all his engines, therof unfainedlie I praise my God, beseeching him to strengthen you to fight your battell lawfully to the end. That we shall meet in this life there is no hope; for to my bodie it is impossible to be carried from countrie to countrie, and of your comfortable presence where I am I have small, yea no esperance. The name of God be praised, who of his mercie hath left me so great comfort of you in this life. That ye may understand that my heart is pierced with the present troubles, from the castle of Edinburgh hath sprung all the murthers first and last committed in this realme, yea, and all the troubles and treasons conspired in England. God confound the wicked devisers with their wicked devises. So long as it pleased God to continue unto me any strength, I ceased not to forwarn these dayes publickly, as Edinburgh can witness, and secretlie, as Mr Randolph and others of that nation with whom I secretlie conferred, can testifie. Remedy now on earth resteth none, but onlie that both England and Scotland humbly submit themselves to the correcting hand of God, with humble confession of their former inobedience, that blood was not punished, when he be his servants publicly craved justice according to his law; in which head your realme is no less guilty than we, who now drink the bitter part of the cup, which God of his mercie avert from you. And thus weary of the world, with my hearty commendations to all faithful acquaintance, Mr Bodlih and his bedfellow especially remembered, I commit you to the protection of the omnipotent. Off Sanct Andrews.

N° XVII.—[Cald. MS. ad. an. 1570. Adv. Lib.]

Prayer used by John Knox after the Regent's death.

O Lord, what shall we add to the former petitions we know not; yea, alace, O Lord, our owne consciences bear us record that we are unworthie that thou should either encreass or yet continue thy graces with us, be reason of our horrible ingratitude. In our extreme miseries we called, and thou in the multitude of thy mercies heard us; and first thou delivered us from the tyrannie of mercieless strangers, next from the bondage of idolatry, and last from the yoak of that wretched woman, the mother of all mischief, and in her place thou didst erect her sonne, and to supply his infancie thou didst appoynt a regent endued with such graces as the divell himself cannot accuse or justly convict him, this only excepted that foolish pity did so farre prevaill in him, concerning execution and punishment which thou commanded to have been executed upon her, and upon her complices, the murtherers

of her husband. O Lord, in what miserie and confusion found he this realme! To what rest and quietnesse now be his labours suddanlie he brought the same, all estates, but speciallie the poor commons, can witness. Thy image, Lord, did so clearlie shyne in that personage, that the divell, and the wicked to whom he is prince, could not abyde it. And so to punish our sinnes and ingratitude, who did not ryghtlie esteem so pretious a gift, thou hes permitted him to fall, to our great griefe, in the hands of cruell and traterous murtherers. He is at rest, O Lord, and we are left in extreme miserie! Be mercifull to us, and suffer not Satan to prevaill against thy little flocke within this realme, neither yet, O Lord, let bloode thirsty men come to the end of their wicked enterprises. Preserve, O Lord, our young king, although he be ane infant; give unto him the Spirit of sanctification, with encrease of the same as he groweth in yeares. Let his raigne, O Lord, be such as thou may be glorified, and thy little flock comforted by it. Seeing that we are now left as a flock without a pastor in civill policie, and as a shippe without a rudder in the midst of the storm, let thy providence watch, Lord, and defend us in these dangerous dayes, that the wicked of the world see that as weill without the help of man, as with it, thou art able to rule, maintain, and defend the little flock that dependeth upon thee. And because, O Lord, the shedding of innocent bloode hes ever been, and yet is odious in thy presence, yea, that it defyleth the whole land where it is shed and not punished, we crave of thee, for Christ thy sonnes sake, that thou wilt so try and punish the two treasonable and cruell murthers latelie committed, that the inventars, devysers, authors, and maintainers of treasonable crueltie, may be either thoroughlie converted or confounded. O Lord, if thy mercie prevent us not, we cannot escape just condemnation, for that Scotland hath spared, and England hath maintained, the lyfe of that most wicked woman. Oppose thy power, O Lord, to the pryde of that cruell murtherer of her owne husband; confound her faction and their subtile enterprises of what estate and condition soever they be; and let them and the world know, that thou art a God that can deprehend the wise in their own wisdome, and the proud in the imagination of their wicked hearts, to their everlasting confusioun. Lord, retain us that call upon thee in thy true fear. Let us grow in the same. Give thou strength to us to fight our battell, yea, Lord, to fight it lawfullie, and to end our lives in the sanctification of thy holy name.

N° XVIII.—[Buik of the Universall Kirk, p. 45. Adv. Lib.]

My Lord Regent's Letter to the Assembly.

After our maist heartie commendationes, seing we are not able to [be] present [at] the assembly now approachand, as our intentioun was, we thoght it convenient brieflie to give you significatioun of our meaning in wryte, of the qlk we pray you take good consideration, and accordinglie to give you advertisement. Ye are not ignorant, as we suppose, what hes bene the estate of the kirk of God within this realme, baith before we accepted the burdein of regment, and sensyne. How first the thrids of benefices were grantit and the ministrie thereby partly releivit and sustainit in sic sort, that nothing inlaikit that our travells could procure. The first ordour indeed was diverse ways interruptit and broken, bot chieflie in that yeir when we were exylit in Ingland, quherthrough the haill ministers that year were frustrate of their living; shortlie the estate of government altering at God's pleasure, and the king our soveraine being inaugurate with the crowne of this kingdom, the first thing y^{t} we were carefull of was, that the trew religioun might be established, and the ministers of the evangell made certaine of their livings and sustentation in tyme comeing. Ye knaw, at the parliament we war maist willing that the kirk should have been put in full possession of the proper patrimonie. And toward the thrids, we exped in our travels, and inlaikit only a consent to the dissolution of the prelacies, whereunto althogh we were earnestly bent, yet the estates delayit, and wald not agrie therunto. And sen that tyme to this houre, we trust ye will affirme, that we have pretermittit nothing that may advance the religione, and put the professors thereof in suretie, whereanent the haill and only inlaik hes been in the civill troubles that God hes suffered the countrey to be plaguet with: now the matter

being after so great rage brocht to some stay and quyetnes, it was convenient that we return where matters left, and prease to reduce them to the estate they stood in. Ane thing we man call to remembrance, that at sick time as we travellit in the parliament to cause the estates to grie that the thrids should be discernit to pertaine to the ministrie, they plainly opponit them to us in respect of the first act, alledgand that with the sustentation of the ministrie, there was also regard to be had to the support of the prince, in sustaining of the publick chairges, quhilks if they had not some reliefe be that meines, the revenue of the crown being so diminischit, and the ordinar chairges cume to sic grytnes, on force they wold be burdenit with exactionis, and so this dangerous argument compellit us to promitt to the estates, That we wald take upon us, the act being grantit to the kirk, they should satisfy and agrie to any thing suld be thocht reasonable for supporting of the publick chairges of the prince, and according to this the commissioner deput for the affairs of the kirk agreit to certaine assignations of the thrids for supporting of the king and us bearing authoritie. Quhilk order had been sufficient for the haill, if the civill trouble had not occurit, yet the disobedience growand so universallie, we ar content to sustain our part of the inlaik and loss for the tyme bypast, but because there hes been murmure and grudge for that thing assignit to the kings houss and ours, and some other needful things in the state, as that thereby the ministers were frustrate of their appointit stipendis, some communicatione was had at St Androes, and nothing yet concludit, quhil the general assembly of the kirk; quhilk now moves us to wreit to you in this forme, prayand you rychtly to consider the necessitie of the cause, and how the same hes proceeded fra the beginning, haveing respect that the kirk will [not] be very well obeyit without the king's authoritie and power, and that now the propertie of the crowne is not able to sustaine the ordinarie chairges. How in the beginning the thrids had not been grantit, if the necessitie of the prince had not been ane of the chiefe caussis, and at the parliament the estates, as we before have written, stack to consent that the haill thrids sould be declareit to pertaine to the ministrie, whill first we tooke in hand, that they being made without conditione in favours of the kirk, the same wald againe condescend to sa meikle as wold be sufficient to the support of the public affaires, in foorth setting of the kings authoritie, and that therefore ye will now aggrie, and condescend to ane certaine and speciall assignatione of it that sal be imployit in this use. The quantity whereof diverse of yourselves, and the beirer Mr John Wood our servant, can informe you, that after ye may distribute to everie man having chairge in the kirk of God, his stipend, according to the conditione of the place he serves in, according to your w. discretione. Hereby all confusione that lang has troublit the estate of the kirk toward the stipend sal be avoydit, and some special provisione being made for sustaining of their publick chairges, we may the better hald hand to sie the kirk obeyit of that whereon the ministers sould live, as we [*sic*] sall report, that dureing our travells in the north countrey, have found our effectuous good will, and travellis in their furtherance. Farther, we man put you in mind brieflie, of ane matter that occurit at our late being in Elgin. Ane Nicoll Sudderland in Ffores, was put to the knawledge of ane assyse for incest, and with him the woman; the assyse hes convict him of the fault, but the question is, whether the same be incest or not, so that we behoovit to delay the executione whill we behoovit to have your resolution at this assemblie. The case is, that the woman was harlot of before to the said Nicholl's mother's brother, herein Mr Ro^{t} Pont can informe you more amplie, to whais sufficiencie we remitt the rest. Moreover, at our coming at Ab^{d} y^{r} came ane nameit Portfeild, minister provydit of before to the viccarage of Ardrossane, and requyrit also of vs, that he might have viccarage of Stevinsone, seing both was ane matter meane enough to sustaine him, and because the kirks were neir he might discharge the cure of both. We haveing him comendit be diverse great men to the same, but thocht gude to advertyse you, y^{t} this preparative induce not evill example and corruption: alwayes in cace sick things occurre heireafter, let vs vnderstand what ye wald have vs to doe, as in lyke maner towards the chaplenries y^{t} sall happin to vaike, q^{r}anent because there is no certaine ordour and prescryvit [*sic*] some confusion stands, some desyreand them for lyfetime, some for infants that are of the schooles, and some for vii zeirs, we are sometyme preasit to receive or confirme assignatiouns or demissioun of benefices, the preparative whereof apperis to bring with it corruptioun, and so we wold be resolvit how to proceid, befor our coming fra Fyfe. And

sensyne we have been very willing to doe justice on all suspectit persons of witchcraft, as also vpon adulterers, incestuous persons, and abusers of ye sacrament, q^r^in we could not have sick expeditioun as we wold have wischet, because we have no uther probabilitie whereby to try and convict y^m^, but ane generall delation of names, ye persons suspect not being for the most part tryit and convict be ordour of the kirk of befoir. This hindrit many things q^lk^ utherwayes might have bein done, and y^r^fore we pray you appoint and prescryve how the judgement of the kirk may proceid and be execute against all sick trespassors, befor complaint be made to vs, that when we come to the cuntrey, we may cause execute ye law, and be releivit of the triall of inquisition heiranent. We thoght expedient to give you this to advertisement, and so remitts the haill to your care and diligence, committis you in the protection of eternall God. Aberd. ye last day of Junii, 1569.

Your assurit friend,

JAMES REGENT.

N° XIX.—PEDIGREE OF BOWES OF STREATLAM. (See p. 44.)

[For the information contained in this article, I am indebted to ROBERT SURTEES of Mainsforth, Esq.]

"Richard Bowes (of Aske in Yorkshire) youngest sonne of Sr Raph Bowes of Streatlam Knight (& of his wife Marjory daughter & one of ye heirs of Sr Richard Conyers of South Cowton Knt.) He married Elizabeth ye daughter & one of ye co-heirs of Sr Roger Aske of Aske K^t^ & by hir had issue Sr George Bowes ye Knight Marshall & at length heire maile of the whole family of Bowes: Robert Bowes 2^d^ sonne: and ten daughters: viz. 1. Bridgit married to Thomas Hussey Esqr. ye next heire maile to ye Lord Hussey. 2. Eliz. mar^d^ John Bainbrigge of Snotterton Esq. 3. Anne mar^d^ Marmaduke Vincent Esq. Muriall mar. to — Jackson of Bedale Esq. *Marjory ‡ to Mr Knoxes § a Devine in Scotland.* Margaret to Thomas Middleton Esq. & after to Ambrose Burbeck. Margery Lucy Agnes & Jane all died unmarried."

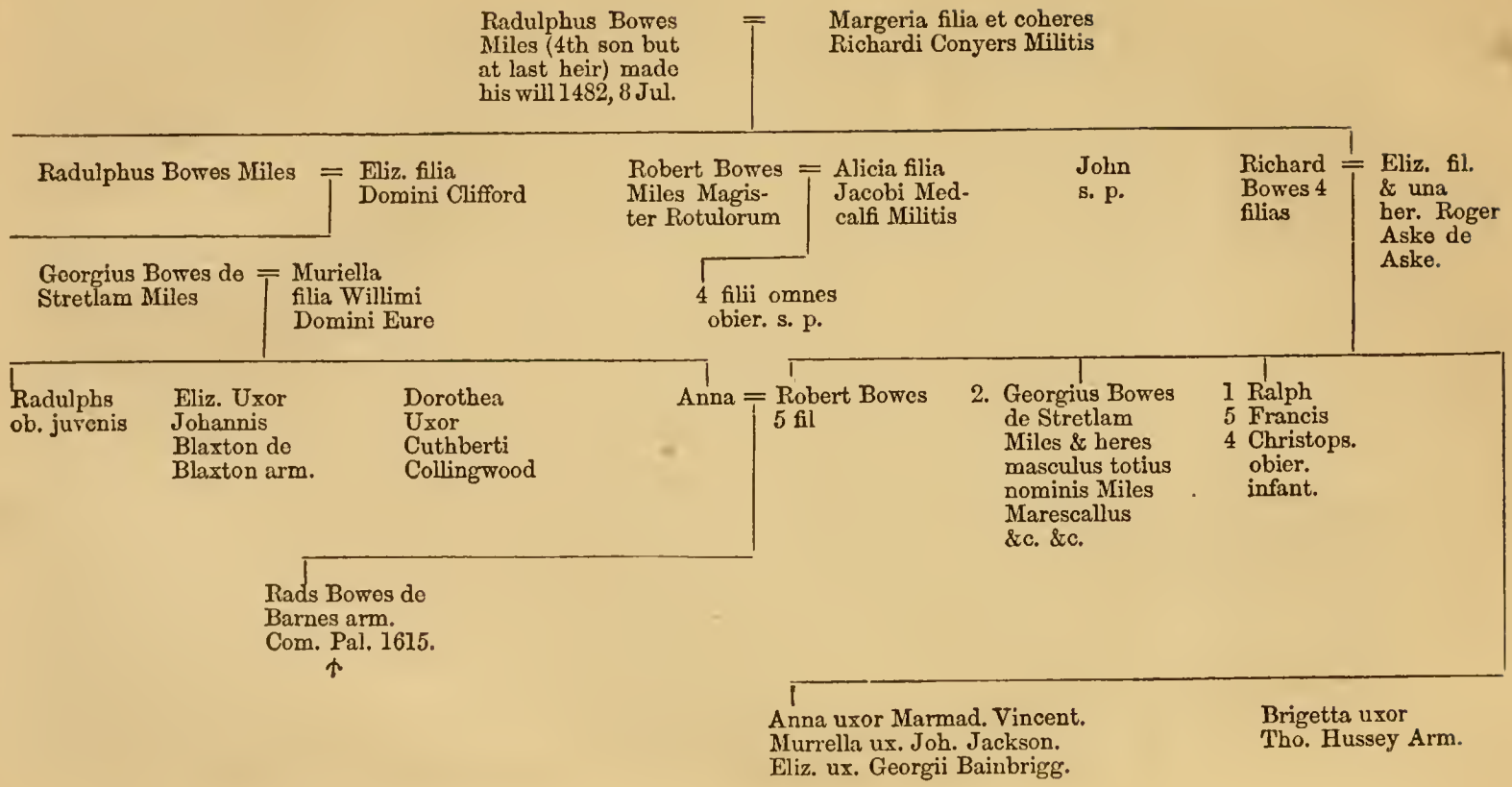
[On the margin, in a different hand,] "‡ sometime *called Joane* to distinguish her from her sister of the same name. § Knox the famouse Reformer."

The above is extracted verbatim from a narrative Pedigree compiled about 1640 by Thomas Bowes, whose autograph is on the last page, and which is now in the possession of Mr Surtees, having been purchased by him at the sale of Counsellor Gill's Library several years ago.

The Pedigree in the Herald's office stands on the opposite page. It notices only four of the daughters, entirely omitting Mrs Knox and the four unmarried maidens mentioned above. This is from the Visitation of Durham, by Flower, Norroy, 1575.

The Visitation by St George, 1615, is still less full; it names only Ralph, Robert, and Richard, omitting all the daughters.—A modern Pedigree of less authority, amongst Mr Allan's collections at Grange, states Knox's wife to be Joan; but is answered by the old narrative statement, which is far the fullest, and by the marginal note affixed to it. It was very common at that time to have two children of the same Christian name.

The Knight Marshal had two wives. From the first, a Mallory of Studley, descends Thomas Bowes, now of Bradley, Esq. Co. Pal., who is the male heir of the whole family; but the issue of the second match, a Talbot of Grafton, got the chief estate, now in the Earl of Strathmore by heirs general.


Radulphus Bowes Miles (4th son but at last heir) made his will 1482, 8 Jul.
Margeria filia et coheres Richardi Conyers Militis
Radulphus Bowes Miles
Eliz. filia Domini Clifford
Robert Bowes Miles Magister Rotulorum
Alicia filia Jacobi Medcalfi Militis
John s. p.
Richard Bowes 4 filias
Eliz. fil. & una her. Roger Aske de Aske.
Georgius Bowes de Stretlam Miles
Muriella filia Willimi Domini Eure
4 filii omnes obier. s. p.
Radulphs ob. juvenis
Eliz. Uxor Johannis Blaxton de Blaxton arm.
Dorothea Uxor Cuthberti Collingwood
Anna
Robert Bowes 5 fil
2. Georgius Bowes de Stretlam Miles & heres masculus totius nominis Miles Marescallus &c. &c.
1 Ralph 5 Francis 4 Christops. obier. infant.
Rads Bowes de Barnes arm. Com. Pal. 1615.
Anna uxor Marmad. Vincent.
Murrella ux. Joh. Jackson.
Eliz. ux. Georgii Bainbrigg.
Brigetta uxor Tho. Hussey Arm.

N° XX.—[From the Commissary Records of Edinburgh.]

TESTAMENT OF JOHN KNOX.

Ye testament testamentare & Inventare of the guids geir sowmes of money & dettis Ptenīg to vmqle Johnne Knox mīister of ye evangell of Christ Jesus the tyme of his deceis quha deceissit vpoun ye xxiiii day of november The zeir of God i^m v^c lxxii zeiris ffaithfullie maid & gevin vp be him self vpoun ye xiii day of May the zeir of God foirsaid And Ptlie be mgaret Stewart his relict quhome w^t Martha mgaret & Elizabeth Knoxis his dochteris he vpoun ye xiii day of Maii in his Lattir will vnderwritten nōiate his executors testamētaris as the samē of the dait foirsaid beiris.

Johnne Knox xiii Ja^rii 1572.

In the first the said vmqle Jhonne grantit him to haif had the tyme foirsaid Tua sylver drinking coupis mkit with J. K. M. on ye ane syde and on the vthir syde with E. B. N. cōtening xxv vnces or thairby Tua salt fattis of syluer of xiiii vnces vecht and ane half Auchtene sylver spvnes contening xx vnce wecht & a quarter price of the vnce xxvii s. viii d. Summa ffoureskoir punds of the qlk syluer work abonewritten the airschip is to be deducit and takin of. Item the said mgaret ane of the saids executours grantit that the said vmqle Johne had the tyme of his deceis foirsaid in pois ane hundē^t pundes. Item his buikis alsweill vpoun the Scriptures as vyer Pphane authors wor^t vi^xx and x li. Item in vtensile & domicile the airschip being deducit to the avail of xxx li.

Sūma Inventarii.——ii^c lxxxxvi li. vi s. viii d.

ffollowis the dettis awing to the deid.

Item yair wes awing to the said umqle Johnne ye tyme of his deceis foirsaid be Andro lord Stewart of Vchiltree his guidfather the sowme of lxxx li. of Lent money. Item be Wm Fiddes baxter xli. restand awand to the said vmqle Johnne of quheit qlk he ressavit to gif breid for. Item be Agnes Weymes relict of vmqle Andro Mernis cietener of St Androis xix li. xi s. 1 d. 1 ob. for the rest of beir qlk scho ressauit fra ye said vmqle Johnne to mak aill of. Item be mgaret Spens Spous to Mr Robert Glen xviii li. xv s. iii d. for beir qlk scho ressauit fra the said vmqle to delyuer aill of. Item restand awand to the said vmqle Johnne the tyme foirsaid for ane pairt of his pensioun qlk he had furth of the kirk of Haddingtoun be the Psones following the victualles underwritten of the zeiris and cropes res^ive underspecifeit viz. of the crope and zeir of God i^m v^c lxxi zeiris be James Fiddes for ane pairt of his teyndis of the Nūland liand in the parochin of Haddingtoun Ane boll of quheit ane boll ane firlote beir vii bollis aitts. Be Adame Ethingtoun in Quhitrig ane boll of quheit sex bollis aitts price of the boll of quheit the said zeir 1s. price of the boll of beir the said zeir twa mkis and price of the boll of aittis the same zeir xx s. Sūma xix li. xiii s. iiii d. Item be the said James Fiddes for his teyndis of the saids lands of Nūland of the crope & zeir of God i^m v^c lxxii zeiris ane boll of quheit ane boll ane firlote beir sevin bollis aittis. Be James Oliphant & Robert Hepburne for yair teyndis of the landis of Stenestoun liand within the said parochin ye said zeir sex bollis quheit sex bollis beir and xx bollis aittis. Be ye said Adame Ethingtoun in Quhitrig for his teyndis of the saidis lands the said zeir ane boll of quheit ane boll of beir and sex bollis aittis. Be Johnne Gulanis wyfe in Auldersoun for hir teyndis y^rof of ye zeir foirsaid twa bollis quheit twa bollis beir and viii bollis aittis Price of ye boll of quheit the said zeir 1 s. price of the boll beir ye said zeir twa mkis and price of the boll aittis ye same zeir xx s. Summa lxxix li. xiii s. iiii d. Item restand awand to the said umqle Johnne the tyme of his deceis foirsaid be the Psons following the sowmes of money & victuale underwrittin as for ane Pt of his stipendo assignit to him for Sūg in the mīistrie of the said crope & zeir of God, i^m v^c lxxi zeiris in the first be Margaret Haldane Lady Colingtoun for the lambes term in the said zeir xxxiii li. vi s. viii d. Be Mr Robert Wynrahame collector of Fyfe xxxii li. xvii s. for ye said vmqle Johnis victuale of the said pensioun sauld be him the said zeir. Be Robert Bennet thre firlottis quheit Pee of the boll 1 s. Summa xxxii s. vi d. Item restand awand to the said vmqle Jhonne the victuale and underspecifeit as for ane Pt of his said stipend the crop & zeir of God i^m v^c lxxii zeiris. In the first be Williame mchingstoun in Inneresk thre bollis tua firlottis tua peckis quheit. Be Williame Vernor yair tua bollis tua firlottis thre

peckis quheit. Be George Formā yair thre bollis tua firlottis tua pectis quheit. Be Robert Dowglas thre bollis tua firlottis tua peckis quheit. Be Johnne Cranistoun in Monktounhall thre bollis thre firlottis quheit. Be Johne Kerss yair thre bollis ane firlot tua pectis quheit. Be Thomas Thomsoun yair tua bollis tua firlottis tua pectis quheit. Be Adame Wricht tua bollis ane firlit quheit. Be Williame Johnestoun foure bollis ane firlot quheit. Be Dauid Hill in Inneresk ane boll thre firlotts thre pectis quheit, extendeñ to tua chalder quheit price of ye boll of quheit the said zeir I s. Sūma lxxx li. Be Helene Cowtis reliet of umqlo Richard Prestoun of Quhithill ane chalder beir. Be Jonet Betoun in Litill Monktoun ellevin bollis beir. Be Williame Wauchop of Nudry m̄schell for the teyndis of the lands of Calcottis thre bollis beir. Be Johnne Hill of that ilk tua bollis beir. Be the tennentis of the parochin of Kynglassie fo^{r} chalderis beir as followis. Be Johnne Boswall in Gaitmylk ane chalder beir. Williame Swyne yair viii bollis beir. George Tod in Kyninmonth ane chalder beir. Helene Mertyne in Kynglassie and Wm Boswall hir sone tuelf bollis beir. Wm Boswall in Stintoun xii bollis beir extendeñ in ye haill to sex chalderis beir price of the boll ōrheid tua m̄kis. Sūa ane hundret twentie aucht pundis. Be the tennētis of the parochin of Newbirnshyre in Fyffe foure chalder aittis as follows vizt Williame Dishingtoun in Ranelery fourtene bollis aittis. Thome Alcheur yair xiiii bollis beir. Johnne Zoung in the Coittis sex bollis aittis. Be David Sympsoun yair sex bollis aittis and be Andro . . . . . yair sex bollis aittis. Be David Johnesoun in Monceturpie aucht bollis aittis. Be . . . . . Sympsoun foure bollis aittis price of the boll ouerheid xx s. Summa lxiiii li. Item restand awand to ye said umqle Johnne, the sowmes underspecifeit as for ane Pt of ye sylver of his said stipend of the said zeir of God i^{m} v^{c} lxxii zeiris. In the first be James Rig of Carberry for the half teynd of Cowsland xxxiii li. vi s. viii d. Be . . . . . lady Edmestoun Spous to Andro Ker of Hirsell, kny^{t}, for the vy^{r} half of the teyndis of the lands foirsaids xxxiii li. vi s. viii d. Be the said m̄garet Haldane lady Colyngtoun for the teynd of Hailis lxvi li. xiii s. viii d. Be Robert Bennet xxxiii li. vi s. viii d. Be Mr James Macgill of Rankelor neyer, for his males of the lands of Pinkie for the t̄mes of Witsonday and m̄tymes In the said zeir of God i^{m} v^{c} lxxii zeiris li lib. vi s. viii d. And als resting be him of the males of the landis foirsaids of the zeir of God i^{m} v^{c} lxx zeiris xlv s. viii d. Be the executirs of vmqle Gilbert Edmestoun for the males of the lands of Wowmet of the t̄me of m̄tymes the said zeir of God i^{m} v^{c} lxxii zeiris xxii li. viii s. Be Jonet Betoun for the males of Litill Monktoun nyne pundis. Be the said . . . . . Lady Edmestone and Archibald Prestoun of Wallefeild for the males of Netoun xiiii li. xi s. vi d. Be James Rig of Carberry for the maill y^{r}of xx li. Item be . . . . . of Nudry for the males of Calcottes thre pundes. Be Robert Douglas in Inneresk for his males iii. lib. xix. s. iiii d. Be W^{m} m̄chinston thair for his few maill xxvii s. x d.

Summa of the detis abone writtin awing to ye deid	viii^{c} xxx li. xix s. vi d.
Na detis awing be the deid	
Summa of ye Inventare w^{t} ye detis awing to the deid	i^{m} v^{c} xxvi li. xix s. vi d.
To be Diuidit in thre Ptis ye deidis pairt y^{r}of extends to	iii^{c} lxxv li. xiii s. ii d.

Ffollowis the latter will and legacie.

Lord Jesus I ꝑmend my trublit spreit in thy Ptectioun and defence and thy troublit kirk to thy m̄cio. Becaus I haif had to do w^{t} dyuers Psonages of the mīistrie q^{r}unto God of his m̄cie erectit me w^{t} in this realme my dewetie cravis that I sall leve unto thaim now ane testimony of my mynd. And first unto the papistis and to the vnthankfull warld I say that althocht my lyfe hes bene vnto thaim odious and that oftintimes yai haif socht my destruction & ye destructioun of ye kirk qlk God of his mercie hes plantit within this realme & hes alwayis preservit & kepit the samin fra thair crewale Int̄prysis zet to yaim I am ꝑpellit to say that onles thai spedele repent my departing of this lyfe salbe to yaim the greatest calamitie that evir zet hes apprehendit yaim: sum small apperance yai may zit haife in my lyfe gif thai haif grace to se ane deid man haif I bene almaist yir tua zeiris last bypast And zet I wald that yai suld rypelie considder in quhat bettir estait yai and yair materis

stands in yan it hes done befoir and thai haif hard of lang tyme befoir threatnit. Bot becaus yai will nocht admit me for ane administer, I gif yaī ouir to the Judgement of him quha knawis ye hartis of all and will disclose the secretis yairof in dew tyme. And yis far to the papistis. To the faithfull God befoir his sone Jesus Christ and befoir his halie Angellis I Ptest yat God be my mouth, be I nevir sa abiect, hes schawin to zow his trewth in all simplicitie. Nane I haif corrupted, nane haif I defraudit, m̄chandise haif I nocht maide (to Godis glorie I write) of the glorious evangell of Jesus Christ, bot according to the measr of the grace graunted unto me, I haif dividit the sermont of trewth in just Ptis, beatin doun the pryde of the proude In all that did declare y^r^ rebellioun aganis God, according as God in his law gevis to me zit testimonie, & raising vp the ꝑsciences trublit with the knawledge of y^r^ awin synnis be the declaring of Jesus Christ the strength of his death & the michtie operatioun of his resurrectioun. In the hartis of the faithfull off yis I say I haifane testimony yis day in my conscience befoir God, how yat evir ye warld rage. Be cōstant y^r^foir in doctrine that anis publictlie ze have professit, lat nocht sclandrous dayis draw zow away fra Jesus Christ, nayir lat the prosperitie of the wickit move zow to follow it nor yame: ffor howsoeuer it be yat God appeiris to neglect his awin for ane seasoun, zit he remanis ane Just Juge quha nathir can nor will justifie the wickit. I am nocht ignorant yat mony wald that I suld enter in particulare determinatioun of thir Pnt trubles, to quhome I planelie and simplie āswer yat as I neuir excedit ye boundis of Goddis scriptures, sua will I nocht do in yis pairt by Godis grace. Bot heirof I am assurit be him quha nathair can dissave nor be dissavit yat the castell of Edinbur^t^, in the qlk all the murthour all the truble & the haill destructioun of yis puir commounweill was inventit, as our awin eis may witness, by yaim & by yair mātenaris was put in executioun, sall cum to destructioun mantene it quhasa list, The destructioun I say of body & saull, except yai repent. I luik not to the momētary prosperitie of ye wicked, ze not althot yai' suld remane conquerors to the cūing of o^r^ lord Jesus, bot I luik to this sentence, that quhasaeuir scheddis innocent bluid defyles the land and provoikis Godis wrath aganis himself & the land, vntill his bluid be sched agane be ordor of law to satisfie God's anger. This is nocht the first tyme that ze haif hard this sentence, althot yat mony at all tymes sturrit at sik severitie I zit afferme the same being reddy to entir to gif compt befoir his Maiestie of the stewartship he committit vnto me. I knaw in my death the rumours salbe strange, bot be ze nocht trublit abone measor, belouit in the Lord Jesus. Bot zit agane I say, remane cōstāt in ye trewt, & he quha of his m̄cie send me, conductit me, and prosperet ye work in my hand aganis Sathan will provide for zow abundantlie, quhen yat athir my bluid sall wattir the doctrine taucht be me, or he of his mercie vtherwayis provide to put ane end to yis my battell. My executors I mak constitute & ordane m̄garet Stewart my spous, Martha Margaret & Elizabeth Knoxis my dochteris, and the faithfull to be ōrsmen. To my tua sones Nathaneel & Eleazare Knoxis I unfeignedlie leif ye same benedictioun yat yair dairest mider Mariorie Bowss left vnto yaim To wit that God for his sone Christ Jesus saik wald of his mercie mak yaim his trew fereris and als vpricht worschippers of him as ony yat euer sprang out of Abrahames loynes, quhairto now as than I fra my trublit hart say amen. Ffurther I have delyuerit be Maister Randulphe to Mr Robert Bowss schereff of the bischoprik & bruder to ye said Mariorie my vmqle dairest spous ye sowme of fyve hundreth punds of Scottis money to ye vtilitie and proffett of my saidis tua sonis, The qlk money is yat pairt of substāce yat fell or pertenit to yaim be the deces of Mariorie Bowss yair moder of blissit memory, And augmētit be me as I my^t^ or may spair to mak out the said sowme, for I ressavit of y^r^is bot ane hundre^t^ merkis sterling, qlk I of my povirtie extendit to fyve hundre^t^ punds Scottis, and yat in contentatioun of yair bairns pairt of geir qlkis may fall to yaī by my deces. Item I leif to my saids tua sones Tua sylver drinking cowpis the ane of thaī is m̄ket J. K. M. on ye ane syde, and on ye vther syde w^t^ E. B. N. And in like m̄nner ye toyir w^t^ the same m̄k and lēres, The wecht of ye saidis twa cuipis contenand xxii vnce, or y^r^by, Tua salt fattis of sylver and xviii sylver spvnes, weyand xxxiii z. and ane q^r^ vnces, price of ye vnce ōrheid xxvi s. viii d. The qlks cuipis salt fattis & spvnes I leif in keping to ye said Margaret my spous qll my saidis sones be of the aige of xxi zeiris At ye qlk tyme I ordane & commandis hir to delyver the samī to my saidis sones, or to ony ane of yaim, gif be deces ye vthir faillis. Item I leif also to my saids sones ane pairt of my saidis buikis of ye availl of xxx li. And

failzeing of my saids sones & thair airis I ordane the foirsaidis fyve hundrᵗ punds wᵗ ye syluer cuips spvnes saltfattis and buikis to return agane as eftir followis, That is to say, ye ane equale half yʳof to ye said Margaret my spous & my saids thrie dochteris, And ye vyir half of ye samī to my bruder Williame Knox and his airis quhatsumevir. Item I leif to my said spous Margaret Stewart ye Aucht hundrᵗ merkis qlkis ar laid vpoun the landis of Pennymoir quhairin scho is infeft be Andro lord Stewart of Vchiltree my fader of law, and failzeing of ye said Margaret I leif ye samē to my saids thre dochters & failzeing of thaim I leif the samin to ye said Andro lord Stewart of Vchiltrie & his airis quhatsūeuir, chairgeing & requyring my said fader of law & his airis, as yai will āsuer befoir yat incorruptible Judge ye Lord Jesus, yat yai suffer not my said spous & children to be defraudit or evill payit of the males & ānual rent of the saids lands during the nonredemptioun of ye samī. Item I leif to Paule Knox my bruder sonne ane hundreth pundis qlk lyis in wodset upoun Robert Campbellis landis in Kinzeanclewᵗ & quhairin the said Paule is ellis infeft, and yat to be ane help to hald him at ye scuilis. And as concerning ye rest of my haill guids quhatsumeuir I leif to be dividit betuix my said spous & my saids thre dochteris, and becaus my said spous man tak the cair of my saidis dochteris & faithfullie travell for thair guid nurischment & upbringing, Thairfoir I leif my said spous ye use of yʳ geir qll yaibe mareit or cum to perfite aige, at qlk tyme I ordane thaim every ane as the tyme approches to haif yair awin yat to yaim appertenis.

Sic subscribitur JOHNE KNOX.

Johne Adamesoun witness
Roᵗ Watsoun witness
Johne Johnesstoun witness

Quotta gratis. The quote of yis testament is given gratis be spēale command of my lords Commissaris.

Nº XXI.—[Glasgow Testament Register.]

THE TESTAMENT OF MRS WELCH.

The Testament testamentar and Inventar of the guidis, geir, debtis and soumes of money quhilkis pertenit to vmquhile Elizabeth Knox, relict of vmquhile Mr Johnne Welsche, sumtyme minister at Air, within the parochin yairof, the tyme of hir deceis Quha deceist in the moneth of Januar, the zeir of God Iᵐvjᶜ tuentie fyve zeiris, ffaythfullie maid and gevin vp be hir awin mouthe Insafar as concernes the nominatioun of hir executouris nominat be hir and legacie vnderwrittin, and pairtlie maid and gevin vp be Mr James Inglis, minister at Daylie, Mr Josias Welsche hir sone, twa of the executouris nominat be the defunct Insafar as concernes the vpgeving of the Inuentar of hir guidis, geir, debtis awand In and Out, As hir latterwill and testament of the daite vnderwrittin mair fullie proportis.

Inuentar.

Item, the defunct had the tyme foirsaid the guidis and geir vnderwrittin of the availlis, quantities and pryces eftirspecifeit, vizᵗ the Insycht of the hous in vtincillis and domicillis with the abuilzement of the defunctis bodie estimat to iijᶜ lxxxˡⁱ.

Summa of the Inuentar . . . . . iijᶜ lxxxˡⁱ

Debtis awand In.

Item, thair was awand to the defunct the tyme foirsaid, the sowmes of money following: Be the persones eftirspecifeit, viz. Be Robert Wallace, burges of Air, and his cautionneris ijᵐ iijᶜ xxxiijˡⁱ vjˢ viijᵈ. Be Johnne Stewart burges yair vjᶜ lxvjˡⁱ xiijᵐ iiijᵈ. Be the Lady Cesnokis and hir sone the laird of Cesnok, jvᶜ lxvjˡⁱ xiijˢ iiijᵈ. Be Archibald Dumbar, jᶜ xxxiijˡⁱ vjˢ viijᵈ. Be Vchtred McDowgall of Mondork lxvjˡⁱ xiijˢ iiijᵈ. Be Johnne Stewart, jᶜ xxxiijˡⁱ vjˢ viijᵈ.

Summa of the debtis in, ... iiijᵐ ll
Summa of the inuentar and debtis, . . . iiijᵐ iijᶜ lxxxˡⁱ

Debtis awand Out.

Item, thair was awand be the defunct, the tyme foirsaid, the sowmes of money following: To the persones eftir specifeit, viz. To Jonet Kennedy of fie, xx^{li}.; to Bessie Ingrahame of fie, x^{li}; to Allan Cathcart, hir servand, of fie, xxx^{li}.

Summa of the debtis out, ...	lx^{li}
Restis frie geir, debtis deducit, ...	iiij^{m} iij^{c} xx^{li}

Na diuisioune.

Quota be compositioune, ...	ij^{c} xix merkis

Legacie.

At Air, the aucht day of Januar, the zeir of God I^{m} vj^{c} tuentie five zeiris, I, Elizabeth, relict of vmq^{le} Mr Johnne Welsche, sumtyme minister at Air, being, at the pleasour of the Lord, now viseit with seikness and infirmitie of bodye, vncertane of the hore of my daithe, hes thairfoir, for setting in ordour of my worldlie effairis, maid my testament and latterwil, as follows: Be the quhilk I nominat, mak, and constitute Mr James Inglis, minister at Daylie, Mr Josias Welsche, my sone, and Nathaniell Welsche, also my sonne, my only executouris; and willis and requestis Mr Jo^{nn} Ker, minister at Prestounepannis; Williame Stewart, brother-german to Josias Stewart of Bonytonne; Alexander Schaw of Keirhill, and Johnne Stewart, lait bailzie of Air, to be ouerismen and ouersearis of the weill of my bairnes; and referris the vpgeving of the inuentair of my guidis, geir, debtis and sowmes of money belanging vnto me to the saidis Mr James Inglis, Mr Josias Welsche, and Nathaniell Welsche, my executouris foirsaidis, quhilk I declair salbe als sufficient as gif I had gevin vp the samyne myself. Item, I leif to the puir and hospitalitie of Air ffourtie pundis money of this realme; and I leiff the haill rest and remanent of my guidis, geir, debtis, sowmes of money, and vtheris quhatsumever belanging vnto me, or quhairvnto I haue richt and title in ony sort, to the said Mr Josias Welsche, Nathaniell Welsche, my sones, and to Luyse Welsche, my dochter, equallie amangis thame thrie, be equall diuisioun. Item, I leif to the said Mr Josias Welsche, twa gold ringis. Item, to the said Nathaniel Welsche, ane gold ring; and I leif ane pair of goldeñ bracelettis and ane chinze of gold, ane taffatie gowne, and dames wyliecoitt, and ane taffatie wyliecoitt, with my silwir belt; and with sex gold ringis, ane lang stalkit sylwir coup, twa sylwir spwnes, to the said Lwyse Welsche, my dochter. Item, I leif to the said Mr Josias Welsche ane marmet sylwir pott, with the cover yairof and twa sylwir spunes; and I leif to the said Nathaniell Welsche, twa sylwir spunes. In witnes of the quhilk thing, to this my present testament, writtin be George Masoune, notar, I haue subscryvit the samyne with my hand, at Air, the aucht day of Januar, the zeir of God I^{m} vj^{c} tuentie fyve zeiris; befoir thir witnesses, James Will, merchand burges of Edinburgh, the saidis William Stewart, and Allexander Schaw, with Allane Cathcart, my servitor, and the said George Masoune, writter heerof. Sic subscribitur, Elizabethe Knox. Williame Stewart, witnes; James Will, witnes; George Masoune, notar, witnes.

I, Mr James Hammiltoune, of Westport, commissar of Glasgow, &c. be the tennor heirof, ratefeis, approvis, and confermis this present testament and inuentar, insafar as the samyne is dewlie and lauchfullie made and gevin vp, nathing omittit furth of the samyne, nor set within the just avail yairincontenit, and govis and committis full power and intromissioun with the guidis and geir abonewrittin to the saidis Mr James Inglis and Mr Johne Welsche, twa of the executouris abonespecifeit allanerlie, with power to yame to call and persew yairfoir. Becaus twa of the executouris foirsaid hes maid fayth, as vse is, in respect of the said Nathaniell Welsch, the vther executouris minoritie, and hes fund cautioun, as law will, as ane act maid yairvpoune at lenth beiris. At Glasgow, the xxiij day of Maij, 1625 zeiris.

N° XXII.—[MS. belonging to Thomas Thomson, Esq.]

Extracts from "A Historie of the Estate of Scotland from the Year 1559 to the Year 1566."

[This is the MS. to which I have frequently referred in the account which I have given of the differences between the queen-regent and the Protestants, in the years 1558 and 1559. At the beginning of it is the date "7th January 1663," most probably the day on which the writing was begun. It was undoubtedly a transcript from a more ancient MS., and the transcriber has not been well acquainted with the old hand. Accordingly, he has sometimes left blanks, and at other times has evidently given a false reading. Only a small part of the original MS. seems to have been transcribed by him. In making the following extracts from it, I have endeavoured to select such passages or circumstances not mentioned in other histories; and I am not without hopes that the publication of these may contribute to the discovery of the original MS. which may be preserved in some public library or private repository.]

In the moneth of Julij anno 1558, conveened in Edenburgh a certen number of the professours of Christ's Evangell. The cause of their meeting wes partly to assist certen brethren of Dundie who wer summoned to vnderly the law by instigation of the bishops. And after consultation ād advice taken, the presented a suplication in the palace of Halyrud house to the queene regent, conteining in effect the articles ffollowing. In the first desyring that it might be lawfull to all such as pleased to meete publiquely *that* in any part within this realme of Scotland to read comon prayers in the mother tongue. Secondly, that it should be lawful to all persons haveing knowledge to preach the word of God without the leaven of mens traditions. Thirdly, that it should be lawfull for the sayd persons, ministers of God's word, to minister the sacraments, to witt, of baptisme and the Lord's supper, according to the true institution commanded by Christ and his apostels, and to the faithfull to receave the same. The which supplication the said queene regent receaved with a joyfull countenance, forth of the hands of the Laird of Cadder in the presence of a great part of the nobilitie, the Papist Bishops also being present. And at that tyme shee gave an indifferent answere, saying always shoe would advise in the matter. But soon after shoe delyvered the said supplication to the Bpp of St Andrewes to be advised with him *that* wes to be done, as the yssue of the said matter did declare. Alwayes the faithfull reioiced and gave condigne thanks to the eternall our God, for that it had pleased him to give them the boldness to vtter themselves to be such as desyred the advancem^t^ of his glory notwithstanding the multitude of their enemies. At the same meeting there wer certen brethren of Dundie, who were summoned to vnderly the law for the cause of religion. They wer releived vpon securitie to enter vpon eight dayes warning. Finally departing from Edenbrugh, everie man in their owne shyrs and townes they beganne to proceed according to the effect of the said articles privatly and publickly where they might without occasion of sedition or greate trouble; the greatest fervencie appeared in the Mearns and Angus, and Kyle and Fife or Lothian; but chiefly the faithfull in Dundie exceeded all the rest in zeal and boldnes, preferring the true religion to all things temporall. But in Edenburgh their meeting wes but in private houses.——

In October the minister of God's word John Willock came into this countrie, by whose godly sermons the brethren were strengthened in all places where the faithfull came, and the number increased dayly; bot Sathan never ceases to suppress by all meanes the truth where he perceaves the same truely to increase. In the end of September following the Bpp of St Andrews caused summone the preachers, viz. John Willok, John Douglas, William Harlaw, Paul Meffan, and John to appeare before him at St Andrews the second of February following; wherof the brethren being advertised, advised what wes to be done, and after consultation taken in the matter, caused informe the queene regent that the said preachers would appear with such multitudes of men professing their doctrine as wes never seen befor in such like cases in this countrie. Then the queene fearing some vproare or sedi-

tion, desyred the Bishopp to continue the matter, and declared that shee would send for the nobilitie and estates of the realme to advise for some reformation in religion, and for the same purpose assigned the seventh of March following for a convention to be holden at Edenburgh. Bot the Bpp of St Andrews caused warne all the sects of the Papists to the said day to hold a provincial counsell at Edenburgh, wher they being mett after some commeneing by the principall Bpps with the nobles, whereof nothing in effect followed; then the sayd Bpps after their old manner offered themselves to the queene, to doe all that shee would command them, proveiding that they might be maintained in their dignitie for the suppressing of the truth, and after they were agreed with her vpon the summe which wes within 15000*l.* they sate them downe in the Blackfryers of Edenburgh in their vsuall councell. Where the 7th day wes devised, and the next Sunday the 15th of March the said Bpp sang a magnifick mass of the Holy Spirit, as they tearmed it, for a beginning of the deformation. On the other part the cōmissioners of the faithfull met by themselves at the same tyme in Edenburgh, and everie day consulted for the furtherance of the gospell; and finally perceaving that the queene regent and the Papists were agreed by reasone of the said summe promised by them to her, they departed, leaving the Papists still at their provinciall councell; Where, amongst others of the statutes, the 23d of March the queene regent caused proclame this at the markett crosses at Ed[r] and other places, conteining in effect, that no manner of persone should take vpon hands to preache or minister the sacraments except they were thereto admitted by the ordinarie or Bishopp vnder no less paine then death. And because they vnderstood perfectly of the afore said proclamation that it wes disobeyed and contemned by the preachers, in April following,[1] for contravening of the said acts and proclamations vnder the paine of Rebellion and putting to the horne, which thing was done express agt. the laws and practice of the Countrie. In the end of this moneth of Aprill the minister of God's word John Knox arrived at Leith,[2] and on the next day after his commeing, which wes called Phillipp and Jacob's day, the Papists meeting at the Councell being well sett downe in the Blackfryers of Edenburgh, one came in and assured them that John Knox wes new come out of Ffrance, [and] had bene all that night in the Towne: at the wch newes they being all astonished, leaving the councell rose suddenly from the board where they satt, and passing forth to the yeard altogether abashed, fearing the thing which came suddenly to pass. In the mean time that court wes cast so that they never mett there again to this day. Nevertheless, they sent incontinent a post to Glasgow to the queene, acquainting her of the matter, who caused him to be blowne loud to the horne the third day after. Bot in the mean time the faithfull being informed of his commeing and thirwith encouraged ceased not to give praise to God, and finally he being conveyed to Dundie incontinent preached the word publicquely.——

Alwayes when they [the Lords of the Congregation] had purged the kirks in Sterling, and ordered the Friers as they had done with them in St Johnstone and St Andrewes, destroying the Altars and Idolls, caused the Evangell to be publicquely preached in the Parish Kirk, then they came to Edenbrugh the penult day of June not above 1000 horse in companie, at the first commeing, with some men of warr about 300 men. But before their commeing to Edenbrugh, the Friers takeing the fray, for their master the Lord Seyton then Provost who wes appointed them, wes wearie of his office, the ffriers then begane to dispose amongst their acquaintance the best of their goods which were left at that tyme, which thing the Rascall people perceiving went in finding the yates open and suddenly fell to work and sacked all. So that before the arriving of the Congregation neither Altars, nor Idolls, nor any thing pertaining to Idolatrie in the friers, wes left standing: soe that the whole Churches about Edenburgh, as well as within the Towne being purged, the faithfull reioiced giving condigne thanks to the Eternall God who of his mercie had wrought so great things without the expectation of all men. The minister of God's word John Knox the same day that the Congregation came to Edenbrugh, made a Sermone in St Giles Church, and the next day in the Abbay, so that the dumbe Idolls and all darkness being taken away, the clear Light-shineing of God's word was truely

[1] "They were summoned," or some such words, must be supplied here.

[2] There is a mistake here as to the date. Knox arrived on the 2d of May. See p. 121—126.

preached. The third day after the arriveing of the Congregation at Edenburgh, My Lord of Glenkarne with the Gent. of the west countrie came *to her* [thero?] after that they had *purchased* [purged] the churches in Glasgow of Idolatrie. The names of the Lords of the Congregation wes the Earle of Argyle, the Lord James, the Earle of Glencarne, the Earle of Menteeth, the Earle Rothes. The same day after their comeing to Edr. the Lords and Principalls of the Congregation send to the Queene Regent, being at Dumbarr, my Lord of Glencarne, the lairds of Cunninghamhead and Pittaro, declaring to her that the whole prætence wes for the suppressing of Idolatrie and advancement of the glory of God, desyring her to release the Preachers from the horne, so that they might publicquely preach the word of God. The Lords in that cause offered to doe obedience and service, protesting that they meant nothing but the setting furth of true religion, and suppressing Idolatrie and superstition, and advancing the glory of God by preaching of the word. Att that tyme they obtained of the Queene that the Preachers should be released from the horne, so that they might preach freely to all such as pleased to heare them, which wes put in execution the nixt day after when they were released.[1] After this there were divers commeings [communings] for appointment in Haddington and other places, the Earl of Huntley being present for the Queene and others such as shee pleased to appoint. The things that the Lords demanded consisted only of these two heads, that the word of God might be publiquely preached, and the Frenchmen sent forth of the countrie; but her mind was to drive tyme with them, as well appeared. For shee had sent alreadie to France for more men of warr. During this time the Congregation of Edinburgh elected and chose John Knox publiquely in the Tolbooth of Edr. for their minister the 7th of July.——

At length shee [the Queen Regent] took purpose at Dumbarr, by conclusion of the Councell, the 22th of Julij, being assuredly informed that the number of the Congregation wes verie small, *should* come to Edr. and compell the Congregation to dislodge. And for this purpose they made all readie that night to depart in the morning following. The Lords of the Congregation being advertised hereof (not withstanding their small number) resolved constantly to resist their [the] violence of their adversaries, putting their trust in God whose cause they meantyned, preferring the equitie of their cause before the power and strength of men. In the mean tyme there wes greate feare in the Towne everie man wundering what end and successe the matter should take. Shortly so shoone as the Lords were advertised that the men of war commeing from Dumbar drew neere the Towne, the 25th of June airly in the morning at the sound of the Common Bell where forth of Edr. with soe muney as God had moved their herts to assist them. The whole number of the Congregation exceeded not 1500 men. Which small number being putt in order in the East side of Craigingate, incontinent the horse men being with my Lord Duke and Monsieur d'Ossell appeared to them vpon the sands of Leith north west from Lestellrig moveing towards Leith. And as soone as they come neere the East part of Gouburnes house that wes, they shott from the said place a peece of ordinance which dispersed the said horsemen, but soone after they yielded [*i.e.* the Lords of the Congregation retired] themselves, perceaving the whole number approaching, which were about 5000 men, horse and foote. The Congregation stood still in order on the east side of the Craig, and perceaving the adversaries within half a mile they prepared themselvis to battell, not mynding [*i.e.* meaning] to remove out of that place. And albeit the Lordis had desyred the Captaine of the Castell, the Lord Erskin, to be on their side, nevertheless they could not persuade him to shew them any favour, yet after the Principall Lords had spoken with him, they sent from the Craigs desyring him that in respect in his conscience he favoured the Evangell, and that the matter depended fully here vpon, that he would assist them with such help as he might, which thing he refused vtterly, assuring them that, if they would now [not?] take such appointment as they might have, he would declare himselve their enemie, as he had promised to the Queene in Dumbarr. In the mean tyme rideing on either side, they began to speake to appoint the matter which wes agreed vpon.——

[1] Are we to infer from this that the Protestant ministers had desisted from preaching while they were outlawed? I do not, indeed, recollect of an instance of any of them, except Knox, preaching during that time.

[Anno 1560.] it wes printed that the English men would be in Scottland the 25th of March by land. After my Lord James had finally agreed with the Duke of Norfolke vpon all things, he arrived againe at Pittenweeme the 9th day after his departing. In the meane tyme the Princippalls of the Ffrenchmen being informed that the Queenes Armie wes not in readiness to come in before the said day, they tooke a high enterpryse. For the 7th of March, they departed forth of Leith and other places where they had beine in garrisone to the greate destruction and loss of the Countrie, the number of 2000 souldiers of the most able and best equipeit, beside 300 Horsemen and marched towards Lithgow, where they remained the firs night. All the Countrie wes in a fray, not knowing their purpose vntill the nixt day at night they came to Monebeth, and some of them lodged in Kirk in Tillock. The Duke being surely advertised that their purpose wes to come to Glasgow, he departed with small company the night before their arriving. There wes in my Lord Duke's Company, the Earles of Arrane, Argyle, and Glencarne, with their howsholds only, ffor they suspected not nor would not have thought that the Ffrenchmen durst at that tyme have taken such an enterprise. Imediately there wes proclamation made through Cliddesdale and other shires, and likewise privie writings sent by my Lord Duke and the other Lords to their friends and servants, That they should incontinently cume to him in Hamilton for their defence, and resistance of the Ffrenchmen, and *because warr* [beacons were] brunt upon the highest hills for the same effect. But indeed they gather slowly, so that it appeared planly, if God would have suffered it, the Ffrenchmen might easily and without any resistance have come vp Clyde, and had done whatever it had pleased them throughout all that Countrie. Not with standing after that they had taken by force the Bpps Castle, and had cruelly hanged a part of the souldiers (Scotts men) that were therein, and had chased the rest that made resistance in the Towne, the second day after ther comeing to Glasgow there came a writing to him [them] from the Queene, containing in effect that shee wes surely informed that the English armie was alreadie come from Barwick and within Scotland; wherefore shee wiled them with all possible expedition to returne againe, which they did imediately. The damage which they did wes not so greate as men supposed for they had no tyme sufficient. When the Lords that were at Hamilton were advertised of their departing, my Lord of Arrane with soe many horsemen as were readie, past forward to follow the Ffrenchmen, pretending that if they had seen sufficient occasione to have midled with them. The next day they showed themselves as the Ffrenchmen past by the Callender, but there wes no appearance, ffor there wes no partie. Alwayes they kept them closs together, for they exceeded not 800 men. Soe the Ffrenchmen came to Lithgow, where they lay the space of 8 dayes, and made continuall spoile in all the countrie about within the space of viii miles. The damage which they did of all especially of cattle, sheepe, and horse wes exceeding great, and likewise killed and tooke diverse men prisoners. Dureing this tyme the Congregation prepared themselves to meet the English armie, and for the same purpose there wes proclamation made in Cliddesdall, Ffyfe, Angus, Mernes, and Strathearne. The Ffrenchmen being surely advertised that the English armie wes in readinesse they came to Leith the 29 of March, where all things were prepared that were necessare for their defence, and every day they made spoil in the Countrie.———

N° XXIII.—[Extracted from the Burgh Records of Aberdeen.]

James V. concerning the progress of Lutheran opinions in the diocese of Aberdeen, anno 1525.[1]

Curia ballivorum burgi de Abirdēn, tenta xviij° die mensis Augusti 1525.

Our Soueranis lȳes in contrar Luthyr.

James, be the grace of God, kinge of Scottis, to our Schereff of Aberdene, and his deput, and to our louitts, Schyr Johne Ruderfurd knyt, and Thomas Mēzeis of Petfothellis, our scherefys in that part coniunctlie and seuerallie specialie constitut,

[1] See p. 19.

greting. Fforsamekill as it is humelie menyt and schewin to ws be ane Reuerend fader in God, and our truist consalour, Gawyne, bischop of Aberdene, yat quhar syndry strangers ande otheris wtin his diocesy of Aberdene, has bukys of that heretick Luthyr and favors his errorys and fals opinionys, incontrar our act of parliament laitlie mayd in or last parliament, Oure will is heirfor, ande we charge zow straitle and commandis yat incontynent thir our lres sayne ze [make] publick ye sayde act at all places neydfull and tak inquisitioñe gyfe ony personys be fundin wtin the sayde diocesy of Aberdene, that hes sic bukys, or fauorys sic arorys of the said Luthyr, and that ze confisk yr gudes and inbring ye samyn to our wss and profiet, efter the forme of the said act, as ze will ansuer yrupoun, ye quhilk to do, we commyt to you coniunctlie and seurlie oure full power be thyr ouro lres deliuering yame to zow deulie execut ande indorset agane to the berar. Geuin vnder our signet, at Edinburgh, ye sevint day of August, and of our regne ye xij zēyr.

Ex deliberacione dominoꝝ consilii, &c.

CHEPMAN.

SUPPLEMENT.

[THE first poem inserted in the Supplement is so exceedingly rare, that the copy from which I have printed is supposed to be unique. It is valuable as the principal events in our Reformer's life are commemorated in it, and the leading features of his character delineated, by the pen of one who was personally acquainted with him. As a curious specimen of the Scottish language and versification at the period in which it was composed, the old orthography has been carefully retained. The serious reader will be pleased in tracing the vein of piety which runs through rhymes which must appear to him rude, and sometimes almost unintelligible. Its author, John Davidson, was a regent, or teacher, in the University of St Andrews, and afterwards successively minister of Liberton, and of Salt-Preston, now called Prestonpans. I have already referred to several of his other writings.—Pp. 281, 312, 403-4. He also published a Catechism, entitled, "Some Helpes for Young Schollers in Christianity," printed at Edinburgh, by Robert Waldegrave in 1602. He died about 1608.—Note subjoined to Jameson's edition of his Catechism, in 1708. Life of Davidson, in Wodrow's MSS. vol. i. Bibl. Coll. Glas.

The Latin poems which follow are taken from a manuscript in the Advocates' Library, and exhibit traits in the characters of the principal Scottish Martyrs and Reformers, with allusions to several events in their lives, which I have not met with elsewhere. On this account, and also as a specimen of Scottish literature, I have published a selection from the MS., which appears to have been written about the beginning of the seventeenth century. From the corrections with which it abounds, there is reason to think that the copy in the Library had belonged to the author. It likewise contains Latin poems, entitled "Icones Regum Judæ et Israelis." The author, John Johnston, was a professor of St Mary's College, in the University of St Andrews, at the close of the sixteenth and commencement of the seventeenth century; and was the intimate friend and associate of Andrew Melville, the learned principal of that College. He published "Heroes ex omni Historia Scotica lectissimi. Lugduni Batavorum, 1603," 4to; and also "Inscriptiones Heroicæ Regum Scotorum," which were reprinted in "Deliciæ Poetarum Scotorum." His verses on Buchanan are inserted in "Poetarum Scotorum Musæ Sacræ," tom. ii. p. 500. It is said that he also published a book on the government of the church by bishops; but this I have not seen. There is a Life of Johnston in Wodrow's MSS., vol. ii. Bibl. Coll. Glas.]

ANE BREIF COM-

MENDATIOVN OF VPRICHT-

nes, in respect of the surenes of the same, to all that walk in it, amplifyit chiefly be that notabill document of Goddis michtie protectioun, in preseruing his maist vpricht seruand and feruent Messinger of Christis Euangell, Iohne Knox. Set furth in Inglis meter be M. Iohne Dauidsone, Regent in S. Leonards College.

¶ Quhairunto is addit in the end ane short discurs of the Estaitis quha hes cause to deploir the deith of this Excellent seruand of God.

¶ PSALME XXXVII.

¶ Mark the vpricht man, and behauld the Iust, for the end of that man is peace.

¶ IMPRENTIT AT SANCTAN-drois be Robert Lekpreuik. Anno. 1573.

TO THE MAIST GODLIE, ANCIENT, AND WORTHIE Schir Iohne Wischart of Pittarrow Knicht, M. Johne Dauidsone wissis the continuall assistance of the Spreit of God, to the end, and in the end.

CONSIDERING with my self (maist worthie Knicht) the greit frailtie and vnsurenes of all strenthis eirthly quhatsūeuer, quharin mā lefing God, vsis to put his traist on the ane part, and the sure fortres and saifgaird of vprichtnes, howbeit destitute of all aide warldly on the vther part: I culd not withhald my pen frō vttering of that praise and commendation of vprichtnes, quhilk in my mynde I had consauit of the same. Being chiefly mouit heirunto be the Miraculous (as I may weill call it) and maist wonderfull preseruatioun of that maist notabill seruand of God, and sinceir Preicheour of Christis Euangell, Iohne Knox. Quha being bot of small estimatioun befoir the eyis of the warld (zit greit befoir God), was hatit vnto the deith. And that euin be Kingis, Queenis, Princes, and greit men of the warld, and finally be all the rabill of Sathanis suddartis (*a*), in Scotland, Ingland, and France. Zea, not only was he hatit, and raillit on, bot also persecutit maist scharply, and huntit from place to place as ane vnworthie of ony societie with man. And althocht thay were michtie and potent, zea, and wantit na cuill will, and he on the vther syde ane pure man, alane, and oft tymes without help, or assistance of ye warld, zit was he michtely preseruit, and as in a maist sure saifgard (all the wickits attentis quha thristit nathing mair than his bludc being frustrat) conducted to an maist quyet, peaciabill and happy end, to the greit aduancement of Goddis glorio, and singulare comfort of his Kirk, and to the confusioun of Sathan and discōfort of all his wickit instrumētis. Thairfor that this sa notabil and euidēt ane

(*a*) soldiers.

documēt of the louing cair of our God towardis his seruāds svld not with him be buryit bot abyde recent in memorie till all the inhabitantis of this Realme in all ages to cum. I haue preissit (*b*) schortly in this lytill paper to mak, as it wer, ane memoriall of the same, and yat in that lāguage quhilk is maist cōmoun to this hail Realme, to the intent that asweill vnleirnit as lernit may be partakeirs of the same. Not that I think my self abill to handill sa worthie ane mater worthelie in ony toung, bot that partly I may schaw my gude will in this matter, and partly to gif occasioun to vtheris, that baith hes mair dexteritie in sic thingis, and greiter opportunitie of tyme, to intreit the same at greiter lenth. That be calling to mynd this notabill exēpill of Godis louing cair towardis vs, we in all thir feirfull dayis (quharin he that seis not tryall approaching neir is destitute of Iudgement) may be strenthnit and encourageit to ga fordwart vprichtly, eurie ane in our awin vocatioun, without declyning outher to the richt hand or the left. And principally that our watche men faint not, nor begin to iouk (*c*), or flatter with the world for feir of Tyrānis, bot that thay may haue brasin facis, and foirheidis of Iron againis the threitnings of the wickit, cōdempning impietie of all persounis in plane termis, following the ensāpill of this maist zelous seruād of God, of quhōe heirtofoir we hau maid mentioun, and that being assurit gif sa thay walk vprichtly in dischargeing of thair office, that thay ar in ye protectioun of the Almichtie.

¶ And this small frute of my sober trauellis, I haue thocht gude to offer and present to zow (maist worthie Knicht) not sa mekill for that, that I thocht it worthie to be presentit til ony : as that I wald let my gude will and grate (*d*) mynd, be the same appeir towardis zow, throw quhais procurement I obteinit the benefite of that godly and faithfull (thocht mockit and falsly traducit of the warld) societie, quhairof presently I am participant. For the quhilk I acknawledge me, and my humbill seruice always addettit to zour honour. And howbeit (as I mon confes) na thing can proceid of me that may in ony wayis correspond to zour meritis towardis me : zit sal the thankfulnes of mynd at na tyme (God willing) be deficient. Quhilk is to be acceptit quhair vther thingis are lacking, in place of greit rewaird. And the rather haue I takin bauldness to dedicate this lytill Treateis vnto zour honour, baith becaus I vnderstude, zow euer to haue bene sen zour Chyldheid ane vnfenzeit fauourar, and mantenar to zour power of vprichtnes, quhais praise in this lytill Volume is intreatit. And also, that this notabill seruand of God (quhais michtie preseruation, notwithstanding the wickitis rage, to ane quyet end, chiefly mūfit me to this busines) was maist belufit of zow quhile he leuit, and yat for yat greit vprightness quhilk ze saw from tyme to tyme maist viuely expres the self in him. And finally, that your honour may be mufit heirby, as ze haue begunne and continewit to this day ane zelous professour of Goddis word, mantenar of the samin, and lufer of his seruandis : sa ze may perseuer to the end of zour lyfe, without sclander to zour professioun, euer approuing the treuth, and haitting impietie in all persounis, not leaning to warldly wisdome, nor louking for the pleasure of greit men in the warld : Sen nane of thir thingis, but only vprichtnes, can outher mak ane pleasand to God, or zit sure in this warld. And sa traisting that zour honour will accept this my sober offer (till God grant better occasioun of greter) intill gude part, I commit zow to the protectioun of the Almichtie, that quhen it sall pleis God to tak zow furth of this miserie, ze may end zour lyfe in the sanctificatioun of his haly name. To whom be praise and Glorie, for euer. Amen.

From Sanctandrois the XVIII. of February.

ANE BREIF COMMENDATIOVN OF VPRICHTNES.

SEN that we se men til haue studyit ay
Into this eirth sic strengthis to prepair,
As micht be saifgaird to thame nicht and day,
Quhen ony danger dang thame in dispair,
Wald thow gude Reider haue ane strenth preclair (*e*), Prouer. 10.
Maist strang and stark to rin to in distres, 12, 13, 18.
This lytill schedull schortly sall declair Ecclesi. 9.
How that the surest Towre is vprichtnes. Ps. 25, 27, 91.

(*b*) pressed, endeavoured. (*c*) shift. (*d*) grateful. (*e*) excellent.

Quhilk vprichtnes we may descriue to be :
Ane traid of lyfe conforme to Godds command, Iob. 31.
Without all poysoun of Hypocrisie,
Or turning to and fra, from hand to hand.
Bot stoutly at the word of God to stand, Prouer. 5.
Eschewing alwayis it for to transgres, Psalm 18.
Not bowing back for thame that contramand.
This wayis we may descriue this vprichtnes.

For first thair is na Castell, Towre, nor Toun,
Nor naturall strenth, as Alexander sayis, Q. Curt. li. 7.
Bot mānis Ingyne may vincous and ding doun,
As that he had experience in his dayis,
Na strenth was sure to theme that was his fais :
The Craig in Asia did beir witnes, Q. Curt. li. 7.
Howbeit in hicht vnto the sky it rais,
It was ouercum for laik of vprichtnes.

Euin sa that bailful Bour of Babilone, Q. Curt. li. 5.
Na saifgaird was to Darius we reid, Ieremi. 51.
Suppois it was ane maist strang Dongeone,
And mony ma I micht declair in deid,
Bot sic exempellis Foraine nane we neid ;
Quhat surenes fand the Bischopis halynes,
Into Dumbartane quhair he pat his Creid?
It was not half so sure as vprichtnes.

The force of men gif ony will obtend, Ps. 33. 40. 60.
Kinred, or friends to be ane gaird mast strang, Esai. 31.
All is bot vane, they can not man defend, Jeremi. 17.
For quha mair surely into Royat (*f*) rang,
Nor the greit Conquerour his friendis amang Q. Curt. lib. 10.
Zit was he poysonit, as sum dois express,
Intill his Camp quhilk he had led sa lang :
Than quhat is force of man till vprichtnes?

Riches and rent we ken dois not abyde, Prouer. 11.
Bot flitts and fochis (*g*) euer to and fra ; Eccles. 5.
Than vane it is in thame for to confyde, Job. 11.
Sen that we se thame asweill cum as ga : Psalm. 49.
Thairfoir my friendis sen that the case is sa, 1. Timot. 6.
That warldly strenth can haue na sickernes, Zephan. 1.
Sum vther saifgaird surely we mon ha, Ecclesi. 2.
Quhilk is nocht ellis bot only vprichtnes. Nahum. 3.

Bot sum perchance that winks mair wylelie,
Will say thay wait ane wyle (*h*) that I na wist,
With iouking thay will jangil (*i*) craftelie,
And on thair feit will ay licht quhen thay list,
Thinking all surenes thairin to consist :
Hypocrisie is quent (*k*) with quyetnes,
Bot all begylit thay ar into the mist ;
For nathing can be sure but vprichtnes.

For quhat become of fals Achitophell,
For als far as he saw before his neis, 2. Sam. 17.
The Scriptures schawis I neid not heir to tell.
The lyke of this in mony Historeis,
I micht bring furth that to my purpois greis, Psalm. 7.
How Hypocrites into their craftynes, Ester. 7.

(*f*) royalty. (*g*) chauges situation. (*h*) know a trick.
(*i*) juggle. (*k*) acquainted, or (perhaps) crafty.

Thame selfis hes trappit with greit misereis,
Becaus thay did eschew all vprichtnes.

Bot quha sa cuar on the vther syde
Hes preissit peirtly to leif vprichtlie, Ester. 6.
And be the treuth bound bauldly till abyde, Dani. 6.
Hes euer had the maist securitie.
For thay had God thair buckler for to be,
Quhome we mon grant to be ane strang fortres, Psalm. 76.
Of quhome the Deuill can not get victorie, Psalm. 89.
Nor all the enemies of vprichtnes.

Think weill my friendis this is na feuzeit fair, (*l*) 1 Sam. 17. 18.
For quha sa list of Dauid for to reid, 19. 20. 21. 22.
May se quhat enemies he had alquhair, 29. 33.
And zit how surely he did ay proceid ; 2 Sam. 2. 3. 5.
Because he walkit vprichtly in deid. 8. 15. 16. 18.
He was mair sure from Saulis cruelnes, 20.
Nor gif ten thousand men intill his neid, 1 Sam. 23.
Had with him bene syne lackit vprichtnes.

Of sic exempills we micht bring anew,
Bot ane thair is that preifis our purpois plane,
Of Daniell that Propheit wyse and trew, Dani. 6.
How oft was he in danger to be slane !
Into the Lyonis Den he fand na pane:
The three Children the fyre did not oppres. Dani. 3.
I think this only Historie might gane,
To preif how sure a Towre is vprichtnes.

Bot zit becaus exempills fetchit far,
Mufis not so muche as thay thingis quhilk we se,
I purpois schortly now for to cum nar,
Vnto the but (*m*) quhair chiefly I wald be:
That is to schaw the prufe befoir zour ee
Of thir premissis, as all mon confes
That hes sene God wirking in this countrie,
How ane hes bene perseruit in vprichtnes.

It is Iohne Knox in deid quhome of I mene,
That feruent faithfull seruand of the Lord,
Quhome I dar bauldly byde at till haue bene,
Ane maist trew Preichour of the Lordis word.
I rak nathing quhat Rebalds (*n*) heir record,
Quha neuer culd speik gude of godlynes.
This man I say eschaipit fyre and sword,
And deit in peace, in praise of vprichtnes.

Bot that this may be maid mair manifest:
I will discurs sum thing in speciall,
Tuiching this Lamp, on lyfe quhill he did lest.
First he descendit bot of linage small ;
As commounly God vsis for to call Amos. i. 7.
The sempil sort his summoundis til expres. Mark. 1.
Sa calling him, he gaue him giftis with all 1. Cor. 1.
Maist excellent, besyde his vprichtnes. Iaco. 2.

For weill I wait that Scotland neuer bure,
In Scottis leid (*o*) ane man mair Eloquent.
Into perswading also I am sure,
Was nane in Europe that was more potent.

(*l*) feigned affair.
(*m*) butt, or mark.
(*n*) I regard nothing what worthless fellows, &c.
(*o*) language.

In Greik and Hebrew he was excellent,
And als in Latine toung his propernes,
Was tryit trym quhen scollers wer present.
Bot thir wer nathing till his vprichtnes.

For fra the tyme that God anis did him call,
To bring thay joyfull newis vnto this land,
Quhilk hes illuminat baith greit and small,
He maid na stop but passit to fra hand,
Idolatrie maist stoutly to ganestand:
And chiefly that great Idoll of the Mes.
Howbeit maist michtie enemies he fand,
Zit schrinkit he na quhit from vprichtnes.

The greuous Galayis maid him not agast,
Althocht the Prelats gold in greit did geif,
Ouir schipburd in the sey him for to cast,
He fand sic grace they sufferit him to leif.
Zea mairatour thay did him not mischeif.
As thay did his Companzeounis mair and les,
With pynefull panis quhen thay thair pythis did preif,
God sa prouydit for his vprichtnes.

In Ingland syne he did eschaip the Ire,
Of Iesabell, that Monstour of Mahoun, (*p*)
In Scotland nixt with terrour him to tyre,
Thay brint his picture in Edinburgh Toun.
Bot sen to Scotland last he maid him boun, (*q*)
Quhat battell he hes bidden ze may ges,
Sen Dagon and thay Deuillis he gart ding doun,
In spite of thame that hatit vprichtnes.

Thay that hes bene cheif in Authoritie,
For the maist part had him at deidly feid,
Zit he eschaipit all their crueltie,
Howbeit oftymes thay did deuyse his deid,
Zea, sum were knawin perfitely be the heid
Quha vndertuke his Dirige for to dres,
Zit bauldly be hes baner he abaid,
And did not iouk ane ioit from vprichtnes.

Bot cheifly anis he was put to ane preace, (*r*)
Quhen that the Quene of tressoun did accuse him
Befoir hir Lords in Haly Rudehous place.
Quhair clawbacks of the Court thocht till abuse him
Sa prudētly this Propheit yair did vse him,
Into refuting of thair fulischenes,
That all the haill Nobilitie did ruse (*s*) him
And praisit God for his greit vprichtnes.

Quhen Quene and Court could not get him cōuict,
Bot sa wer disappointit of thair pray,
Thay fryit in furie that he schaipit quick,
Zit at the leist to get thair wills sum way,
Thay wald haue had him wardit for ane day,
In Dauois Towre, zea, for ane hour or les,
It was denyit for ocht the Quene culd say,
Thair micht be sene how sure was vprichtnes.

Bot in quhat perrell trow ze he was last,
Quhen Edinburgh he left with hart full sair,

(*p*) the devil. (*q*) ready. (*r*) press, difficulty. (*s*) extol.

Doubtles na les nor ony that hes past,
In spyte thay spak that him thay suld not spair
Thay suld him schuit into the pulpit thair
Becaus he did rebuke their fylthenes,
And mischant (*t*) murther that infects the air,
Zit God preseruit him in vprichtnes.

Mony may dangers nor I can declair,
Be sey and land this Propheit did sustene,
In France and Ingland, Scotland, heir and thair,
Quhilk I refer to thame that mair hes bene
Intill his company and sic things sene,
Bot this far schortly I haue made progress,
To preif how God maist surely dois mantene,
Sic as continew intil vprichtnes.

For this Excellent seruand of the Lord,
Vnto the deith was hatit as we knaw,
For sinceir preiching of the Lordis word
With Kingis, Princes, hie estait and law,
Zit in thair Ire him micht thay not ouirthraw,
He did depart in peace and plesandnes:
For all the troublis that ze hard vs schaw
That he sustenit for lufe of vprichtnes.

And this is merwell gif we will consider,
Ane sempill man but (*u*) warldly force or aide,
Aganis quhome Kings and Princes did confidder (*v*)
How he suld fend (*w*) from furie and thair fead, (*x*)
Syne leaue this lyfe with list for all thair plaid, (*y*)
He had ane surer gaird we mon confes,
Nor ony warldly strength that can be maid,
Quhilk was nathing but only of vprichtnes.

Bot sum may say quhairto suld thow prefer
This vprichtnes quhilk thow extolls sa hie
Vntil all warldly strenthis that euer wer?
Sen that the contrair daylie we may se,
How upricht men ar murtherit mischantlie, Gene. 4.
As first was Abell with greit cruelnes, Matth. 14.
Gude Iohne the Baptist, and als Zacharie, 2 Chro. 24.
Zea, Christ him self for all his vprichtnes. Matth. 27.

Peter and Paull with mony may sensyne. Euseb. To. 4.
And of lat zeiris in Ingland as we knaw, fol. 7.
How mony piteously was put to pyne. Vide Sleidanum.
And now in France that schame is for to schaw.
Iames our gude Regent rakkin in that raw (*z*),
Quha had rung zit wer not his richteousnes.
Sa, I can se nathing sa sone ouirthraw
Man in this eirth as dois this vprichtnes.

To this I answer into termis schort,
Quhen warldly strenth is vincust and maid waist, Prouer. 11.
With it man tynis baith courage and comfort,
Quhen it is tynt quhairin he pat his traist:
Bot quho that deith in vprichtnes dois taist, Prouer. 11.
Sall haue the lyfe that lests with joyfulnes, Matth. 16.
Sa they ar sure, becaus they ar imbraist
Be the Eternall for thair vprichtnes.

(*t*) wicked. (*u*) without. (*v*) confederate. (*w*) defend.
(*x*) enmity. (*y*) plea, controversy. (*z*) reckon in that rank.

Bot this sa lichtly we may not pass by:
I grant indeed quha preissis vprichtlie
To serue the Lord mon first themselfis deny, Matth. 16.
And na wayis dres to daut (*a*) thame daintelie,
Bot thame prepair for troublis Identlie, (*b*) 2 Timo. 3.
For troublis ar the bage they mon posses, Psalm. 34.
Sen Sathan ceisis not continuallie 1 Pet. 5.
To troubill thame that followis vprichtnes. Iob. 1.

Quhylis harling (*c*) thame befoir Princes and Kings, Luc. 21.
As rauing Rebalds rudelie to be rent, 1. Reg. 10.
Accusing thame of troubling of all things, 1. Reg. 17.
As cankerit Carlis that can not be content,
Except all things be done be thair consent:
Now scornit, now scurgeit, now bād with bitternes, Matth. 27.
Imprissonit, and sindrie fassiounis schent, (*d*) Ieremi. 38.
And sum tymes dreuin to deith for vprichtnes. Act. 12.

This is thair lote oftymes I will not lane (*e*)
Into this eirth that vse to be vpricht,
Bot quhat of this? my purpois zit is plane:
That is, that they are surer, day and nicht, Psalm. 91.
For all this wo, nor ony warldly wicht: Psalm. 118.
For in thair conscience is mair quyetnes
In greitest troublis, nor the men of micht
Hes in thair Castells, without vprichtnes.

For quhen Belshazzer greit King of the Eist, Dani. 5.
Ane thousand of his Princes had gart call,
Drinkand the wyne befoir thame at the Feist,
Intill his prydefull Pomp Imperiall:
Euin in the middis of this his mirrie hall
He saw ane sicht that sank him in sadnes,
Quhen he persauit the fingers on the wall,
Wryting his wrak for his vnvprichtnes.

Quhat sall I say? I neid not till insist,
To schaw how thay to God that dois Rebell,
In thair maist micht can not be haldin blist,
For in this warld they do begin thair hell,
As Cain did that slew the iust Abell: Gene. 4.
Within thair breist thay beir sic bailfulnes, Esai. 66.
That toung of men can not the teynd part tell, Prouer. 15.
Of inwart torments for vnvprichtnes.

Bot thay that walks vprichtly with the Lord, Prouer. 14.
In greitest troublis wantis not inwart rest,
As the Apostillis doung (*f*) for Godds word, Acts. 5.
Reioysit that for Christ sa thay were drest;
Peter in prisone sleipit but molest; Act. 12.
Paull in the stocks and Sylas with glaidnes, Act. 16.
Did sing ane Psalme at midnicht, sa the best
Surenes that man can haue, is vprichtnes.

Sa be this surenes now I do not menc,
That Godds seruands ar neuer tane away,
Be cruell men, for the contrair is sene,
For God oftymes of his Iudgements I say,
Letts thame so fall, as thocht befoir the day:
To plague the warld for thair vnthankfulnes

(*a*) cherish. (*b*) diligently. (*c*) dragging.
(*d*) maimed, or disgraced. (*e*) conceal. (*f*) beat, or scourged.

Quhilk is not worthie of sic men as thay. Esai. 3.
Bot I mene this be strenth of vprichtnes. Heb. 11.

That quhen it plesis God to let thame fall,
Thay haue sic inwart comfort without cair, Acts. 7.
That thay depart with ioy Angelicall, 2 Timot. 4.
Of lyfe assurit that lestis for euer mair.
And zit sum tyme he dois his seruands spair, Esai. 41.
To let the Tyrannis se his michtines, Ierem. 1. 4. 5.
In spyte of thame, that he can his alquhair,
Preserue maist surely intill vprichtnes.

Quhilk we haue sene as we can not deny,
Into Iohne Knoxis michtie preseruation,
Quhilk till our comfort we suld all apply,
I mene that ar the Faithfull Congregatioun.
Sen he departit with sic consolatioun
Euen as he leuit, he deit in Faithfulnes,
Being assurit in Christ of his Saluatioun,
As in the end he schew with vprichtnes.

Sa is he past from pane to pleasure ay,
And till greit eis doubtles vntill him sell,
Bot for ane plague till vs I dair weill say,
As sair I feir we sall heir schortly tell,
Schir wink at vice (*g*) beginnis to tune his bell.
Bot on this heid na mair I will digres,
That gude men hes mair rest in all perrell
Nor wickit in thair welth bot vprichtnes.

Then sen alwayis we se that men ar sure
Throw vprichtnes quhidder they liue or die, Psalm. 37.
Let all gud Christianes Imploy thair cure,
In thair vocatioun to leif vprichtlie;
And chiefly let all preicheouris warnit be,
That this day God and the gude caus profes,
Na wayis to wink at sic Impietie
As chiefly dois withstand all vprichtnes. Tit. 1.

Taking exempill of this Propheit plane,
Quhome heir befoir we breuit in this bill, (*h*),
Quha Godds reuelit will wald neuer lane,
Quhen men begouth for to delyte in ill,
He wald not wane ane wy (*i*) for na mānis will
For to rebuke Erle, Barrone, or Burges,
Quhen in thair wickit wayis thay walkit still.
Follow this Lamp I say of vprichtnes.

Let nouther lufe of friend, nor feir of fais,
Mufe zow to mank (*k*) your Message, or hald back
Ane iot of zour Commission ony wayis: Psalm. 40.
Call ay quhite, quhite, and blak, that quhilk is blak, Esai. 5.
Ane Gallimafray (*l*) neuer of them mak:
Bot ane gud caus distingue from wickitnes, 2 Timot. 2.
This kynd of phrais sumtymes this Propheit spak,
Quhen he saw sum not vsing vprichtnes.

In generall do not all things inuolue.
Thinking zour selfis dischargeit than to be, 2 Timot. 2.

(*g*) Sir Wink-at-Vice, an allegorical character.
(*h*) described in this work.
(*i*) probably, *waynd ane wee*, i. e. swerve a little.
(*k*) curtail.
(*l*) a hotch-potch.

Thocht na manis mynd in maters ze resolue:
For (zit till vse this same manis Elogie)
To speik the treuth, and speik the treuth trewlie, Num. 23. 24.
Is not a thing (*m*) (said he) brethren doutles.
Thairfoir speik trewly but Hypocrisie,
Gif ze wald haue the praise of vprichtnes.

Let vice ay in the awin cullouris be kend, 2 Timot. 4.
But beiring with, or zit extenuatioun,
Schawing how heichly God it dois offend, Act. 17.
Spairing na stait that maks preuaricatioun: Esai. 58.
Let it be sene till all the Congregatioun, 1 Timot. 5.
That ze sic haitrent haue at wicketnes,
That ze mon dampne their greit abhominatioun,
Quha planely fechtis aganis all vprichtnes.

Quhilk tred of doctrine gif ze anis begin Psalm. 38.
I grant the Deuill and warld will be agane zow; Psalm. 41.
The feid of fremmit, and craibing of zour kin, (*n*)
First ze sall find, syne terrour to constraine zow
To syle the suith, (*o*) and sunze, (*p*) I will plane (*q*) zow.
The Zock is not sa licht as sum dois ges; Nahum. 1.
Bot zit haue ze na dreid quha do disdane zow, Psalm. 31.
Sen that zour fortres sure is vprichtnes. Psalm. 34.

For pleis it God zour lyfe to lenthen heir,
Thocht all the warld aganis zow wald conspyre,
Thay sall not haue the power zow to deir, (*r*)
Albeit thay rage and rin wod (*s*) in thair Ire,
And gif that God thinks gude be sword or fyre
To let zow fall, be ay in reddynes:
Being assurit that heuin salbe zour hyre, 2 Timot. 4.
Because ze endit sa in vprichtnes.

Let not the lufe of this lyfe temporall,
Quhilk ze mon lose, but let, quhen ze leist wene, (*t*)
Stay zow to cois (*u*) with lyfe Celestiall.
Quhen euer that the chois cumis thame betwene,
Christis sentence in zour garden keip ay grene,
Quha sauis his lyfe shall lois it not the les. Matth. 16.
Quhilk euin into this warld hes oft bene sene,
Quhat gaine is than to deny vprichtnes?

Than to conclude, sen in thir dangerous dayis
Sa mony terrours Tyranis casts befoir zow,
Call vpon God to strenthen zow alwayis,
That with his haly Spreit he will decoir zow,
As he hes done his seruands ay befoir zow,
That ze may neuer wink at wickitness, Esai. 51.
With Gun and Gainze (*v*) thocht thay boist to gor zow,
Sen that zour Towre sa sure is vprichtnes.

¶ FINIS. M. I. D.

(*m*) one thing. (*n*) the hostility of strangers, and anger of relations.
(*o*) conceal the truth. (*p*) anxiety. (*q*) plainly tell. (*r*) injure.
(*s*) run mad. (*t*) without hindrance, when ye least think. (*u*) barter.
(*v*) *gainze* signifies sometimes an engine for throwing weapons, and sometimes the weapon thrown.

ANE SCHORT

DISCVRS OF THE ESTAITIS

quha hes caus to deploir the deith of this
Excellent Seruand of God.

THOW pure contempnit Kirk of God,
In Scotland scatterit far abrod,
Quhat leid(*a*) may let the to lament:
Sen baith the Tyger and the Tod,
Maist cruellie cummis the to rent.
Thow wants ane watcheman that tuke tent,
Baith nicht and day that nocht suld noy the,
Allace thow wants the Instrument,
That was thy Lanterne to conuoy the.

Thy lemand(*b*) Lamp that schew sic licht
Was gude Iohne Knox, ane man vpricht,
Quhais deith thou daylie may deploir.
His presence maid thy bewtie bricht,
And all thy doings did decoir:
He did him haillie indeuoir,
Thy richteous action to mantene,
And libertie to the restoir,
Pleading thy caus with King and Quene.

He neuer huntit benefice,
Nor catchit was with Couatice,
Thocht he had offers mony one
And was als meit for sic office
As outher gellie(*c*) Iok or Iohne,
His mynd was ay sa the vpon,
Thy only weilfair was his welth;
Thairfoir lament sen he is gone,
That huikit nathing(*d*) for thy helth.

Lament Assemblie Generall,
At thy Conuentionis, ane and all,
For thou wilt mis ane Moderatour,
Quhais presence mufit greit and small,
And terrifeit baith theif and tratour,
With all vnrewlie Rubiatour,(*e*)
Thair ionkers durst not kyth thair cure,
For feir of fasting in the fratour,(*f*)
And tynsall of the charge thay bure.

But now I feir that thow sall se
Greit missing of that man to be,
Quhen craftie heidis sall na mair hyde
The hurde(*g*) of thair hypocrisie,
Bot all sinceirnes set asyde,
With policie will all things gyde,
Thir Balamis birds sair may thow feir:
Thairfoir be Godds buke abyde,
And to sic bablers giue na eir.

(*a*) lay or song. (*b*) shining, blazing. (*c*) good fellow, *bon vivant*.
(*d*) thought nothing too much. (*e*) ragamuffin, vagabond.
(*f*) fraternity, alluding to the fastings of the friars. (*g*) treasure.

Giue strange opiniounis enteris in,
Tak tent quha sic thingis dois begin,
And with sic matteris mynts to mell; (*h*)
For Sathan ceisis not fra sin,
The Kirk of Christ seiking to quell.
Sic foly faill not to refell:
For when the reik (*i*) beginnis to ryse,
The fyre will follow as thay tell,
Be it not quencheit be the wyse.

Bot cheifly murne and mak thy mane,
Thou Kirk of Edinburgh allane,
For thow may rew by (*k*) all the rest,
That this day thow wants sickin ane,
Thy speciall Pastour, and the best
That ony Kirk had eist or west.
He did comfort the in all cair,
And the foirwairnd of thy molest,
Quhairby thow micht thyself prepair.

There was na troubill come to the
Bot he foirspak it oppinlie,
Thocht sum the mater than did mock,
Gif he spak suith now thow may se,
This day thy heid is in the zock,
God send the blyithnes of this block,
And freith the from thy fais aboue the;
For thow art the maist feruent flock
That Scotland beiris, as deid dois proue the.

And giue God sa handills the best,
Allace what sall cum of the rest,
Except repentance rin and red:
It is ane mirrour manifest,
Of dule and dolour to be dred,
To fall on thame this barret (*l*) bred.
Bot till our purpois to returne,
Thocht of this feir thow salbe fred,
Zit hes thow mater for to murne.

Because that watcheman thow dois want,
That the in puretie did plant,
And comfortit thy congregatioun:
Bot zit thocht he be gane I grant
The Lord can send the consolatioun,
Gif thow giue him dew adoratioun,
He will not leaue the comfortles,
As alreddy thow hes probatioun.
God grant thy Preicheours vprichtnes.

¶ Ze Lords also that dois frequent
The loft in Sanct Geills Kirk lament,
That Bogill (*m*) thair that ze hard blaw,
With quhome quhyles ze wer small content,
For the schairp threitnings he did schaw;
Zit thay maid zow sumquhat stand aw,
Thocht not so muche as neid requyrit.
This day in graue he lyis full law,
Quhilk langtyme was of him desyrit.

(*h*) attempts to meddle.
(*i*) smoke.
(*k*) above.
(*l*) trouble, contention.
(*m*) bugle-horn.

For seing all things not go weill,
He said thair suld not mis ane reill
That suld the cheifest walkin vp.
Gif he said suith this day ze feill,
Luke gif God hes begun to quhup,
Bot thair byds zit ane sowrer Cup,
Except zour maners ze amend,
The dreggs but dout als ze sall sup:
From whilk danger God zow defend.

Sanctandrois als not to leif out,
His deith thou may deploir but dout,
Thow knawis he lude the by the laue,(*n*)
For first in the he gaue the rout
Till Antechrist that Romische slaue,
Preicheing that Christ did only saue.
Bot last, of Edinburgh exprest,
Quhen he was not far fra his graue,
He came to the by all the rest.

God grant that thow may thankfull be,
For his greit graces schawin to the,
In sending the his seruands trew,
Amen. Thow heiris na mair of me.
Bot Kyle, and Cuninghame may rew
Als sair as ony that I schew,
To quhome this darling was maist deir;
And vther gentill men anew,
Quhome I haue not reheirsit heir.

Than last of all to turn to zow,
That wer our brethren, bot not now:
God grant agane ze may cum hame,
For we suld wis zour weill I vow,
As also did this man be Name,
Thocht sum said he did zow defame,
He prayit to God that ze micht turne,
That ze micht schaip Eternall schame;
Thairfoir zour part is als to murne.

For doutles he was mair zour freind,
Nor thay that winkit, or manteind
Zour fulische factioun and vnfair.
In deid that ze suld not susteind,
He thunderit threitnings to the air,
To terrifie zow mair and mair,
And rug (*o*) zow back that ze micht rew; (*p*)
For he knew purseueird ze thair,
Ze wer bot schipwrak but reskew. (*q*)

Than all this land thow may lament,
That thow lacks sic ane Instrument,
Till sum not plesand, zit, sa plane,
That all the godly was content.
Allace his lyke he left not ane,
Nor I feir sall not se agane:
Bot zit let vs nawayis dispair,
For quhy our God dois zit remane,
Quha can and will for his prepair.

(*n*) Thou knowest he loved thee above the rest. (*o*) pull.
(*p*) repent. (*q*) but shipwrecked without rescue.

For thocht his deith we do deploir,
Zit is he not our God thairfoir:
As wickit warldlings wald obtend,
Gone is zour God quhairin ze gloir.
The leuing God we mak it kend,
Is he, on quhome we do depend,
Quha will not leaue vs in distres,
Bot will his seruands till vs send,
Till gyde vs throw this wildernes.

Thairfoir letting thir Bablers be,
Quhais chief Religioun is to lie,
And all Godds seruands to backbyte,
Traducing this man principallie:
Let thame spew out in thair dispyte,
All that thay will be word or wryte.
Lyke as him self is into gloir,
Sa sall all ages ay recyte,
Iohne Knoxis Name, with great decoir.

¶ FINIS.

QVAM TVTVM

SIT PROPVGNACVLVM, DEO SINE fuco inseruire, ex mirifica eximii Dei serui IOANNIS KNOXII, in tranquillum vitæ exitum, illusis omnibus impiorum conatibus, conseruatione, & eius exemplum sequi, monemur.

QVEM petiere diu crudeles igne tyranni,
Sæpius & ferro quem petiere duces.
Occubuit (mirum) nullo violatus ab hoste,
Eximius Christi KNOXIVS ille sator.
Nam pater Æthereus Regum moderatur habenas,
Electosque potens protegit vsque suos.
Muniat hinc igitur nostras fiducia mentes,
Ne mors nas tetricis terreat vlla minis.
Quóq; minus trepidi sistamus tramite recto,
Huius ne pigeat viuere more viri.

¶ FINIS. Quod M. I. D.

EXCERPTA E POEMATIS JOHANNIS JONSTONI;

QUIBUS TITULI

ΠΕΡΙ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΝ

SIVE

DE CORONIS MARTYRUM IN SCOTIA;

NECNON

PECVLIVM ECCLESIÆ SCOTICANÆ.

MS. IN BIBL. FACULT. JURID. EDIN. A. 6. 42.

Patritius Hamiltonus,[1]

Martyr Andreapoli xxviii. Febr. An. Christi 1527.

E Cælo alluxit primam Germania lucem,
  Qua Lanus, et vitreis qua fluit Albis aquis.
Intulit hinc lucem nostræ Dux prævius oræ.
  O felix terra! hoc si foret usa duce!
Dira superstitio grassata tyrannide in omnes,
  Omniaque involvens Cimmeriis tenebris,
Ille nequit lucem hanc suffere. Ergo omnis in unam,
  Fraude, odiis, furiis, turba cruenta coit.
Igne cremant. Vivus lucis qui fulserat igne,
  Par erat, ut moriens lumina ab igne daret.

Joannes Machabævs,[2]

Alpinus, Christianismi in Dania Instaurator, Hafniæ Theol. Professor; floruit 1550, teste Balæo.

I.

Qvae tulit in lucem me Scotia, luce frui me
  Non tulit. Haud mirum: sprevit et ipsa Deum.
Anglia vix cepit. Subeuntem Teutonis ora
  Suscipiens fovit L. . onis in gremio.
Lvtheri hic tetigisse datum dextramque Philippi:
  Cernere et hic Christvm lucidiore die.
Me doctore dehinc amplexa est Dania Christvm;
  Hafnia dat patriam, datque eadem tumulum.
Huc vitæ cursus: supremi hic meta laboris.
  Hinc vehor exilii liber in astra metu.
Havd jactura gravis, patria tellure carere:
  In patria gravior posse carere Deo.

[1] See p. 13.

[2] See p. 321-322.

II.

De Joh. Machabæo Patre, et Christiano, Filio Patris simillimo.

Excedens terris Machabævs liquerat vno
Unius in nato pectoris effigiem.
Filius hanc solam potuit tibi promere: at illvm
Mors habet. Ecquis eam reddere nunc valeat

ALEX. ALESIVS,[1]

(Obiit Lipsiæ xx. Junij 1565.)

Lipsiæ Theol. Professor, de se et Joh. Machabæo.

Sors eadem exilii nobis, vitæque laborumque,
Ex quo nos Christi conciliavit amor.
Una salus amborum, unum et commune periclum;
Pertulimus pariter præstite cuncta Deo.
Dania te coluit. Me Lipsia culta docentem
Audiit, et sacros hausit ab ore sonvs.
Qui mea scripta legit, Machabævm cernat in illis.
Alterutrum noscis, noscis utrumque simul.

JOHANNES ROCHIVS[2] et THOMAS GULIELMIVS,[3]

Uterque a sacris Jac. Hamiltono Scotie Gubernatori, uterque Christi nomine Exul: et ille postea Martyr in Anglia, 22 Decemb. 1557, Londinj.

Postquam iterum premitur redivivi gloria Christi,
Et crudelis adhuc omnia Presul agit,
Cessimus inviti Invidiæ, et crudelibus iris.
Ah! facilis nocuit Principis ingenium.
Doctores nuper quæ nos adscripserat Aula
Deficit: et nostræ spes cecidere simul.
Redditur exilium Christi pro munere. Christvs
Exul erat: nobis sitne probro exilium?
Quid si mors adeunda sit? O mors illa beata!
Qua vitæ melior parta corona foret.

GEORGIVS SOPHOSCARDIVS,[4]

Sive Wys-hartus, Martyr, Andreapoli, Kal. Martii an. 1546.

Quam bene conveniunt divinis nomina rebus!
Divinæ hic Sophiæ corque oculusque viget.
Qui Patris arcanam Sophiam, cælique recessus
Corde fovens, terris Numina tanta aperit.
Vnus amor Christvs. Pro Christo concitus ardor
Altius humanis Enthea corda rapit.
Præteritis aptans præsentia, jvdicat omnia;
Et ventura dehinc ordine quæque docet.
Ipse suam mortem, tempusque modumque profatur,
Fataque Carnifici tristia Sacrilego.
Terrificam ad flammam stetit imperterritus. Ipsa
Quin stupet invictos sic pavefacta animos,
Vt vix ausa dehinc sit paucos carpere. Tota
Ilicet innocui victa cruore viri est.

[1] See p. 321. [2] See p. 26, 33. [3] See p. 21. [4] See p. 21.

Johannes Wedderbvrnvs.[1]

Pulsus in exilium, an. 1546. Exul in Anglia moritur 1556.

I.

Non meriti est nostri, meritas tibi dicere grates,
Aut paria, aut aliqua parte referre vicem.
Quæ meruisse alii vellent, nec posse mereri est:
Hæc velle, hæc posse, hæc te meruisse tuum est.
Sic facis atque canis sacra: sic agis omnia, nil ut
Sanctius, et nusquam purior ulla fides.
Hinc nullum magis invisum caput hostibus: hinc et
Nemo unquam meruit charior esse bonis.
Grandius hoc meritum, nil te meruisse fateris,
Humanis meritis nec superesse locum.

II.

De Johanne, Jacobo, et Roberto Wedderbvrno, Fratribus.

Divisvm imperium, per tres, tria Numina, Fratres,
Infera quæque vides, quæque superna, canunt.
Vos miror potius tres vero nomine fratres,
Vosque supra veneror, Numina vana, Deos;
Concordes animas, clarissima lumina gentis,
Tres paribus studiis, tres pietate pares.
Felices qui vos tales genuere parentes,
Quæque orbi tellus pignora rara dedit.
Progenitos Cælo Alectum[2] dedit inclyta terris:
Inde Dei-Donum nomen habere putem.

Johannes Knoxvs.[3]

Primus Evangelii Instaurator in Scotia, post superiora cruenta illa tempora, obiit placide Edinburgi xxiv. ixbris, hora noctis undecima, 1572.

I.

Hic ille est Scotorum Knoxus Apostolus olim,
Cui prior hos ingens Beza dedit titulos:
Interpres cæli, vero qui Numine plenus,
Plurima venturi præscia signa dedit.
Facundum pectus. Libertas maxima fandi.
Totus inexhausto flagrat amore Dei.
Quam pia cura Poli, tam humani meta furoris:
Tanto plus victor, quo furit iste magis.
Post varios hostes aggressa Calumnia tandem
Hoc didicit, nulli nec sibi habere fidem.
Herovm Pietas odio est mortalibus. Unum hoc
Arguat Heroem hunc cœlitus esse datum.

[1] See pp. 325. [2] Dundee.

[3] The name of *Schir John Knox* occurs as a witness to a deed concerning Rannelton Law, dated 8th March 1541, and preserved in an old volume of Protocols, belonging to the burgh of Haddington. There is good reason to think that our Reformer is the person named in that deed, which, in this view, confirms the statement in p. 6, that he was in priest's orders before he left the Church of Rome.

II.

Cvra Dei: Romæ pestis: Mundi horror: et Orci
Pernicies: cæli fulmen ab arce tonans.
Limite in hoc modico tanti jacet hospitis umbra:
Vmbra silet; tamen est hostibus horror adhuc.

JOHANNES WILLOCVS.[1]

Obiit in Anglia.

Cum Patriæ implessem donis cœlestibus urbes,
Mille olim obiiciens mortibus hanc animam,
Ipsa adeo exultat cæli sic luce sereni,
Penc sibi ut cælum, et lux queat esse aliis:
Excessi patria lætus tellure, libensque:
Vt vicina istis crescerat aucta opibus.
Hic etiam sevi cælestia semina verbi;
Gensque pia hic nostram plurima sensit opem.
Hæc et opes mihi, cumque opibus cumulavit honores;
Nec secus ac Patria me Anglia civem habuit.
Bis civis gemina in patria: mihi tertia restat;
Possidet hæredem tertia sola suum.

CHRISTOPHORVS GVDMANNVS.[2]

Anglus, Ecclesiastes Andreapolitanus: moritur in Cestrensi provincia Angliæ an. 1601.

Non Ego, ceu credis, Scotis peregrinus in oris:
Publica nec rerum cura aliena mihi.
Hic geniti Christo, hic geritur Republica Christi:
Christi Ego sum. In Christo his sumque ego congenitus;
Quin genui hic partem Christo. Patremque Ducemque
Et licet, et gaudent me vocitare suum.
Queis patriam peperi: non hanc: sed quæ altera cælo est,
Hac prior; his dicar qui peregrinus ego:
Alterutra jactent se alii regione profectos,
Nomine se jactat utraque terra meo.

JOHANNES ARESKINUS,[3]

Dunius, Equestri familia ortus, Religionis gravis et constans assertor, concionator nobilis, natus annos lxxx, moritur XII Martij, 1590.

Post tot aves veteres, et tot decora inclyta rerum
Surgit Areskino gloria major adhuc:
Scilicit illa Crucis Christi, quæ sola perennis:
Quæ regit una homines, quæ facit una deos.
Robora consiliis, pietatem miscet utrisque;
Et faciendo docet, atque docendo facit.
Heroem nullum huic æquarint secula. Nullus
Inter aves veteres fama et honore prior.

[1] See pp. 84, 250 [2] See p. 394. [3] See p. 85.

JOHANNES BRABNERVS,[1]

Aberdonensis, Ecclesiastes Celurcanus,[2] et Dunensis, moritur an. 1564, postr. Kal. Novembris.

Nascendi primam dedit Aberdonia lucem:
Ille renascendi munera rettribuit.
Vtrum ergo debet Patriæ plus, an Patria illi?
Mutua sic rerum gratia rite coit.

JOHANNES VIN-RAMVS,[3]

Cœnobii Augustinianorum olim Præfectus apud Andreanos, postea inter Christi Ministros: obiit senex XXIIX. Septemb. 1581.

Quo te censu hominum, quo te, Vin-Rame, reponam
In numero? hic multum est anxia mens animi.
Se prodit Pietas, neque turbida lucis imago est:
Spargit enim de se lumina clara sui.
Quin te aperi tandem manifesto in lumine. Pelle
Turbidulos sensus, cumque pudore metus.
Cum pietate etenim postquam se nubila miscet
Mens hominum, lucis deperit ille vigor.
Gaudet agens Pietas manifesta in luce. Nec illa
Sit Pietas, quæ haud pro scit Pietate mori.

JOHANNES ROWIVS,[4]

Ecclesiastes Perthensis, obiit xvi. VIIIbris an. 1580.

Consilio præstans, rebus gravis auctor agendis,
Præcipuos inter, Lumina prima Patres,
Cognitio varia: immensa experientia rerum.
Omnigenam linguam mens præit ingenii:
Exactor disciplinæ, vindexque severus,
Ipse sibi censor, seque ad amussim habuit:
Sancta domus, castique lares, frons læta, severa:
Larga manus miseris, mensa benigna bonis.
Vrbis delicium: sancti pia copula amoris:
Una fides, fidei publica cura simul
Clara viris, cultuque decens, pulcherrima Pertha:
Rowivs at Perthæ haud ultima fama fuit.

JACOBVS LAVSONIVS,[5]

Ecclesiastes Edinburgensis, obiit xii. Octobris an. 1584.

Ingenio felix Lausonivs, ore diserto,
Acer judicio, consiliisque gravis.
Corpore non magno, mens ingens: Spiritus ardens,
Invectumque decus pectoris atque animi.
Non tulit Impietas. Patria migrare necesse est.
Mitior in profugum terra aliena fuit.
Hospitii cui jura volens vivo ista dedisset,
Multa gemens tristi in funere dat tumulum.

[1] I have not met elsewhere with any notice of *Brebner* or *Bremner*. [2] *i. e.* of Montrose.
[3] See pp. 15, 348. [4] See p. 170. [5] See p. 268.

David Fergvsivs,[1]

Pastor ad Fermilo-dunum, obiit xxiij Augusti an. 1598.

Qvem non erudiit solers Academia, quem non
  Finxit Stagira nobilis:
Nesciit ille tamen nescire illa omnia solers,
  Quæ et ista et illa prodidit,
Quin Doctore Deo scivit meliora sequutus,
  Quæ et ista et illa nesciit.
Disce hinc quæ melius doceas Academia. Tuque
  Disce hinc Stagira nobilis.

Georgivs Haivs.

Postqvam animum primis patriæ effinxere Camenæ
  Artibus, excepit culta Lvteta sinu.
Cecropiis opibus, spoliisque orientis onustus,
  Intulit in patriam munera opima suam.
Ingenium vegetum comitatur gratia linguæ
  Lactea Nectareo verba lepore fluunt.
Dum parat excedens locupletes linquere natos,
  Publica privatis posthabuisse ferunt.
Optima sed Pietas patrimonî portio. Privis
Si nimium indulges, publica rapta ruunt.

[1] See p. 172.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

Note I.—Knox's Birthplace.

(See p. 1, and Note A, p. 303.)

Dr M'Crie was led, by the evidence before him, to give the preference to the village of Gifford as the birthplace of the Reformer. Recent investigations, which indeed are still in progress, tend to throw doubt on this supposition, and to demonstrate that Knox must have been born in Giffordgate, one of the suburbs of Haddington. The evidence, so far as it has gone, may be stated as follows:—That popular tradition has uniformly pointed, and persists down to this day in pointing, to the precise locality in that suburb as the birthplace of the Reformer, being the spot called "Knox's Walls" in an old charter of 1607, while no such tradition exists in connection with Gifford;—that there is reason to think that the village of Gifford (for it is only a village) did not exist at that time, the place known by that name now being then called "Gifford-ha';" and that Beza's "Giffordiensis" is as applicable to "Giffordgate" as to "Gifford-ha';"—that Giffordgate was a distinct village from Nungate, though they adjoin, and are popularly called Nungate; and that the charter referred to in Note A only proves that another person of the name of Knox held lands in Nungate;—that the Giffordgate lands never belonged to the Church, but were acquired by the Yester family;—that Giffordgate is styled "villa" in 1607; and as it was part of the estate of Yester or Gifford, the statement that Knox's father was proprietor of part, at least, of Gifford estate, is not improbable; only this part of the estate was not at the modern village of Gifford (not then, it is believed, in existence), but at the "Gifford-gait" village, which Archibald Hamilton, the old acquaintance of Knox, assigns as his birthplace, describing it as "in Haddington," while Laing, another contemporary, describes it as "near Haddington,"—*prope Hadintonam.*

Note II.—Conversion of Patrick Hamilton.

(See p. 14.)

Dr M'Crie has stated, in regard to this martyr, that "as early as the year 1526, and previous to the breach of Henry VIII. with the Romish See, a gleam of light was, *by some unknown means*, imparted to his mind, amidst the darkness which brooded around him." He then goes on to say that the suspicions of the clergy were drawn upon him, and he retired from Scotland to improve his mind by travelling on the Continent, where he met with Luther and Melancthon, who recommended him to the University of Marburg. It has been generally supposed that Patrick Hamilton took his Master's degree at the University of St Andrews. I think it proper, however, to mention that my friend Professor Lorimer, of London, who has been investigating into the history of Hamilton, has discovered, in the course of personal researches on the Continent, that Hamilton "had previously studied at the Universities of Paris and Louvaine, and at the former of these he

had taken his Master's degree." He adds, in a communication to the Editor, "When he matriculated at Marburg in 1527, he was entered as *Magister Parisiensis*. I inspected the Marburg Register last August, and made an extract from it to the above effect. Alesius is my authority for saying that he was also a student at Louvaine; and he also mentions his having studied at Paris. There can be no doubt that he first became acquainted with the Lutheran doctrines during his residence in these Universities." If this information be correct, of which I have no doubt, it would appear that Hamilton did not study at St Andrews till after his first return from the Continent, in 1524, when his name appears on the Registers of that university as "Magr. Patricius Hamilton," (Works of John Knox, edited by David Laing, Esq., vol. i. p. 502); that he had acquired his knowledge of divine truth not long after the year 1520, when Luther's books were publicly burnt at Louvaine, and solemnly condemned by the Sorbonne at Paris, where he must have been about that time; and that on his exciting the suspicion of the Scottish clergy by the expression of his views, he again went to the Continent to prosecute his studies in Germany.

Note III.—Knox's Liberation from the French Galleys.

(See p. 37-38.)

In reference to this, Dr M'Crie says, "By what means his liberation was procured I cannot certainly determine." After mentioning several accounts that had been given of the matter, he adds: "It is more probable, however, that he owed his deliverance to the comparative indifference with which he and his brethren were regarded by the French court, who, having procured the consent of the Parliament of Scotland to the marriage of Queen Mary to the Dauphin, and obtained possession of her person, felt no longer any inclination to revenge the quarrels of the Scottish clergy." This is extremely probable. At the same time it deserves to be mentioned, that it has been ascertained, from the correspondence in the State Paper Office, that Edward VI. had used his influence with the French monarch to procure the liberation of the Scotch prisoners from the galleys. Sir John Masone, ambassador for England at the French court, writing to the Council, June 14, 1550, says: "Touching the Scots at St Andrews, he (the Constable of France) told me that the Lord Grange and his brother are flown he wist not whither, and two others were already set at liberty; and that the rest, at the King my master's contentation, should out of hand be put at large. Marry, out of the realm they should not yet go." Mr Tytler, in a note on this passage, observes,—"In another work (History of Scotland, vol. vi. p. 88) I have said that none of his biographers had discovered in what manner Knox, who was one of the prisoners made at St Andrews, recovered his liberty in 1550. The fact is now ascertained—he and his brother captives obtained their freedom at the earnest and repeated application of Edward the Sixth." (Reigns of Edward and Mary, vol. i. p. 295.) The intercession of Edward in behalf of the prisoners may be again traced to the influence of Cranmer, who would naturally be solicitous for the liberation of Knox and his brother reformers; and his desires would, no doubt, be the more readily acceded to by the French court, for the reasons assigned by Dr M'Crie. The moment he procured his freedom, Knox passed over to England, where he was favourably received by Cranmer and the English Council, and sent to officiate as a preacher at Berwick. (Pp. 39, 40.)

I might here notice that the same author has denied the correctness of the statement made by Dr M'Crie, that the terms of capitulation at St Andrews were violated by the French. (See p. 34).) Mr Tytler quotes Anderson's MS. and Lesley, to show that no promise, beyond the safety of their persons, was made to the besieged; and considers that this is confirmed by the testimony of Buchanan, who says—"Leonti Strenzio, *incolumitatem modo pacti*, se dediderunt." He adds: "I have been thus particular, because an able author has stated that the terms of the capitulation were violated." (Tytler's Hist. of Scotland, vol. vi. p. 17.) The point is hardly worth disputing, else we might have shown that the statement made by Dr M'Crie is given on the authority of Knox (Hist. of Reformation—Works of John Knox, edited by David Laing, Esq., vol. i. p. 205); that the Reformer, being so deeply interested as one of the prisoners, was more likely to know the facts than any

other historian, and on such a question is surely as worthy of credit; and that Buchanan's brief allusion to their "stipulating only for their safety," may, from its connection, be understood of their being glad to obtain a safe-conduct to France, instead of stipulating for a free pardon from the Regent, whose vengeance and treachery they dreaded.

Note IV.—Knox one of King Edward's Chaplains.

(See p. 43.)

After the extract here given from King Edward's Journal, containing a list of his six chaplains, Dr M'Crie states—"The name of the sixth had been dashed out of the Journal, but the industrious Strype has shown that it was Knox." Strype says, in reference to this, "The sixth is dashed out in the Journal, but probably was Knox; for he was one of the preachers in the north at Newcastle and elsewhere, and had a salary paid him out of the Exchequer. But the number was reduced to four (Bradford also being left out), who were styled the King's ordinary Chaplains." He afterwards adds: "Whether the two other chaplains, Bradford and Knox, mentioned in the King's Journal, were discharged, or their patents for their annuities were not yet finished, might be doubted. But it appears, though Bradford and Knox were nominated for chaplains, yet the four former were only retained. And Knox had an annuity of £40 for his good service in preaching in the north, till he should have some place in the church conferred on him." (Hist. Mem. vol. ii. p. 297-299.) In the edition of Strype's Life of Cranmer, lately published by the Ecclesiastical History Society, it is stated (vol. ii. p. 413) that Strype was mistaken in supposing the name "dashed out" to be "J. Knox," and that, after the most careful examination of the original, Sir Francis Madden has discovered that the name is "Eastwicke." Without a personal inspection of the original, it might be held presumptuous to decide how far Sir Francis has succeeded in correctly deciphering the erased name. Meanwhile, however, I may be permitted to express my suspicion that he is more likely to be mistaken than Strype. 1. Strype does not say the name was "J. Knox," as Sir Francis alleges, obviously mistaking the supposed letters, but simply "Knox." 2. Knox's name was variously spelt in England—as "Knokes," "Knockes," "Knocks," &c. 3. Those nominated as royal chaplains must have been in some way distinguished persons, and all the others mentioned are well-known names; but such a person as "Eastwicke" is never heard of in connection with that period. 4. It is undeniable that Knox was nominated as one of Edward's chaplains, officiated in that capacity, and received his salary from the Exchequer. Strype informs us that he is styled, in the warrant of the Council, "His Majesty's preacher in the north." He adds, that "the next year, namely 1553, being returned out of the North, and being then in Buckinghamshire, that he might find the more acceptance and respect there, the Council wrote a letter to the great men in those parts—viz. the Lord Russell, Lord Windsor, to the Justices of the peace, and the rest of the gentlemen within that county, in favour of the said Knox the preacher." (Mem. of Cranmer, p. 292.)

Note V.—The Bishopric offered to Knox.

(See p. 49-50.)

At this place our author states that "Edward VI., with the concurrence of his Privy Council, offered him (Knox) a bishopric. But he rejected it." It is added, on the authority of Brand's History of Newcastle, that this was "probably the new-founded one at Newcastle, which he refused; *revera noluit episcopari.*" From a correspondence between the Duke of Northumberland and Sir W. Cecil, in the State Paper Office, it would appear that the bishopric proposed for, if not actually proffered to Knox, was that of Rochester. In a letter dated 28th October 1552, Northumberland writes: "*I would to God it might please the King's majesty to appoint Mr Knocks to the office of Rochester bishoprick;* which, for three purposes, should do very well. The first, he would not only be a whetstone, to quicken and

sharp the Bishop of Canterbury, whereof he hath need; but also he would be a great confounder of the Anabaptists lately sprung up in Kent. Secondly, he should not continue the ministration in the North, contrary to this set forth here. Thirdly, the family of the Scots, now inhabiting in Newcastle chiefly for his fellowship, would not continue there, wherein many resorts unto them out of Scotland, which is not requisite. Herein, I pray you, desire my Lord Chamberlain and Mr Vice Chamberlain to help towards this good act, both for God's service and the King's." He then proposes the division of the see of Durham, and "the erection of a bishop within Newcastle." Upon this letter Mr Tytler observes: "Beza has informed us that the Reformer refused a bishopric; and Knox himself, in a manuscript letter which has been quoted by Dr M'Crie, alludes to the high promotions which had been offered to him by Edward VI. Neither the date of this offer, however, nor the bishopric which he was invited to fill, have yet been discovered. The following letter from Northumberland to Cecil fixes both. The proffered see appears to have been the bishopric of Rochester, and the offer was made and declined by Knox in the same month in which he had been consulted upon the Articles of Religion, and had received a reward, or, as Dr M'Crie thinks, a pension from the King. The expected services of this stern partisan of Protestantism, the hope expressed by Northumberland that he would operate as a *whetstone* to the gentler Cranmer, and as a hammer against the furious Anabaptists, are not the least characteristic parts of this letter." (Reigns of Edward and Mary, vol. ii. pp. 141, 142.) Besides this, as confirming what Dr M'Crie has said of Knox's sentiments regarding the English Church, the attentive reader may remark the suspicion entertained of the Scottish reformer's peculiar views of church polity and worship, indicated in the wish expressed by Northumberland, that "he should not continue the ministration in the North, *contrary to this set forth here*,"—evidently referring to his mode of conducting the service, which would likely resemble the Genevan more than the Anglican model, and which seems to have attracted the Scots to Newcastle. It may be added that Mr Tytler affords us the means of adjusting the date when Knox was consulted upon the Articles of Religion. Dr M'Crie has said (page 43), "In the course of this year (1551) Knox was consulted about the Book of Common Prayer." It now appears from the MS. Privy Council Book, that it was in October 1552 that he was employed in revising these Articles, previous to their ratification by Parliament; and that on the 27th of the same month, he received forty pounds as the King's majesty's reward. (Reigns of Edward and Mary, vol. ii. p. 141.) It was on the next day that Northumberland proposed to confer on him the bishopric of Rochester. Had he accepted of this office, it would appear that the "sternness" of the Reformer would have been no disqualification in the eyes of Edward's Privy Council.

Note VI.—Knox's "First Blast of the Trumpet."

(See p. 107-110.)

It will not be expected that any notice should be taken here of the attacks made upon the character of Knox in the historical *nouvellettes* of Miss Strickland, who seems to have made it a point of conscience to read nothing that has been written in vindication of any who gave offence to her heroines. It is more extraordinary to find another writer, who pretends to more than ordinary research into the *penetralia* of history, appealing to Knox's well-known "Blast" as proof positive of the disloyal and rebellious principles entertained by the English and Scottish exiles during the reign of "bloody Mary," and as a sufficient *cause* to account for the persecution which in reality produced it! Forgetting, or choosing to forget, that Knox's libel against female government did not appear till 1558—the year in which Mary died—and that for three years previous to this, the sanguinary persecution had been raging in England under Gardiner and Bonner, the willing tools of her bigotry—this writer has the hardihood to say, "It is hardly necessary to ask the reader what the Queen and the Government of England must have thought of those persons abroad who sent over, and those in this country who circulated, such books as I have quoted from, and how they must have felt disposed, not to say compelled, to treat them?" (Essays connected with the Reformation in England. By the Rev.

S. R. Maitland, D.D., F.R.S., F.S.A. London, 1849, p. 149.) With a writer like this, who entertains such slavish views of arbitrary power, and whose sympathies are so strongly enlisted in favour of Romish persecutors, it would be vain to expect that the sentiments of Knox on the subject of Government, which breathe so much of the free and healthy spirit of the British constitution, should find any favour. But it is very obvious, from the whole character of his remarks, that he has never perused the satisfactory explanations which Dr M'Crie has given regarding this obnoxious publication of the Reformer. We need only refer the impartial reader to that passage in the Life of Knox (p. 109), which closes with these words: "Knox's 'Trumpet' would never have sounded its alarm had it not been for the tyranny of Mary; and there is reason to think that Aylmer would never have opened his 'Harborow for Faithful Subjects,' but for the auspicious succession of Elizabeth;"—and to Note U, where we have the Confession or Prayer composed and used by Knox, after the death of Edward VI. and the accession of Mary, which "shows the state of his mind at that crisis, and refutes the unfounded charges of Romanist, and of some Episcopal writers, that he was guilty of stirring up rebellion against the Queen." "Strike high or strike low," nothing, it seems, can reconcile some of our High Church writers to anything that comes from the Puritan camp. Poor Bishop Aylmer's defence of female government comes in for as full a share of Dr Maitland's invective, as Knox's rude attack on it. Aylmer, it seems, was a decided Protestant, *alias*, in Dr Maitland's language, a Puritan. (Essays, &c., *ut supra*, p. 195-225.)

Note VII.—Tytler's Charge against Knox in reference to the Assassination of Rizzio.

(See p. 235.)

Mr P. Fraser Tytler, in his History of Scotland (vol. vii.), has advanced the charge against Knox, of having been accessary to the murder of David Rizzio. This extraordinary libel is founded on a scrap of paper which he discovered attached by a pin to a document in the State Paper Office. That paper, which is unsubscribed and unauthenticated, written by nobody knows whom, contains what purports to be a list of "such as were at the death of Davie and privy thereunto, and are now in displeasure with the Q[ueen] and their houses taken and spoiled; in which list appear the names of John Knox and John Craig. But this list, besides the suspicious circumstances of being unsubscribed, and merely found "pinned to" another paper, contains internal evidence of being incorrect. John Craig was certainly never suspected of being implicated in that conspiracy; he was never "in displeasure with the Queen," he never fled from the city, nor was his house "taken and spoiled." Nor does Mr Tytler venture to bring the charge of accession to the murder against Craig. But, though this document must be held false in regard to Craig, we must, it seems, believe it to be quite correct in regard to Knox! We know that he retired from the city on this occasion, and, therefore, on the sole authority of this pinned list, we must conclude that Knox was "at the death of Davie, and privy thereunto;" or, at least, as Mr Tytler would have us to read it, with a convenient alteration of the phraseology—"*or* privy thereunto"! And this we must believe, although neither the Queen herself, nor any of Knox's contemporaries, however much prejudiced against him, ever insinuated such a charge!

What renders this summary mode of dealing with history and human character still more extraordinary is, that though Mr Tytler met with another list, fully authenticated, in which no mention is made of Knox or Craig, he persists in preferring, as more genuine and trustworthy, the paper with the pin; alleging no other reason for the preference than his suspicion that the names of these ministers had been purposely kept back. Taking advantage of the language of contrition which Knox expresses in a prayer about this time, he asserts that he "fled in extreme agony of spirit" from the scene of assassination, as if he had been a conscious murderer. And to crown the whole, quoting from a garbled impression of the *first* edition of Knox, which appeared at that time, edited by the late Dr Crichton, he quotes, as Dr M'Crie's opinion, the following sentence: "There is

no reason to think that Knox was privy to the conspiracy which proved fatal to Rizzio; but it is probable that he had expressed his satisfaction at an event which contributed to the safety of religion and of the commonwealth, *if not also his approbation of the conduct of the conspirators.*" Whereas Dr M'Crie's more matured judgment, as it appears in the second and all the subsequent editions of the Life of Knox, was, that Knox may probably have only expressed "*his approbation of the object of the conspiracy.*" (Vol. ii. p. 136, sixth edition. Present edition, page 235.)

These facts, with other statements, all going to show the total absence of foundation for the charge against Knox, of being implicated in, or even cognisant of, this conspiracy, were publicly brought forward by the editor, shortly after the appearance of the first edition of Tytler's volume, in December 1840. (See Sketches of Scottish Church History, by the Editor, App. Note A.) To these statements, beyond complaining of one which seemed to reflect upon himself, Mr Tytler never replied; and in his next edition he republished the charge, as if it had never been questioned or refuted. One is inclined to pardon the vanity which this writer frequently betrays, in attaching such overweening importance to small facts first discovered by himself in the course of his researches in the State Paper Office; but the present case affords a curious illustration of the blind eagerness with which the partisans of Mary fix upon anything, be it ever so flimsy or unlikely, that tends to blacken the memory of the Scottish Reformer.

Note VIII.—Knox's Family.

(See p. 294.)

In the account of the family of Knox, the author tells us that his eldest daughter, Martha, was married to James Fleming, a minister of the Church of Scotland; and adds, in a note, "He was the grandfather of Mr Robert Fleming, minister in London, and author of the well-known book The Fulfilling of the Scriptures. But Mr Robert's father was of a different marriage." Dr Steven, in his History of the Scottish Church in Rotterdam, has corrected this statement. He says (p. 83), "My honoured friend Dr M'Crie has, I suspect, fallen into a mistake. It is not the author of The Fulfilling of the Scripture, but his son, Mr Robert Fleming, junior, who uses the following explicit language: 'My grandfather did indeed marry the daughter of the first Mr Knox, usually called the Reformer; but my father was by a second match.' (Fleming's Practical Discourse, occasioned by the Death of King William, Pref., p. xiii. Lond., 1702, 8vo.)" It thus appears that Mr James Fleming, Knox's son-in-law, was not the grandfather, but the father of Robert, the author of The Fulfilling of the Scripture, and the grandfather of the other Robert Fleming, the equally well-known author of the Rise and Fall of the Papacy, and Christology. The common custom of transmitting the father's Christian name to the son, had led to this mistake, of which Dr M'Crie was aware, but which he had forgotten to correct in the fifth edition. Mr James Fleming was minister of Yester, in East Lothian, the parish in which is situated the village of Gifford, where Knox is supposed by Dr M'Crie to have been born. (Steven's History, *ut supra.*)

Note IX.—Antiquities connected with Knox.

Besides the watch supposed to have been presented to him by Queen Mary, mentioned as in the possession of Alexander Thomson, Esq. of Banchory (Note SSS, p. 408), there are other memorials of the Reformer still lingering in the traditions of the neighbourhood, or pointed out to the traveller throughout the country. These, I need hardly say, are regarded by the Presbyterians of Scotland, not with superstitious veneration, as if they possessed any virtue or value in themselves, but simply with that affectionate interest which we naturally attach to relics of departed friends or to old ancestral remains.

The farm of Pennymore, in the parish of Ochiltree in Ayrshire, upon which the sum of "aucht hundred merkis" was laid in the name of Knox's second wife, Margaret Stewart, daughter of Lord Ochiltree, was till lately held in lease by a

worthy elder of the Church, who would often point with interest to the solemn adjuration of the Reformer in his last testament, "charging and requiring my said fader of law and his airs, as thai will answer befoir that incorruptible Judge, the Lord Jesus, that thai suffer not my said spous and children to be defraudit or evill payit of the males and annual rent of the said lands, during the non-redemption of the samin." (Appendix, N° XX., p. 439.)

Within the same parish, in Ochiltree House, an ancient baronial residence, the property of the Dowager Lady Boswell of Auchinleck, a room is still pointed out where the Reformer was joined in the bands of wedlock with the daughter of Lord Ochiltree. Ochiltree House is beautifully situated, and its whole aspect reminds the visitor very forcibly of the olden times.

It is a curious but not an inexplicable fact, that the localities marked out by tradition in connection with Knox are chiefly those in which he officiated during the early period of his ministry, and in regard to which our historical information is the most scanty. The hall in Calder House, the seat of Lord Torphichen, where he is said to have dispensed the sacrament of the Supper for the first time after the Reformation (p. 87, note), is still preserved with commendable care in its original antique form. A similar tradition, less authenticated, prevails in connection with Castle Campbell, the romantic ruins of which overhang the village of Dollar in Clackmannanshire. Of the chapel at Langniddrie, where he officiated as a catechist before his call to the ministry, and which was popularly called "John Knox's Kirk," it can hardly be said now, as our author says (p. 22), that "the ruins are still apparent." A few stones are all that remain to mark the spot.

It may be mentioned that there is in the possession of the Rev. George Hastie of Kirkpatrick-Fleming, a curious antique cabinet of dark oak, bearing the name of "Iohn Knox, 1566," inlaid with coloured wood in the inside. The history of this article of furniture is, that it had come into the possession of Lord Ruthven, and was procured from a remote descendant of the family, bearing that name, who followed the humble occupation of a shoemaker in Fifeshire. It bears, in the estimation of those well versed in such matters, every evidence of being contemporaneous with the Reformer; and though no mention is made of it in the testament of Knox, or the inventory of goods presented by his widow, it is very likely to have formed part of his "plenishing."

But the most complete memorial of our Reformer is the house which he occupied during his residence in Edinburgh. This house occupies a very conspicuous position, being situated at the head of the Nether Bow, at the point where the High Street is suddenly contracted, so that it fronts the passenger who views it from the Tron Church; and with its antiquated gables, small peaked casements, and wooden projections, looks as if it had stepped out into the middle of the street to take a survey of what was passing in the modern metropolis. The tenement is undoubtedly one of the most ancient stone buildings of a private kind in this city. Previous to its possession by Knox, it was tenanted by George Durie, abbot of Dunfermline. In the month of April 1560 the Reformer took up his abode in this mansion, and he continued to make it his principal residence till his death, twelve years afterwards. It is interesting to connect with the sight of this relic of the past the strange revolutions which it must have witnessed in its day, and especially the events in our Reformer's life during the brief but memorable period of his residence within its walls. It was during the first year of his abode in this house that he lost his first wife, Marjory Bowes, (p. 173). To this house he brought his second wife, daughter of the "good" Lord Ochiltree, whose affections he is said by his Popish defamers to have gained by the black art and the aid of the devil; and whom he conveyed home, as Nicol Burne says, "rydand with ane gret court, on ane trim gelding, nocht lyk ane prophet or ane auld decrepit priest, as he was, bot lyk as he had bene ane of the blude royal, with his bendes of taffetie freschnit with golden ringis and precious stanes; and as is planelie reportit in the country, be sorcerie and witchcraft did sua allure that puir gentilwoman that scho could not leve without him," (p. 217; Note IIIII, p. 394). While residing in this house a price was set upon his head, and he was occasionally in such peril of his life from his Popish enemies that his friends were under the necessity of keeping watch around it during the night. It was through one of its windows, probably that which looks up the High Street, that a musket-

shot was discharged one evening from the street, which would have proved fatal to him had he occupied at the time his usual seat; the ball shattering the chandelier, and entering the roof, (p. 256.) It was here that he penned his History, and those fiery and searching discourses, on account of which he was so often summoned away "fra his buiks" to defend himself before the beautiful but bigoted Queen of Scots. To this place, after preaching his last sermon, with tottering steps, leaning upon the arm of "guid, godly Richard Bannatyne," he "crept down the street, lined with the audience, who, as if anxious to take the last sight of their beloved pastor, followed him till he entered the house, from which he never again came out alive," (p. 270). And from this house his body was escorted to the churchyard of St Giles, where no monument remains to mark his resting-place, and where Regent Morton pronounced over his dust the memorable words—"There lies he who never feared the face of man."

The rooms in this antique mansion still remain very much in their original form; and among them "John Knox's study," a small snug closet composed of wood, with two windows and a fire-place. It is undoubtedly the place referred to in the minutes of the town-council, (Note YY, p. 382):—"Penultimo Octobris, [1561]. The samine day, the provost, baillies, and counsail ordainis the dene of gyld, with all diligence to mak ane warm studye of dailles to the minister, Johne Knox, within his hous, abone the hall of the same, with lyht and wyndokis thereunto, and all uther necessaris." On the outside of the building is a rude effigy, formerly supposed to represent Knox occupying a pulpit, but, since the repairs, found to indicate Moses on the mount, with the tables of stone, and the inscription, "ΘΕΟΣ, DEUS, GOD," (p. 270, note 1).

The Free Church of Scotland, it is well known, acquired possession of this interesting house with the adjoining property; and an effort was made some years ago to preserve and restore the Reformer's house, and to erect beside it a monumental structure to his memory. The latter object has been superseded by the erection of a church; and private parties were found to become in law the proprietors of the old fabric, under conditions which make them virtually only the custodiers of the property. The external appearance and internal arrangements have been conserved; a museum has been formed; and the public being admitted to view the apartments, John Knox's House now forms, to strangers who visit the metropolis, one of the most interesting sights in the Old Town.

NOTE X.—MR ROBERT PONT.

The author says (p. 262, note 4), "I have read somewhere (*though I cannot at present find my authority*), that Robert Pont, when offered a bishopric, took the advice of the General Assembly as to accepting it, and professed his readiness to apply its funds to the support of the ministry within the diocese." The missing authority appears to have been Calderwood's Historie of the Kirk of Scotland, vol. iv. pp. 624, 626 (Wodrow Soc. edit.) See also The Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 696, 697 (Bannatyne edit.) King James having presented Mr Pont to the bishopric of Caithness, he desired the judgment of the Assembly, which was given in the form of a letter addressed to his Majesty. In this letter, after praising God that his Majesty had such a good opinion of their brother Mr Robert, whom, they say, "we acknowledge indeed to be already a bishop, according to the doctrine of St Paul," and whom they were willing to appoint to the office of a visitor or commissioner within the bounds or "diocie of Cathnesse," they add, "But as to that corrupt estat or office of them who have beene termed bishops heretofore, we find it not agreeable to the Word of God, and it hath been damned in diverse others our Assemblies; nather is the said Mr Robert willing to accept the same in that maner."

NOTE XI.—CELEBRITY OF KNOX, AND HIS WORKS.

Few things are more remarkable in their way than the celebrity acquired by the name of John Knox since the publication of his Life by Dr M'Crie. After slumbering for upwards of a century under a dark shade of oblivion and reproach, his

character has become nearly as widely known and as highly admired in Scotland as it was during his life-time, and for a century after his death. His name has become as familiar among us as a household word; it may be seen emblazoned on ships, on shops, and all kinds of utensils; it has been embalmed in song; it has inspired the eloquence of the public speaker, and has given employment to the pencil of the painter and the chisel of the sculptor. The rough long-bearded visage of the Reformer gazes upon us in all directions, engraven on wood, steel, and stone. We have our Knox clubs, Knox churches, and Knox monuments. The author himself paid little regard to such tokens of the increasing popularity of his hero; but with one proof of the success of his labours he expresses himself highly gratified: "Knox's practical writings have been lately collected and reprinted. This, so far as it may have arisen, even indirectly, from what I have done in illustrating the events of his life, I regard as one of the most pleasing fruits of my labour; nor do I regret (though I did regret it) that the work has issued from the press of London, instead of Edinburgh," (p. 299, note 2). It must have been equally gratifying to him, had he lived to see another edition of these writings issue from the Edinburgh press; and still more so, to see the splendid edition of KNOX'S WORKS, four volumes of which have already appeared, under the able and careful superintendence of David Laing, Esq., of the Signet Library.

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1- born at Giffard. 1505. studies in
4- Morals corrupt - monks - Patrick Hamilton burned 1528 - Causes of
mation - scriptures in vulgar tongue - writings of past - In 1542 - Knox lectures
heretic - despised priesthood - (On death of James V. Arran regent -) flies
4- Andrews & became tutor in family of Douglas Longniddrie (Earl of
other assassinated 1546 -) became preacher in St. Andrews - confined in
& a galley - After 19 months, left at liberty - went to England - sent by
the Council to preach at Berwick - taught that the mass was idolatrous
summoned before assembly at Newcastle - silenced his adversaries -
Edw VI dies 1553 - Mary proclaimed Queen of Scots - 16 July 1553 -
made good promises of religious toleration to her subjects - (married
Bothwell) Persecution - flees to Normandy in France 1554 (on the
treaties home - goes to Switzerland - then to Geneva - kindly received
Calvin - Returns to Dieppe & composed 'admonition to England' - Isaac
in Geneva - Persecution drives hundreds of English men to Court
& - Knox comes a minister to them at Frankfort - Cranmer's
quarrel about the use of 'Litany' - to get rid of him they charge him
with treason - he leaves them and again to Geneva -
- he was away - many leaders tried for treason - Clergy held Council
Council for reformation of abuses - published as a Catechism -
- produced a book - but did no good - In 1554 Queen dowager
- comes regent - & Mary Came to English throne - & with its
usual bigotry - Knox & others wrote against her - but many married
with King of Spain & regent - Attached to France - to the two princesses
rebelled - Hence regent - Knox - Knox & many who fled
- persecution in England came & preached up & down in Scotland
& were Harlow - Willock - Knox came over immediately - Preached
this Country - and when at Meadows many Lords - at Communion to
- communed properly - Knox writes a letter to Queen regent - & chose
tor of English Church in Geneva - & Gen 1556.
- series letter urging his return - starts - then is desired not to come - remains
France - Knox's letters an important part in reformation.
- First - blast against - the Monstrous Regiment of Women - replied
- Hymn in the Harbarous - Lords brothers - receives their letter
& receive his return - leaves Geneva 1559 - is refused to land in
- goes straight - from Dieppe to Leith.
On his return matters in Critical state - Regent - Known Opinions
regent & Archbishop Hamilton - Council his wife - proclamation
prohibiting preaching (Page 124) Knox proclaimed an out-law & a
- Preached at Perth - Images - Images broken - moves to
- has interview with Prior of St. Andrews & Earl of Argyll.
- & was with the Lords of Congregation at Cupar Muir - against regent
- in Expedition to Perth - Chosen minister of Edinburgh.
regent besieges them in Edinburgh - they had to leave - Willock became
minister - visitors of Knox - who makes a preaching tour - His fame
- from Geneva & Knox to join with them.
- Lords regent help - Receive money from England & Sir Ralph Sadler
sent down as an agent - They feared a marriage between Engl. & Fran

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"The best way to keep the rooks from returning was to pull down their nests."